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A CENTURY AND A HALF

OF

PITTSBURG AND HER PEOPLE

BY

JOHN NEWTON BOUCHER

EDITOR IN CHIEF

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I

THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

1908

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PREFACE

The purpose of this work is to present a history of Pittsburg from its earliest days down to the present time, when the city is ready to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its birth as an English settlement. Though the French from Canada had laid claim to the Fork of the Ohio, the dominion of the English speaking people began properly with the successful expedition of General John Forbes to capture Fort Duquesne from the French in 1758. For a third of a century after that the story of Pittsburg is made up of a strange mingling of tragedy and romance on the one hand, and of privations and exertions on the other. Though the reader of these pages is sometimes taken away from the immediate locality of which they treat, he will always find that the subject under consideration is one in which Pittsburg and her people were deeply concerned. The narrative as told here is made as nearly chronological as is possible with a local history, and the publishers feel confident that the author, Mr. John Newton Boucher, has not only laid before the readers in a pleasing and forceful manner the salient facts of the long and interesting story, but that he has included much of that purely antiquarian lore which is to many the most instructive and delightful feature of history.

The associate editors, as named in the prospectus of the work, were Mrs. James R. Mellon, Judge Samuel A. McClung, Father A. A. Lambing, LL. D., and Chancellor Samuel B. McCormick, LL. D. of Pittsburg, and Mr. James M. Swank and John W. Jordan, LL. D., of Philadelphia, all of whom have been potent either directly or indirectly in the preparation of the work. The editor drew largely from Mr. Swank's writings in the chapters on iron, from Father Lambing's writings in the preparation of the earlier history and of a part of the church history as here given. Dr. McCormick has contributed the chapter on the University, while the material for the chapters on charitable institutions, the work performed by women and the sketches of the noted women of the city, has been largely furnished by Mrs. Mellon. Mr. W. L. Clark performed most of the search work in the cities, spending many months in the libraries, newspaper offices, etc., and reporting regularly the result of his researches to the editor.

In preparing the work the author has consulted the writings of all who have, to any considerable degree, contributed to Pittsburg's history. He

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wishes us to particularly express the indebtedness of this work to the Standard History of Pittsburg, by Mr. Erasmus Wilson. From it he has, by special permission from its author, drawn copiously in the preparation of the chapters on banking, the early political history, slavery, etc. It is to be regretted, writes he, "that the Standard History is now out of print and that the publishers of a work so replete in most interesting material concerning the city, should have given it to the world without a suitable index."

Mr. Boucher desires us to state further that he has been untrammelled in the preparation of the work, freely treating of events and men as he thought they deserved. If he has given too great a prominence to any subject, or has withheld from some true hero an encomium justly due him, it is a mistake in the judgment of the author, and is not due to any obligation on his part to eulogize or censure any person or event treated in these pages.

In view of the foregoing the publishers with great confidence submit A CENTURY AND A HALF OF PITTSBURG AND HER PEOPLE to the intelligent and public spirited citizens of the Iron City and of Western Pennsylvania, asking in return a careful consideration of the work.

THE PUBLISHERS.

New York, 1908.

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.

The Braddock Campaign 1

CHAPTER II.

The Forbes Campaign 27

CHAPTER III.

The Bouquet Campaign 43

CHAPTER IV.

Titles to Lands In and Around Pittsburg 73

CHAPTER V.

Formation of Westmoreland County 85

CHAPTER VI.

Dunmore's War.—Disputed Boundary Between Virginia and Pennsylvania 94

CHAPTER VII.

Early Courts of the County.—Severe Sentences.—Species of Slavery 110

CHAPTER VIII.

The Indians of Southwestern Pennsylvania 119

CHAPTER IX.

The Beginning of the Revolution.—The Hannastown Resolutions.—The New Constitution 130

CHAPTER X.

The Revolution Continued.—The Various Regiments, Companies, etc.—Their Work, Privations, etc 145

CHAPTER XI.

The Revolution Continued.—Morgan's Rifles.—Difficulties Around Fort Pitt 163

CHAPTER XII.

The Close of the Revolution 182

CHAPTER XIII.

Major-General Arthur St. Clair 202

CHAPTER XIV.

Tories.—Early Forts and Block Houses 215

CHAPTER XV.

Permanent Location of County Seat.—Attempts to Form a New County with Pittsburg as Its Seat of Justice 224

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER XVI.

The Burning of Hannastown 230

CHAPTER XVII.

Formation of Allegheny County.—Copy of Old Petition Urging Passage of the Bill Erecting It 239

CHAPTER XVIII.

Pioneers of Pittsburg.—Their Habits, Customs and Hardships 252

CHAPTER XIX.

The Beginning of the Town of Pittsburg, Its Streets, etc.—Washington's Last Visit.—The Founding of Alleghenytown 269

CHAPTER XX.

The Early Thrift in Pittsburg.—Sale of Fort Pitt.—Ordinance of 1787.—Indian Troubles.—Fort Lafayette.—Wayne's Victory 279

CHAPTER XXI.

Early Census and Description of Pittsburg.—Predominating Nationality 292

CHAPTER XXII.

Whiskey Insurrection 298

CHAPTER XXIII.

Manufacturing.—Early Industries in Pittsburg 319

CHAPTER XXIV.

The State Road.—The Philadelphia and Pittsburg Turnpike.—Plank Roads.—The National Road 329

CHAPTER XXV.

Early Descriptions of Pittsburg.—Brackenridge, Royal, Cumming, Pope, etc 344

CHAPTER XXVI.

The War of 1812 360

CHAPTER XXVII.

Navigation on the Ohio River.—Early Boat Building.—The First Steamboat; Slackwater Improvements on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers 370

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Constitution.—Hamilton's American System.—Henry Baldwin.—Henry Clay ... 376

CHAPTER XXIX.

Politics of Early Pittsburg 383

CHAPTER XXX.

Canals; Their Effect on the Commerce of Pittsburg 394

CHAPTER XXXI.

Pittsburg's Prominent Visitors: LaFayette, Dickens, Kossuth, The Prince of Wales, Lincoln, Grant 404

CHAPTER XXXII.

Pittsburg Politics 1832-1856.—Formation of the Republican Party 422

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Turnpike.—Stage Coach Days.—Taverns, etc. 435

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Fire of 1845 446

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Mexican War 450

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Allegheny County Bench 459

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Bar 489

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Cotton Manufacture.—Lost Industries.—Cotton, Oil Refining 506

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Stephen C. Foster.—Richard Realf 512

CHAPTER XL.

Temperance Movements in Pittsburg 525

CHAPTER XLI.

The Anti-Slavery Movements in Pittsburg 532

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CHAPTER I.

The Braddock Campaign.

There were two causes, differing widely from each other, which led to the first settlement of the region now embraced within the limits of Pittsburg. The one was the settlement of the French on the St. Lawrence river in the early years of the seventeenth century; the other was the formation of the Ohio Company by Virginia capitalists. The French in coming to America mainly entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and sailed up the river, and in the seventeenth century had effected a colony which grew rapidly, and was afterwards called New France. They were tenacious of their rights, prompt in asserting themselves, and zealous in the exploration of the new country. In 1669 and 1670 Robert Chevalier de la Salle, one of the most noted explorers in American history, had penetrated the wilderness between the St. Lawrence and Allegheny rivers and sailing down the latter river and down the Ohio had discovered the falls where the city of Louisville, Kentucky, now stands. Later he explored the Mississippi river and claimed for France all the region drained by these rivers and their tributaries. In this extravagant claim he was sustained, in a measure by the international law of his day, and the claim was no more preposterous than that of England which claimed the entire continent "from sea to sea," because forsooth John Cabot had sailed up and down the Atlantic without perhaps even touching or penetrating the shore. This claim was strengthened from year to year by increased settlements and by new explorations on the part of the people of New France; it was furthermore practically uncontested by any one until about the middle of the eighteenth century. By this time the French-Canadian settlements had greatly increased in numbers and in wealth. They had built cities and fortresses, and had sent explorers and missionaries to found settlements on almost every navigable stream and lake in the Northwest. They were also strongly entrenched for that time in Louisiana, for it must be remembered that many French vessels bearing emigrants for America and knowing that the middle Atlantic coast was being settled largely by the Britons, the emigrants had entered the Gulf of Mexico and founded the Louisiana settlements. Their object was to occupy and hold this vast region of territory for the French gov-

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ernment, and to procure furs and skins which abounded in the new country, and which were purchased largely from the Indians.

The London Company was chartered by the English government in 1607 and in 1609. To it was granted all the land lying between a point two hundred miles south and a point two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, and this grant extended "into the land throughout from sea to sea." This vast domain, fronting four hundred miles on the Atlantic ocean, was called Virginia in honor of the Maiden Queen so noted in English history. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Virginia had likewise become strong, and while the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia had not been definitely determined, the Virginians laid a general claim to the region surrounding the head waters of the Ohio river, but did little else to sustain the claim than to gradually extend their settlements westward. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, had in 1716 organized an expedition, the object of which was to march westward and lay claim to it. They came as far west as the Shenandoah, where with due ceremony the Governor assumed possession of all this fair country in the name of King George I.

In 1748 the Ohio Company was organized under a royal charter. Its chief officers were Robert Dinwiddie, the Governor, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, and John Hanbury, a London merchant. This Company was granted 500,000 acres of land west of the Allegheny mountains, to be located chiefly south of the Ohio river and between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. They had the privilege, however, of surveying a portion of these lands north of the Ohio river. Two hundred thousand acres were to be selected at once. By the terms of their charter the land was to be free from tax for ten years, but in return they were to settle one hundred families on it within seven years, and to build and maintain a fort for the protection of the settlers. The chief object of the Company was to divert the fur trade with the Indians from the French in the north and from Pennsylvania. This trade the Company thought they could carry on with great advantage over the northern traders by the waters of the Potomac, whose head waters were near those of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. A further object was to assert their right to this section and thus hold it for Virginia, for their claim had been heretofore merely a constructive one. If the reader will remember that this entire section was covered by a dense forest, inhabited only by Indians and wild animals, he will better understand the struggle between the French and the English for this prolific field, inviting alike to the dealer in furs and skins, and to the pioneer who sought to conquer the unbroken wilderness and carve for himself a home among its hills.

Great Britain and France had been at war. Though the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, signed October 1, 1748, closed the war, it failed to establish the boundaries between the colonies of these two countries in America. The claim of neither of these two contesting colonies to the land around the head waters of the Ohio was perfect but each had a show of title which, by even a nomi-

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nal possession in the absence of opposition from the rightful claimant, might have ripened into a perfect title. The attempts of each colony for four or five years after the formation of the Ohio Company to substantiate its claims to this territory, though small in themselves, had a great bearing on the country in the end, and must not be passed over slightingly by the careful student of Pittsburg history.

The explorer sent out by the French Canadians whose travels are most deeply fraught with interest to the student of Pittsburg history, was M. Celoron. In 1749 he was sent south to assert the claims of New France to the entire Ohio Valley. He came down the Allegheny river, which was then called the Upper Ohio, though sometimes it was called La Belle Riviere, or Beautiful River. He was a captain of the troops of New France, and was a Chevalier of St. Louis. The second in his command was a Captain M. de Contrecoeur. There were also with him Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit priest, eight subaltern officers, six cadets, twenty French soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians and thirty Indians. They started from La Chine near Montreal, on June 15th, and were borne on their journey by twenty-three canoes. They came up the water of the St. Lawrence river and Lake Ontario, and reached Niagara on July 6th. From there they journeyed by land, carrying their canoes, baggage and supplies through the forests to Lake Erie. They had an easy passage on Lake Erie to a point opposite Lake Chautauqua, where they again carried their outfit over the land some eight miles to the northern shores of the since famous lake. Thence by Conewango creek, they finally reached the Allegheny river on July 29th. On a tree standing on its banks Celoron nailed a plate bearing the arms of the King of France, and buried in the ground at the foot of a tree a leaden plate the inscription of which set forth that he had on the part of the King of France taken possession of the Ohio river, "and all of those which flow into it, and all of the tributaries on both sides as far as the source of said rivers as the preceding Kings of France have possessed or should possess them." On August 3rd, at a point eight miles below the mouth of French Creek they "passed a naked mountain, and near an immense stone upon which certain figures are rudely carved" he nailed another plate to a tree and buried a leaden plate similar to the first one. The immense stone now called the "Indian God," is yet lying on the left bank of the Allegheny river. So far as his journal indicates, these were the only plates used in the valley, and neither of them have ever been found.

Celoron at all times tried in every way to make friends with the Indians, and to enlist them in the cause of the French as against the English. He came upon several parties of Indian traders, one in particular consisting of six men and fifty horses carrying one hundred and fifty packages of furs. These he met at Chartiers Town, built by the Shawanese Indians, and near where the town of Tarentum now stands. By these traders he sent a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania which is still on file among the archives of the state. He also ordered the men to withdraw at once from the territory of the French King. In the letter he manifested his surprise to find English merchants in the terri-

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tory to which England had never even a pretended title. He says he treated them mildly, though he had a right to regard them as "intruders and mere vagrants." He found another party of six traders at an Indian town ruled by an old Iroquois woman who "looks upon herself as Queen." This is undoubtedly the first definite reference to the site now covered by Pittsburg. The Indian village was called Shannopinstown, and was on the bank of the Allegheny river, now in the Twelfth ward of Pittsburg, and near the foot of Thirty-second street. The old woman and pretended Queen was a widow when Celoron found her here, and was the famous Queen Aliquippa. Celoron refers to a "written rock." This he found some miles below the Indian village, and was named by him because of certain writings on the face of the rock by the side of the river. This is what is now known as McKee's Rocks. The writings, upon examination, were found to be "nothing more than some English names written with charcoal." He journeyed farther to Logstown, another Indian town on the Ohio, built where Sewickley now stands. A year before this Conrad Weiser, an Indian agent, of great tact and shrewdness, from eastern Pennsylvania, had visited this section and had distributed many presents among the Indians; so Celoron found the Indians at Logstown hostile to him and the French, but very friendly to the English, doubtless as a result of Weiser's visit. But Celoron's fleet was too formidable for them to oppose, and they made a show of friendship by hoisting three French flags and one English flag; they also fired a salute when his fleet approached. His journal says he had "no confidence in their good intentions," and ordered them to take down the English flag and stop all display, which was immediately done. On August 12th Celoron journeyed on down the Ohio, passing from the region in which we are particularly interested. He kept a careful journal of his expedition from which we have quoted the above. We are indebted to Rev. Father A. A. Lambing, LL.D., for his translation of the journal.

The next explorer in whom the student of early Pittsburg history is interested was the renowned Christopher Gist, who was the first English speaking explorer to traverse this section. He was sent to explore and report on this region by the Ohio Company. He was instructed to equip himself and to take as many men as were necessary "to search out and discover the lands upon the River Ohio, and other adjoining branches of the Mississippi, down as low as the great falls thereof." He was a surveyor, and was instructed to learn and report the passes through the mountains, to observe the nature of the soil, its character and possible products, the rivers and the Indian tribes which inhabited the region over which he traveled. This in order "that the Company may the better judge where it will be most convenient for them to take their land," for it will be remembered in this connection that part of their land was to be located north of the Ohio. Christopher Gist was an Englishman by birth, and was living on the banks of the Yadkin, in North Carolina. He set out on this expedition on October 31, 1750, and on November 14th reached Loyalhanna, which in his journal he styles "an old Indian town on a creek of the

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Ohio called Kiscominetas." This town was built where Ligonier now stands, and the location is yet one of the most historic spots in Western Pennsylvania. The chief of the Indians at Loyalhanna could speak English, and directed Gist to Shannopinstown. This town he reached on November 19th, and remained there until November 23rd. His journal says there were about twenty families at Shannopinstown. He says nothing about the place near the junction of the rivers in his journal. From Shannopinstown he crossed the river, and then went down to Logstown, going by an Indian path which was afterwards followed closely by East and West Ohio streets to Beaver avenue, in Allegheny, and thence down along the river bank. In his journal he notes that at Logstown he "found scarcely anybody but a parcel of Reprobate Indian traders." The Indians were perhaps then out on their regular fall hunting expedition. He remained over Sunday in Logstown, and then resumed his journey Monday morning, noting in his journal that "he preferred the woods to such company."

The governorship of Canada for some years had been in weak hands, but in March, 1752, Marquis Duquesne was appointed to that position and he at once began a most vigorous administration. His first act seemed to be to make the French Canadian ownership of the Ohio valley something more than a constructive ownership. He therefore attempted to perfect a line of military posts from the French strongholds on the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi river. In furtherance of this scheme they had erected Presq' Isle, on Lake Erie, near the present site of Erie; Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, in Crawford county; they had projected Fort Venango where Franklin is built, and another on French creek, in Venango county. Had the English suffered them to execute these plans, French domination in the Ohio Valley would have been indeed a reality, and the English would have been hemmed in between the Ohio river and the Atlantic ocean. To complete the construction of this line of forts, Admiral Duquesne early in 1753, sent out a force of about a thousand men under the command of M. Marin. They came by a less difficult route than that which had been taken by Celoron. They landed in the bay at Erie—Presq' Isle, they named it because of the long encircling arm of land which extends out into the lake and gathers in the waters of the harbor. From the fortress at Presq' Isle, which they completed, they opened a road south fifteen miles to a tributary of French creek, where the town of Waterford now stands. There they built a large fort called Fort Le Boeuf. They were interrupted in the erection of a fort at Venango, at the mouth of French creek, by the Indians, and it was not finished until later. Joncaire, a French soldier of great courage, was permitted by the Indians to remain at Venango with a small company of soldiers. In October the French army, after leaving a small force at each of the forts they had established, being well worn with the arduous duties of the summer campaign, returned to Montreal.

The reader cannot but have noticed that the entire territory around the head waters of the Ohio was overrun with fur traders. They were usually unscrupulous men, with but little more character than the average Indian. Many

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of them hailed from Virginia, and they were not slow to carry the news of these hostile military movements on the part of the French to their people at home. The somewhat lethargic spirit of the Virginians was at once aroused by these reports. Governor Dinwiddie was a shrewd Scotchman, well advanced in years, and had fully his share of the proverbial obstinacy of his race. Himself a member of the Ohio Company he was unusually watchful of the rights of those whom he apparently represented. He accordingly prepared a message to the French commandant, reiterating the rights of the English to this disputed territory and in genteel but positive terms asked the French to withdraw from the Ohio Valley. This message he sent by Major George Washington, of the Virginia militia, who had barely attained his majority. Washington's biographers have given the Governor great credit for the wisdom of this selection, and have probably magnified the whole affair because of the distinguished services which the messenger afterwards rendered to his country, and to the world. But for his eminent career in after life we would probably hear much less of this journey which proved to be a very important one. Washington was a young man of good judgment, great physical strength and endurance, and being a surveyor was accustomed to the outdoor life and to finding his way through the trackless forest. These qualities fitted him for the position to which Dinwiddie appointed him. But, in addition to this, two of his half brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, were members of the Ohio Company, and it was doubtless this which in a great degree induced the Governor to select him.

Washington set out at once upon his journey, taking with him Jacob Vanbraam, a French interpreter; John Davison, an Indian interpreter, and four hired men as servants, named respectively:—Barnaby Currin, John McQuire, Henry Stewart and William Jenkins. Part of the way he had Indian guides and one of these is called a hunter who afterwards became known in the Indian warfare as the famous Guyasuta, of whom the reader will hear much more as we progress. Christopher Gist was then living at Wills creek, now Cumberland, in the employ of the Ohio Company. In his journal dated Wednesday, November 14, 1753, is this entry: "Came this day to my house at Wills Creek, Major George Washington with a letter from the Virginia Council requesting me to accompany him to the Commandant of the French Forts on the Ohio."

In 1748 and 1749 the Ohio Company desired to build a road from Cumberland to the Ohio Valley and selected Colonel Cresap to superintend the building of it. He employed an Indian named Nemacolin, a prominent hunter of the Delaware tribe, to point out the way. This the Indian did by following a path which the Indian had used time out of memory in going to and from the head waters of the Ohio; thereafter it was known as Nemacolin's Path, and it was by this road or path that Washington journeyed westward.

On November 22nd they reached the house of John Frazer, a gunsmith, who lived at the mouth of Turtle creek. Frazer received Washington and his company very kindly, kept them over night, and the next day lent them a canoe to carry their baggage to the junction of the two rivers. Two of the servants

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took the canoe down the river, while Washington and the rest of his party pushed forward on their horses. They first rode over to Shannopinstown, and then down the banks of the Allegheny to the Junction; they reached the place

WASHINGTON AT AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE

before the canoe had reached it, and Washington began an examination of the point and was favorably impressed by it as the proper place for the erection of the fort, as provided for in the charter of the Company. A former recommendation had been that the intended fort should be built and a town laid out at McKee's Rocks. Washington, no doubt, considered this and other localities, for he urged the point at the junction as "less expensive than the other place." "A fort at the fork," his report reads, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs by our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage as it is of a deep,

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still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place." The Company heeded his advice as to its location. It will be noticed that Washingon called it "fork," as it is here written. His was the first use of the term so aptly applied to this section. The word is now almost invariably used in the plural form. There is but one fork, with two prongs, at this place; Washington, therefore, used the term correctly when he used the singular form of the noun.

On the evening of the 23rd his Company crossed the Allegheny river and encamped for the night near the foot of what is now known as Monument Hill. On the 24th they went down the river to Logstown. We shall not follow him through all his delays because of inclement weather, intemperate guides, etc., for the instances of his journey have been written of many times, and need not be repeated here except such as bear directly on Pittsburg. On December 5th he reached Venango, where he was kindly received but informed that the Commandant St. Pierre, was at Fort Le Boeuf, about forty miles further north. They left Venango on December 7th, but so bad were the roads that they did not reach Fort Le Boeuf until December 11th, when he presented the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to the Commandant. Francis Parkman, the eminent historian, says that "St. Pierre and the officer next in rank, who knew a little English, took it to another room to study at their ease; and in it all unconsciously they read a name designed to one day become one of the noblest in the annals of mankind, for it introduced Major George Washington, Adjutant General of the Virginia Militia." St. Pierre treated the Major with great urbanity, but delayed his return by various causes until December 14th before he gave him an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter or message. Their horses were then sent by land while Washington and the remainder of the party left Le Boeuf on December 16th in canoes, but so difficult was the navigation that they did not reach Venango until December 22nd. On the way from Venango to the Ohio, Washington and Gist, on December 26th, entrusted their jaded horses to Vanbraam and started on foot by the shortest route through the woods to Shannopinstown. For this journey they engaged an Indian as guide, but soon had reason to suspect him of treachery. Finally, at the edge of a cleared strip of ground, the Indian, who was ahead, leveled his gun and fired at them; neither of them was hit, and they made haste to capture and disarm the Indian. He had taken refuge behind a large tree and was reloading his gun. Accustomed to dealing with the Indians by summary methods, Gist wanted to kill the guide at once, but Washington interposed, and after some delay sent him on his way home with the impression that they, being, weary, would rest until morning and then follow his footsteps. As soon as they were sure that the Indian had actually left the community, they resumed their journey and traveled all night and the day following until nightfall, when they reached the Allegheny river opposite Shannopinstown. Unfortunately, though it was bitter cold weather, the river was only partly frozen over. They encamped on its banks until morning, when they began to construct a raft. To do this they had but one hatchet,

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and though they worked all day, the sun went down before they had it completed. When the raft was finished it was launched, but before it was halfway over it was jammed by floating cakes of ice, and Washington was thrown into the stream where the water was at least ten feet deep. He saved himself by clinging to one of the raft logs, and finally, unable to land on either shore, both he and Gist drifted to an island, where they passed the night. Gist's hands and feet were frozen, though nothing is said about how Washington recovered or survived the bitter cold night in wet clothing.

The next day, by means of the drift ice, which was wedged together and partly frozen during the night, they succeeded in gaining the eastern shore, and before night were comfortably lodged in John Frazer's house at the mouth of Turtle creek. The island upon which Washington and Gist passed the bitter cold night was afterwards known as Wainwright's Island, and was about three miles above the Fork and near Herr's Island. It was little more than a sand bar and has long since been washed away. They were detained at Frazer's three or four days in endeavoring to procure horses. While there Washington visited the Indian Queen Aliquippa, as she was called by the English, for he at all times endeavored to enlist the friendship of the redskins. She lived at the mouth of the Youghiogheny river, where the city of McKeesport now stands. Leaving Frazer's on January 1st, he reached home on January 16th, and delivered his message from the French commandant to Governor Dinwiddie, and furthermore made a full report of his entire trip. St. Pierre's reply to Dinwiddie's letter or message was a courteous but extremely punctilious and positive declination to retire from the Ohio Valley. He said among other things, that it belonged to the General in Canada, not to him, to demonstrate the French claim on the lands, and that he was there by the general's orders and must obey by remaining, etc. Dinwiddie's letter, and the reply and Washington's account of the trip, were published in a pamphlet and sent broadcast throughout the country. It was also republished in England and in the London newspapers. It opened the eyes of the English, both in England and America, to the true situation on the Ohio. Dinwiddie appealed to the Governors of the American Colonies for aid in expelling the French from the Ohio Valley. Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania laid the matter before the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1754 in a very able paper, asking them to furnish men and supplies to banish the French from their territory. In the paper he says: "You will undoubtedly agree with me that so alarming an occasion has not occurred since the settling of the provinces, nor any one thing happened that so much demands your serious attention." But the legislature did nothing; indeed, no colony outside of Virginia, save North Carolina, lent any material aid. They were yet entirely isolated from and independent of each other; too much so indeed to unite their strength in a common cause. The House of Burgesses in Virginia voted 10,000 pounds to be expended in the cause. Governor Dinwiddie also called out two hundred militia, and placed them under the command of Washington and Trent, the latter of whom, with about forty men, repaired to the Fork of the Ohio in February.

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With these men he at once began to build a fort. The day of his arrival at the Fork was February 17, 1754, and it is a memorable one in Pittsburg's history, for it was the beginning of a permanent occupation of the place. Trent was captain, and John Frazer was lieutenant of the forces. The entire militia in Virginia was increased to three hundred men, with Joshua Fry as colonel, and Washington as lieutenant colonel, or second in command. Trent and Frazer's men had worked but a few days at the fort when Trent went to Wills creek (Cumberland) to communicate with the advancing militia. Frazer was also absent much of his time at his home at Turtle creek.

Early in April, Captain Contrecoeur had embarked at Venango with about one thousand men for the Fork of the Ohio. He had several field pieces, about sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, and, sailing down the Allegheny river, suddenly made his appearance before the astonished workmen on the fort. The fort was not half completed; indeed, it was scarcely begun. Both officers were absent. Contrecoeur drew up his canoes, planted his artillery, and summoned the forces on the fort to surrender. The only officer to answer was an ensign named Ward. He plead his want of authority, hoping thus to gain time, but the French commandant would grant him but one hour, after which, he said, he would take the fort by force. The ensign obtained permission to depart with his men and take with them their tools. Thus the fort was surrendered. The French commander, with the urbanity for which his race is noted, invited the ensign to dine with him, and wished him, as well as his men a pleasant journey. Laden with their working tools they set out for the East. Both Captain Trent and Lieutenant Frazer were severely censured for being absent from the fort when the French arrived. "Trent's behaviour," said Washington in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, "has been very tardy, and has convinced the world of what they before supposed his great timidity. Lieutenant Frazer, though not altogether blameless, is much more excusable, for he would not accept the commission until he had a promise from the captain that he should not reside at the fort, nor visit it above once a week or as he saw necessity." Trent was undoubtedly inefficient, but Frazer was a man of courage, ability and integrity. Yet, after all, it can scarcely be imagined that their presence would have changed the course of events in any material degree.

As soon as Ward and his workmen had gone, the French began to build a larger and more formidable structure, which they named Fort Duquesne, in honor of the governor-general of Canada. But the French forces at the Fork of the Ohio were cognizant through spies of the approach of the Virginia militia under Colonels Fry and Washington, and almost immediately sent out an army under the command of Jumonville to drive them back or capture them. It was Washington's intention to march with his little army to the Fork, but when he learned of the Trent-Frazer fiasco, he directed his army toward the mouth of the Redstone, where Brownsville is now built, and where the Ohio Company had already built a store house. Before reaching that place he learned that a small company of French were watching his movements, and were hiding in a

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ravine nearby. On May 28th, taking about forty men, he set out to meet them. The French sprang to their arms and the fight began at once on the approach of Washington and his men. Jumonville and nine of his soldiers were killed, twenty-two were taken prisoners, and one escaped who ran back and finally reached Fort Duquesne. Washington now expected a stronger force from Fort Duquesne, and fell back to a small open valley called Great Meadows, four miles west of Laurel Hill, there to fortify himself and await the arrival of Colonel Fry from Wills creek. But three days after the battle in which Jumonville was killed, namely May 31st, Colonel Fry died suddenly at Wills creek. This left Washington in chief command. He wrote that he regarded Great Meadows as a "Charming field for an encounter," and with the assistance of Captain Robert Stobo a fort was built there, which, from the circumstances compelling them to build it, they called Fort Necessity. Washington's forces now amounted to about four hundred and at noon on July 3rd, the enemy appeared under command of Coulon de Villers, a relative of Captain Jumonville. They at once opened fire from the forest near the fort. Washington's army had neither ammunition nor provisions. The French were not only concealed, but were on higher ground and could fire into the fort. The wonder is that Washington did not select the higher ground himself, since he had entire choice of position. The rain came down in torrents, and those within the forts were standing in mud and water up to their knees, and yet the rain increased so that, as Francis Parkman says "the combatants could do but little but gaze at each other through a gray veil of mist and rain." About dark the French proposed an armistice or parley, and Washington sent Captain Jacob Van Braam to confer with them. He returned with the terms of a proposed capitulation by which Washington's army was to retire with colors flying and take with them all their provisions save their artillery. The twenty-two prisoners whom Washington had taken on May 27th, when Jumonville was killed, had been sent under guard to Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, and the terms of the capitulation required that two of the Fort Necessity soldiers should be given as hostages for the safe return of the prisoners. It is likely that the French selected the hostages, for otherwise Washington would not have given his most prominent soldiers. They were Captain Van Braam and Captain Robert Stobo. The enemy outnumbered the Virginians two to one, yet the English losses were thirty killed and seventy wounded, while the French lost seventy-two killed and wounded. On July 4th the English army marched from the fort, greatly weakened by exposure, hunger, and by the loss of their horses which the Indians had killed. Van Braam and Stobo were confined as prisoners within the newly made walls of Fort Duquesne. The defeat was disastrous but not disgraceful to the English. The only English flag west of the Alleghenies had been torn down. The French returned to Fort Duquesne to glory over their victory, while Washington began his weary return to Wills creek. His horses and cattle were gone to enrich his enemy; most of his baggage had to be distroyed or left behind, while the sick and wounded of the army had to be transported

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across the Alleghenies on the backs of the weak and poorly fed survivors. This was probably Washington's first memorable Fourth of July.

Some special reference to these prisoners is necessary at this place. Vanbraam was a German, but had acquired superficial knowledge of the English and French languages, and frequently served Washington in the capacity of an interpreter, notably on this occasion in translating the articles of capitulation. These were written so that, by signing them, Washington practically admitted that he had murdered Jumonville, "l' assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville," but Vanbraam had translated it in the rain by the flickering light of a tallow candle, and read it as the "death" of Jumonville, in place of the "murder." There were other minor mistranslations, all of which were used against Washington, as witness, he had been made to stipulate that for a year his forces would not work west of the mountains, whereas, it was translated and read to him as stipulating that his forces should not work "on any lands of the King of France," etc. Van Braam was strongly accused of treachery to Washington, but his treatment while a prisoner among the French, which was very harsh, almost disproves this charge. His mistake was likely due to ignorance, or to the want of knowledge of the value of words in the French and English language. He was in prison about six years in Canada.

Robert Stobo must ever be remembered with kindness by the Pittsburg people. He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1727. His father was a merchant, and a few years after his death in 1740 the son came to Virginia, having previously been well educated. When the French troubles came, he enlisted in the army moving against the forces on the Ohio, and brought considerable wealth to the cause. He was a captain in Colonel Fry's regiment, and traveled with several servants and a covered wagon stocked with wine and other luxuries. He also engaged sportsmen to procure wild game for his table, yet when the trouble came he displayed the fortitude of a true soldier. His first adventure after having been imprisoned in Fort Duquesne, was to send two letters by an Indian named Mono to Governor Dinwiddie. In these letters he gave correct descriptions and plans of Fort Duquesne. "There are two hundred men," he wrote, "and two hundred expected. The rest have gone off in detachments to the amount of one thousand besides the Indians. None lodge in the fort but Contrecoeur, and the guard consisting of forty men and five officers; the rest lodge in bark cabins around the fort. The Indians have access day and night and come and go when they please. If one hundred trusty Shawanees, Mingoes and Delawares were picked out, they might surprise the fort, lodge themselves under the palisades by day, and at night secure the ground with their tomahawks, shut the sally-gate and the fort is ours." As to the danger which the expedition which he thus advises would necessarily entail on himself and the other hostage, Van Braam, he had the courage to write these words: "Consider the good of the expedition without regard to us. When we engaged to serve the country, it was expected that we were to do it with our lives. For my part, I would died a hundred deaths to have the pleasure of possessing this

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fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them. Hasten to strike." Unfortunately this first English letter written from and describing Fort Duquesne was delivered by Governor Dinwiddie to General Braddock at Cumberland when on his way to the French stronghold. The letter was with his baggage, which was taken at the battle on the Monongahela, and so found its way back to the fort and was read by the French officers. Stobo was at once sent to close confinement at Quebec, and his letter was sent to France. The decree was that he should be tried for his life, the charge being for "violating the known laws of nations, for breach of faith and treasonable practices against the government that sheltered him." This trial took place in Quebec in November, 1756, and the gallant captain was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Before his trial he broke jail but a reward of six thousand livres was offered for his arrest and he was soon recaptured. In April following he again broke jail, and concealed himself in a barn near by, subsisting on eggs. When he supposed the furor and anxiety for his capture had passed, he ventured out, but was captured below the falls of Montmorenci. Yet on April 30, 1758, he broke jail a third time, and in a large canoe with other prisoners paddled rapidly down the St. Lawrence. For ten nights they continued their course, but in daytime carried their canoe into the woods and quietly secreted themselves. When they reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence they became bold, and captured a French shallop, with five men; later they captured a sloop, and then a schooner and in thirty-eight days from Quebec reached Louisburg with considerable booty. He is the hero in the *Seats of the Mighty,* by Gilbert Parker; and in the first editions brought out in England the name Stobo was used, but this has been changed in all later editions.

Stobo afterwards fought with General James Wolfe at Quebec, and with General Jeffrey Amherst on Lake Champlain. In 1759 he returned to Virginia, where in his absence he had been made a major, and where he received the thanks of the House of Burgesses, a present of a thousand pounds, and a leave of absence for twelve months. In 1760 he went to England, and returned with a letter to General Amherst from William Pitt, expressing the approval of King George of the major's conduct. Little else is known of him.

Among the prisoners taken at the battle when Jumonville was killed, were La Force and Drouillion. Both were prominent in the French army, and La Force retarded Washington's progress at Fort Le Boeuf, though in justice to him it should be said that he acted only on the orders of his superior officers. But Governor Dinwiddie now refused to surrender the prisoners, for whose safe return the hostages Van Braam and Stobo were given, giving as a reason that since the capitulations the French had captured some British prisoners, and had sent them to Canadian prisons. In this he acted in bad faith, but was pertinacious in the stand taken. That his action might have a show of right he offered to return Drouillion and two cadets in return for the hostages Van Braam and Stobo, but his offer was rightfully treated with contempt by the

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French. La Force was confined in prison for two years, when he broke jail, and for some time wandered around the country, ignorant of its roads, and afraid to make inquiries lest his French tongue should betray him. At length he was captured by an over zealous Virginian and was sent again to prison at Williamsburg, where he was bound with irons and chained to the floor of a dungeon. All of this was perhaps magnified when it reached the French, who sought to retaliate by the rigorous treatment meted out to Stobo and Van Braam.

These three military episodes, namely, the forced surrender at the Fork of the Ohio, the battle in which Jumonville was killed, and the battle at Fort Necessity, coming so closely together may be called the first steps, the beginning of the French and Indian war, which for nine years desolated our western border, and which in the end resulted so favorably to the English; this war which was to shape the destinies of our struggling American colonies so that in a few years they surpassed in dominion and power the empire of Louis, and compelled the representative of George III to surrender his sword to Washington at Yorktown.

Fort Duquesne was not even for its day a strong fortification, and we doubt whether it could have long withstood an attack of the army of Virginia. But the French very greatly added to its early strength by forming an alliance with the Indians. This they accomplished in part by giving them presents. Bright colored blankets and beads so common in France were quite potent with the Indians, much more so than the plainer objects of greater utility with which the English were supplied. While it is true that both the English and French tried to appease the wrath of the red man, yet the latter affiliated much more readily with the French that with the English. The chief reason for this was that the English were largely farmers, who, of necessity cut away the forests and ruined the hunting grounds of the Indians, while the French in America dealt largely in furs, paying much less attention to house building and agriculture than the English. A French and Indian alliance was, therefore, most suitable to both races, while an alliance between the English and the Indians would have been extremely detrimental to the nomadic habits of the latter. Parkman observes that "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

All these difficulties on the frontier served to make a more bitter enmity than ever between the English and French, and as the reports of them reached Great Britain, the English people and ministry both became greatly aroused. In 1754 three expeditions were fitted out by the English for service in the colonies. One was under General Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and its aim was against Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac. Another was commanded by General, (afterwards Sir William) Johnston and sailed against Crown Point. The third, which more deeply concerns our story, was under the command of General Edward Braddock, and the objective point was the reduction of Fort Duquesne.

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There are perhaps few instances in American history that are fraught with as much interest to the Pittsburg people, if not indeed to all American readers, as the Braddock campaign. Much has been written about it, yet, like Bunker Hill, it always remains an interesting tale. Its bearing on humanity has given it a lasting and a national, if not indeed a world wide interest. It was in this campaign that Washington for the first time came in contact with trained English soldiers, and it was the first campaign of drilled troops and modern artillery in the new world. Braddock had by bravery and by ability won very high honors in the military services of England. He was sixty years old, and had spent his life mostly in the English army. His father, whose name he bore, had entered the renowned Coldstream Guards as a lieutenant as early as October, 1684. He rose to the rank of major-general, and remained in the service until 1715. His son Edward, in whom we are interested, entered the same regiment in October, 1710, and retired from it with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in February, 1753. Thus the roster of the Coldstream Guards bore the name of Edward Braddock, father and son, for seventy years. On the son's retirement from the Guards, he was appointed colonel of the Fourteenth Foot. In March, 1754, he was made a major-general and on September 4th of the same year was made a general, and commander of the forces in the expedition to North America that we are considering. He sailed from Cork, Ireland, January 14, 1755, with two regiments of royal troops, each numbering about five hundred men. These regiments were the Forty-fourth, under Colonel Thomas Dunbar, and the Forty-eighth under Sir Peter Halket. They arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, February 20, 1755. Two months later, on April 20th, the army left Alexandria for Fort Duquesne, marching by the way of Fredericksburg, Winchester and Fort Cumberland. In the light of modern events it may well be said that the entire campaign was badly planned. The army had no adequate base of supplies, and for the most of its proposed journey, the country, being uninhabited, could neither support an army nor furnish its transportation. The army should have landed in Philadelphia and gone through the rich district of Pennsylvania where supplies and horses were plentiful. But the Duke of Newcastle, who, as premier of England sent out the army, had innocently consulted with the London merchant, John Hanbury, who,

GENERAL EDWARD BRADDOCK

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as a member of the Ohio Company, selfishly advised that the Virginia route be taken for he did not want the fur trades diverted from the Potomac route. Braddock had been promised twenty-five hundred horses, and wagons in abundance, and provisions had been ordered and contracted for months before, but they did not materialize. Braddock was almost in despair, and called a meeting of the Colonial governors which was responded to by Dinwiddie, Dobbs of North Carolina, Sharpe of Maryland, Delancy of New York, Morris of Pennsylvania, and Shirley of Massachusetts, but they were unable to assist him. The lack of transportation was largely supplied through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, then postmaster general of Pennsylvania. By his personal influence he induced the Pennsylvania farmers to turn out with their private teams and transport the supplies and baggage of the almost stranded army. In a short time he secured one hundred and fifty wagons and the necessary horses while more followed. Franklin pledged himself personally to repay them, a pledge he made good, but it was many years before it was audited and finally paid. Otherwise than this, Pennsylvania did very little for the expedition. She had more soldiers with General Shirley in the north than in Braddock's army.

Braddock appointed Washington as aide-de-camp, and this was the best appointment he could give him, for the general bore an order from King George II, dated at St. James, November 12, 1754 which forbade him to suffer any American field officer to command even a battalion of the Colonial troops. In his appointment of Washington he exercised unusual wisdom, for, Washington in addition to his military experiences, had been over the proposed line of march several times, and was thoroughly familiar with the topography of the country. Besides the English troops, he had with him over twelve hundred provincial troops who came mostly from New York and Virginia. He had also about one hundred and fifty backwoodsmen and Indians from Pennsylvania. The backwoodsmen were dressed like Indians, and had learned to fight by the Indian methods of warfare. The general had but little faith in these rough-coated and undrilled soldiers. By the time he had reached Western Pennsylvania they had nearly all left his army, and he was undoubtedly glad of it. This was his first great misfortune. They could have served him nobly as scouts and their acuteness as woodsmen and their knowledge of the enemy might have saved his army from the ambuscades which eventually overtook it.

They arrived at Cumberland on May 10th. There he reviewed the army, and expressed great pride and confidence in the scarlet coats, bright buttons, polished muskets, and most of all in the Red Cross of St. George, and in the sound of the bugle which echoed through the forest. Braddock was entirely unable to divest himself of the habit of luxury acquired in the lifetime of warfare on the beaten battle fields of Europe. He journeyed part of the way with Governor Dinwiddie in the latter's chariot, with his bodyguard of light horse galloping on each side of him. Not infrequently did his staff, arrayed in their most gorgeous uniforms and with drums beating the Grenadier's March, escort him as he journeyed through the forest. When not on their march he

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held a levee in his tent every morning from 10 to 11 o'clock. He was moreover a Martinet in discipline. He forbade theft and drunkenness, and punished the offenders perhaps with undue severity. He spurned the backwoods tactics of the Virginia Rangers, and with the confidence born of conceit and ignorance of the situation, said to Benjamin Franklin, "These savages may indeed be formidable to an enemy of raw American militia, but upon the King's regulars and disciplined soldiers, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." The great philosopher smiled and wished him well. But this absolute confidence of victory did not exist alone in Braddock's mind, but pervaded all the colonies. Franklin says that money was raised by public subscription in Philadelphia to celebrate his victory by an immense bon-fire, so confident were they of Braddock's success.

The reader must not forget that it was indeed a very difficult march. The distance from Alexandria was about two hundred and eighty miles, and much of this way a road had to be cut through a dense forest and across the Allegheny mountains. The horses were weakening each day, for there being no grass they were compelled to subsist on leaves. Sir John Sinclair was quartermaster-general and though he "stormed like a lion rampant," at the want of provisions, it did no good. Generally following the line of Nemacolin's Path, as previously mentioned, Braddock moved very slowly westward. His prey, he thought, could not escape him. "Duquesne," he said, "can hardly detain me above three or four days, and I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." The train with its wagons and supplies was fully four miles long. The slowness of the march could not be understood in England. The Duke of Brunswick had planned the campaign, and was impatient at its delay. Horace Walpole, who has so thoroughly preserved the gossip of his day, with characteristic wit wrote: "The Duke of Brunswick is much dissatisfied at the slowness of General Braddock, who does not march as if he was at all impatient to be scalped." Washington complained in a letter that the army stopped to level every mole hill and bridge every small stream so that in four days they had only advanced twelve miles.

When the army reached Little Meadows, at the foot of the western slope of the Allegheny mountains, Braddock held a council of war. In this he advised with Washington, whom he called Young Buckskins, because of his dress, and not in derision. Washington's advice was followed, and the result was that the army was divided. Washington had suggested this arrangement at Cumberland, but its importance was not then apparent to the general. The heavy wagons and main supplies were left behind. A little more than half the entire force, the ablest of the soldiers and the flower of the English army, with pack horses carrying only necessary supplies, with a few pieces of artillery, was to push on toward the fort. More than twelve hundred well trained soldiers under Braddock himself thus marched on rapidly, while the remaining stores, ammunition, heavy wagons, etc., were left with Colonel Dunbar to follow by slower marches. On June 30th Braddock's advanced army

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crossed the Youghiogheny river about one mile below the present town of Connellsville, the place being afterwards known as Stewart's Crossing. After this the crooked road he cut to the mouth of the Youghiogheny may be accounted for in part on the theory that they had lost their bearings. Washington had been twice over the way and very largely guided the expedition, but it must be remembered that Washington was taken sick with a fever at Little Meadows, and much to his chagrin was compelled to remain in Dunbar's camp. He only joined the army again on the day before the battle. The direct course, after crossing the Youghiogheny river, was down the river and down the Monongahela, remaining far enough from the river bottom to secure high ground, and thus avoid the danger of the enemy ambuscading them while they were in narrow defiles or on low ground. But they left the river at Connellsville and came across the country to Jacobs creek, in Westmoreland county, crossing that stream about one mile from Mt. Pleasant. After this they journeyed northwestward and crossed the Big Sewickley creek near Ruffsdale station, on the South West Pennsylvania railroad and then journeyed nearly north, passing within four miles of Greensburg, and passed thus toward Irwin and near Wilmerding until they reached Brush creek, a branch of Turtle creek. On July 7th, when apparently in doubt of the correctness of this route, they turned toward the south, and passing down Long Run valley they reached Crooked run, about two miles from the Monongahela river. A glance at the map will show that the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers form more nearly a straight river than the Monongahela alone, and this may have misled them, for they may have meant by leaving the river on their left, to strike the Monongahela several miles below the mouth of the Youghiogheny river. On the other hand it must be remembered that Christopher Gist was with them as chief guide, that he had gone over the country repeatedly, was with Washington on his trip to French creek and again at Fort Necessity, and was moreover at that time a resident of Western Pennsylvania, residing on Gist's plantation, not far from the line of march.

While they encamped quietly at night, their camp was closely watched by spies of the enemy, as indeed their every movement had been more or less for many days. Braddock was not cautious in his marching through this country. Robert Orme was an aide-de-camp on this expedition, a member of the Coldstream Guards, and to his carefully kept diary we are indebted for much information concerning the expedition. On July 4th he says that two Indians who were with Braddock were sent out to learn something of the French fort, and that Christopher Gist without the Indians knowing it, was sent out to keep trace of them. They returned on the 6th with the scalp of a French officer whom they had killed within a half mile of the fort, and said they saw but few men or tracks of men. They reported additional works around the fort and some boats near it, and that they had seen a boat coming down the river carrying a white flag. Gist returned shortly after they did, and his report corresponded with theirs. He had been chased from the vicinity of the fort by two

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watchful Indians. So far as is known this is the only instance in which scouts were sent out by the general though they were traveling in a strange land, that was covered with a dense growth of trees and infested with a savage and stealthy foe, whose strength lay largely in ambuscades and surprises. Nevertheless, the negative reports of these scouts may have gone far to convince Braddock that an easy victory awaited him at Fort Duquesne.

On July 9th, they went down the valley and forded the Monongahela where McKeesport now stands. The advance was led by Lieutentant-Colonel Gage. The army marched between the bordering hills and the river down the Monongahela about three miles, where the river was again forded. This crossing of the river a second time seemed necessary to avoid high hills and defiles yet visible on the right bank as one passes down the stream from McKeesport to Braddock. They were not expecting the enemy until they reached the fort, yet Braddock maintained a most rigid discipline. The splendidly equipped army, with bright uniforms shining in the morning sun, marching along the river bottom, the high wooded hills on their left and the tranquil river on their right, was, said Washington long years afterward, one of the grandest sights he ever saw. About 10 o'clock, according to Washington, though in reality it was most likely about 1 o'clock, the rear of the army crossed the second crossing. They were then less than ten miles from the long looked for fort, and buoyant feelings doubtless filled every soldier's breast. Some delay was occasioned by the leveling of the river bank so that the heavier wagons and artillery could ascend. The second crossing was a short half mile below the mouth of Turtle creek. After leaving the river the ground was nearly level, rising at an angle of about three degrees, to the hills a half-mile beyond. Abrupt ravines extended from these hills to the river. They had crossed between two ravines which came together or nearly so, far up the hills, forming something like the letter V with the apex pointing away from the river. As the ravine approached the river, their waters scattered and made the low ground extremely marshy. The banks of these ravines and the hills beyond and between them were covered with a thick growth of vines, underbrush, long grass and many large trees, some of which had fallen to the ground. The rear of the army had scarcely marched from the river before the fight began. In the forest, on both sides of the advancing army, and behind almost every rock, large tree, vine or clump of bushes and behind the vine-covered banks of these ravines was concealed the enemy, watching every movement, and ready at the appointed time to make the attack. Gage with his division was in front. Both his and another smaller division under Sir Peter Halket were between the ravines forming the letter V. The engineer, Henry Gordon, who was a short distance ahead of Gage's troops, to mark out the road, gave the alarm of "French and Indians." A small company of these was then seen approaching rapidly. They were urged on by a Frenchman whose bright colored unform betokened his rank as the commanding officer. Shots were quickly exchanged, and several of the French troops fell, but all the rest of them vanished almost instantly from sight. Seemingly from out

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the earth, suddenly came the terrible roar of musketry and the fiendish yells of Indians. No enemy could be seen yet thousands of shots were poured into the faces of the leading division. Almost instantly following, came the same leaden hail on their right front. Braddock hurried an orderly forward to hold the advancing division, and sent Colonel Burton with the vanguard to assist the front rank. In a short time two-thirds of the army were in the front, and about one-third left behind to guard the baggage, which was placed under the command of Sir Peter Halket. The fire of the enemy was returned by those in position with but little or no effect, for no enemy could be seen. Yet there was a moment's cessation of firing on the part of the enemy after the first fire from the English. Braddock's soldiers could see nothing to fire at, yet they were falling in every direction. Confusion and excitement was the result, and the entire advance guard with its support fell back. When Braddock rushed forward to cheer them on, he was met by bleeding and disordered ranks fleeing from an invisible but most deadly enemy. In less time than we can conceive, so terrible was the onslaught and so complete was the rout, that the artillery, infantry, pioneers and baggage formed a tangled mass, with the enemy almost surrounding it, yet still invisible. In the meantime the force left to guard the baggage was attacked, but this was on the more open ground closer to the river. Sir Peter Halket was killed. Many wagoners were shot down while others seeing this, cut their horses free from their wagons and retreated across the river in wildest confusion. Some of the English soldiers who could do so followed by the same means. The artillery was almost useless, for still no enemy was in view, nor were they seen by the British and Americans until the retreat began. The only open space, if it could be so called, was the road about twelve feet wide cut by the advancing army, while almost every place of concealment was occupied by the stealthy enemy. Every attempt made by Braddock to turn the tide of affairs seemed to result only in confusion. The General, who was a total stranger to fear, rushed rapidly from point to point trying to rally his men. They would fight, they said, if they could see the enemy, but it was useless to fire at trees and bushes, and they could not stand to be shot down by an invisible foe. Braddock stormed and called them cowards when they tried to secure concealed positions. He moreover persisted in forming them into platoons, as though he was drilling them on a review day in St. James Park in London. This, we need scarcely add, only aided the enemy in shooting them down. Mingled with the cries of anguish on the part of the wounded were the shouts of the officers, the rattle of musketry, and the roar of the cannon, while over and above all was heard the frenzied war whoop of the infuriated savages. These terrible Indian yells seemed to frighten the English more than the bullets of the enemy. Survivors for long years afterward were not able to drive this horrible picture from their memory. The battle lasted nearly three hours; the British much of the time were huddled together like sheep, and were even trampled under foot by dashing, runaway horses. It is not to be

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wondered at that in this time of confusion many were killed by their own friends. Captain Waggoner, of Virginia, attempted to secure a spot of rising ground where, partly concealed by a large fallen tree, he hoped to mend the condition of the army, or perhaps change its fortunes. With about eighty Virginians, who were accustomed to backwoods warfare, he reached the objective point, and for a brief space did splendid work against a body of Indians concealed from the panic stricken soldiers but in full view from his position. But very soon, in the whirl of confusion, the British mistook the smoke of Waggoner's guns for that of the enemy, and made against him one of the most effective fires of the day on their part. The brave Virginian soon fell back, leaving fifty of his eighty soldiers dead or wounded on the ground. Such heroic efforts were indeed worthy of a better fate. When at length Braddock found it impossible to oppose the enemy further, he tried to have them retreat in such a manner as would in some degree, be conducive to their safety, but even in this he succeeded but moderately. Many of them were so wild and bewildered that they were firing in the air. By this time one-half of his army were killed or wounded, with most of his best officers among the slain. The brave but rash old general had five horses shot under him, and had received his death wound. It will never be known whether he was shot by a friend or foe, but likely it was an unintended shot from one of his own soldiers. In a letter from Washington to Governor Dinwiddie (see Spark's letters of Washington, vol. II, p. 88) Washington avers that two-thirds of the killed and wounded in the battle received their death shots from the cowardly and panic stricken royalists.

The concealment of the enemy in this battle was much more thorough than the reader may suppose. Many brave Virginians said positively that during the entire engagement they had seen but one, others saw two or three and some had not seen any of the enemy. Washington had several bullet holes in his clothes, and two horses wounded and one killed under him, but was not wounded. The Indians even fired on the retreating army as they were crossing the river, and some were thus killed in the water. All of the dead and most of the wounded, with the baggage and supplies and the money chest, were left on the field. The road to Dunbar's camp was strewn with the abandoned accoutrements of the army. Indeed, the Indians only ceased firing to hastily gather in the rich harvest of scalps and divide among themselves the baggage and provisions of the vanquished. This greed for scalps alone saved them from utter extermination. "Had pursuit taken place," says Washington, "the whole army, except a few woodsmen, would have fallen victims of the relentless savages." "The conduct of the British officers," says Parkman, "was above praise. Nothing could surpass their undivided self-devotion, and, in their vain attempts to lead their men, the havoc among them was frightful." Washington had associated with the English officers in camp and on the westward march, and they had impressed him as being almost effeminate in their tastes and in their desire for personal ease and convenience, yet he noticed that

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in battle they knew no fear, but on the contrary exposed themselves to death with a courage that even increased as the horrors of the battle thickened. Washington's first duty was to convey from the field the wounded general and as many of the wounded soldiers as it was possible to save. When Braddock fell from his horse, he was caught by Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards. He had been shot through the left arm and lungs. He was placed on a tumbrill, and with great difficulty borne from the field. In his despair, it is said he begged them to permit him to die without removal. About a quarter of a mile beyond the ford of the river the last retreating soldiers overtook Braddock, while Dr. Craik was dressing his wounds and also those of his aide-de-camp. Washington was there attending them with that unfailing fidelity which characterized his entire life. Braddock was still able to give orders, and had even yet a hope of reforming the army and regaining the field, but those who were placed as sentinels soon stole away, and the deserted general and his wounded officers were compelled to resume their retreat. Washington was then sent to Colonel Dunbar's camp for assistance. Though weakened by disease and by the hard day's fight (for both the other aides being wounded early in the battle, their duties fell on him), he rode nearly forty miles that night and reached the camp early the following forenoon. He had orders to hurry back provisions, hospital stores and wagons for the wounded, and these, under the escort of two Grenadier companies came rapidly to meet the broken ranks. The news of the terrible defeat carried there by the wagoners had preceded Washington, and he found the camp scarcely in less confusion than the army on the field had been.

The fatalities in this battle were very great, on the part of the English army, and were entirely out of proportion to the number of men engaged. This was due in a great measure, to the hurried flight of the survivors, who were thus compelled to abandon many wounded soldiers and officers who might otherwise have been saved. All who were left on the field, so far as known, were either killed by the Indians or perished through want of attention and from starvation. Few of the wounded, however, were allowed to survive the day. The British army lost sixty-three out of its eighty-six officers. Every mounted officer, save Washington, was either killed or wounded. Accounts do not agree as to the exact number killed on either side. The best authority places the killed and wounded in the British army at seven hundred and fifteen privates. This number, if increased by the number of officers killed, represents more than half of the army. The French and Indians lost three officers and about thirty soldiers killed and an equal number wounded.

A few days before the battle, a young man named James Smith had been captured near Bedford by a marauding party of Indians and taken to Fort Duquesne. Like many captives he was compelled to run the gauntlet, and had been beaten almost to death. On July 9th he had so far recovered that he was able to walk around through the fort by the aid of a cane. To him we are greatly indebted for much information concerning the battle. In his most in-

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teresting narrative, the simplest and best of all narratives of captives among the Indians, in the English language, he says he climbed to the top of the wall and perceived a great excitement among the Indians outside of the gate. Barrels of powder, bullets and flints, had been opened, and every warrior was helping himself. Very soon they marched off in considerable order towards the woods, and with them also went many French Canadians.

Smith underestimated the number, and marveled that they would go out against the strong advancing forces. There were about eight hundred of them. There had been great difficulty in persuading them to go out against the English, and this caused their delay in starting and in arriving at the place of battle. The approach of the British army was well known to the officers in the fort, for they had Indian spies out and had watched them almost hourly in the latter half of their westward journey. It is now known that the main fighting on the part of the forces overthrew Braddock's army, was done by the Indians. Of these the Wyandots and Ottawas, who were commanded by Pontiac, the famous leader, outnumbered all the rest. Contrecoeur had been commander, and at the approach of the English had contemplated abandoning the fort, for he knew his strength was not sufficient to meet the advancing army. But shortly before the battle, Lionel de Beaujeu had been made commander of the fort. He was a brave officer of great ability, and as a leader of a dashing campaign must have supassed all the French Canadian officers of his day. He was born at Montreal, in 1711, was a soldier in early life, and had won the cross of a Knight of St. Louis, and prior to his going to Fort Duquesne had been in command of Fort Niagara. It was he who, in bright colors, led the Indians against the British. He was killed with almost the first fire of the English, and then it was that his followers dropped back, and there was a lull in the fighting, which was noticed and remembered even by the frightened English. At that time the enemy, with their leader shot down, contemplated a retreat, and could the proper spirit have been shown, the field might have been won by the British forces, but in a moment the opportunity had passed and the field was lost. Dumas, a cool, brave Frenchman and afterwards commandant of the fort, took Beaujeu's place and won the victory. The body of

LIONEL DE BEAUJEU

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Beaujeu was brought back, and on July 12th was interred in a cemetery at Fort Duquesne.

One can imagine the hilarity of Beaujeu's army as it returned to Fort Duquesne late in the afternoon of the battle. For a little band to go out haltingly to meet an English army reputed to be over two thousand strong, and in a few hours to return richly laden with the spoils of victory, was enough to draw from the victors and from the French in the fort the most unstinted acclamations of joy and triumph. They came back in scattered companies, bearing with them the bloody scalps of the vanquished, trains of pack horses laden with booty, droves of cattle, savages arrayed in gold laced caps and glittering epaulettes, canteens, swords, bayonets and all manner of plunder taken from the defeated army. They were discharging their firearms and making the woods ring with their fiendish yells of joy, and these acclamations were replied to by the great guns of the fort, which filled the valleys of the three rivers with the reverberating sounds of victory. No one can do otherwise than admire the boldness and dash and bravery of these returning victors, but how sad indeed, that we must introduce the following from the writings of James Smith, the only eye-witness who has told of the departure of the French and Indians under Beaujeu and of their return in the evening. He says "About sundown I beheld a small party coming with about a dozen of prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blackened. These prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny river opposite the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them beginning to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake and kept touching him with firebrands, redhot irons, etc., and he screamed in the most doleful manner, the Indians in the meantime yelling like infernal spirits. As the scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I returned to my lodging both sore and sorry." These prisoners were burned on Duquesne Way, not far from the lower end of the present Pittsburg Exposition building. It is due to the French officers at the fort to say, however, that they always disclaimed all complicity in this matter, and claimed that they were powerless to prevent the Indians from treating their prisoners as was their custom to do in their native forest. The Indians, moreover, greatly admired Beaujeu, and sought to avenge his death by their cruel treatment of these prisoners. Such was the Indians' idea of the ethics of war. Beaujeu and Braddock the leaders of the first great battle of the French and Indian war both died bravely, just as did Montcalm and Wolfe who led their respective armies in the last battle of the war at Quebec.

Almost the only officer in the entire army who did not demean himself like a soldier was Colonel Dunbar. It will be remembered that half of the army remained with him to follow Braddock by slower marches. When the remnant of the advance army returned to him, his army must then have numbered from twelve to fourteen hundred, yet he showed no desire to reform it and march again against the enemy. The least he could have done would have been to remain in the vicinity and protect the frontier from the Indians. A little fortitude

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on his part, a tithe of Braddock's bravery, and he could have stormed the fort within a short time and taken the field for the English. But instead, he and his soldiers joined in the excitement of the hour, buried and destroyed their heavy artillery, destroyed what stores and ammunition they could not transport, destroyed their wagons, and hurriedly, if not cowardly, skulked away to Philadelphia. It was a common rumor at that time that he destroyed the stores, artillery and heavy wagons so that he might have more horses to speed them on their way east. From Philadelphia he marched north, on the pretence of joining General Shirley's campaign against Niagara, but a well known writer observes that he marched "at a pace which made it certain that he could not arrive in time to be of the least use." But his cowardice did not lose him caste entirely with the English army. In 1756 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, and in 1760 was promoted to lieutenant-general. He died in 1767.

The proud spirit of General Braddock was broken by the defeat. He remained silent most of the day and weary nights, speaking only when necessary to give orders. It is said that in his last hours he could not bear the sight of a "red coat" but with his waning breath praised the "blues" and hoped to live to reward them. He bore the pains of his journey without complaint, and lived until eight o'clock on the night of the 13th of July. "Who could have thought it," he said. Yet until death overtook him, he had hopes of another battle, for his last words were, "We shall know better how to deal with them another time." He died at Great Meadows, where Washington had capitulated a year before. There is a great deal of tradition about Braddock's harsh treatment of Washington, but there is nothing authentic to substantiate it. Washington's own words almost disprove it, though Washington says they frequently had warm arguments. Braddock bequeathed to Washington his favorite charger and his servant Bishop, who remained with him many years. Washington, in describing the battle forty years afterward, has written these words concerning General Braddock:

"At an encampment near Great Meadows, the brave but unfortunate General Braddock breathed his last. He was interred with the honors of war, and it was left to me to see this performed, and to mark out the spot for the reception of his remains. To guard against the savage triumph, if the place should be discovered, they were deposited in the road, over which the army wagons passed, to hide every trace by which interment could be discovered. Thus died a man whose good and bad qualities were intimately blended. He was brave even to a fault. His attachments were warm, his enmities were strong, and there was no disguise about him." (*Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1903).

"Braddock's melancholy end, too," writes Washington Irving, "disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he in a manner expiated them by the hardest fate that can befall a brave soldier ambitious of renown; an unknown grave in a strange land; a memory clouded by misfortune; and a name forever coupled with defeat."

The entire blame of the defeat was put on Braddock, and no writer of his generation either in England or America did him justice. His defeat was due

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to an unwarranted contempt he had for the foe, and to an equally unwarranted confidence he had in himself and in the British regulars. His title to bravery and personal courage had been tested on many battle fields, and never found wanting. Though repeatedly advised to do so, he was too headstrong to adopt or to allow his soldiers to adopt the savage methods of warfare in dealing with his unknown enemy. The impartial reader cannot but attribute this ignominious defeat almost entirely to obstinancy and conceit on the part of the general. He and his English soldiers were long skilled in warfare, and the vaunted courage of the latter led the Americans to look up to them and to expect great things of them. Yet, instead of setting an example of bravery to the undrilled American troops, the English soldiers were the first to disobey orders, desert their comrades and flee from the field in cowardly disorder. The English officers, like Braddock, measured up to the highest mark of true soldiers on the battle field, nor were either they nor the American officers lacking in natural ability. Braddock's bravery has been, even on his last fatal field, admitted by friend and foe alike; indeed, it has become proverbial. Washington, whether in victory or in defeat, was never aught but great, but he was particularly strong in saving a waning army from distraction. Gage commanded the British at Boston during the siege at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Then there was Horatio Gates, who afterward arose to distinction, and was a major-general in the American army in the great war. With Braddock also was Colonel Daniel Morgan, still renowned throughout America as the hero of Cowpens. There, too, were the Lewises of Virginia, a name that will always be noted in the war annals of America. The battle occurred on ground afterwards occupied by the buildings of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, now the United States Steel Company. It extended, however, up to and across the present line of the Pennsylvania railroad.

There was one sense in which the defeat of Braddock was not a misfortune. Hitherto the world had been taught that the English army was invincible in war. Perhaps no people in all the world revered and honored the English soldiers as highly as did the American colonies. The defeat of Braddock, and by such an enemy, too, most truly demonstrated the fallacy of this opinion. Henceforth in the mind of the average American colonist, the royal English soldier was measured by his actions on the banks of the Monongahela. And when we remember that in less than twenty years after the battle, these same colonists had so changed their ideas of the superiority of the English army that they were induced to engage in the war of the Revolution, we cannot doubt that in one sense, at least, the defeat of Braddock was a benefit to the American people.

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CHAPTER II.

The Forbes Campaign.

The history of the Forbes campaign, which we are now about to consider, is a matter that is fraught with great importance to those who would know the early story of Pittsburg. For the reasons that its privations were not of unusual severity for that day, and that, through the sagacious management of its main projector it did not terminate in a bloody conflict, the expedition has too often been regarded as of minor importance. When measured by the true standard of its effect upon the human family, it was by far the most important of all the campaigns in Western Pennsylvania. To thoroughly understand its difficulties and to appreciate its far-reaching effects on the civilization of the West, the reader should glance casually at the conditions of the country immediately preceding it, and at the efforts then being put forth by the early settler to surmount the obstacles in his way.

The flight of Dunbar was a great misfortune to the settlers in Western Pennsylvania. The Indians were spurred on by the temporary victory, and became at once more hostile than ever, and determined that the English should never gain a foothold in this section. So far as was possible, Western Pennsylvania settlers were at peace with the Indians, for they had adopted William Penn's pacific principles in dealing with them. But after Dunbar retreated, the entire frontier, being unprotected, was subject to the ravages of this brutal race. Many settlers were driven to their eastern homes, compelled to leave their hard earned harvests ungathered. Of those who remained, many saw their log cabins in ashes and their families murdered or taken to Canada as prisoners. It was expected that the opening up of Braddock's road to the west would be followed up soon by thrifty pioneers who would settle and make homes in the rich valleys surrounding the head waters of the Ohio, but the very reverse was the result, and many who had already cast their lot on the lonely banks of the three rivers were driven back to the mountains, or carried away in captivity or murdered in cold blood.

The most western English forts then were immediately west of the Susquehanna, and were: Fort Luther, at Carlisle; Fort Franklin, at Shippensburg; Fort Shirley, near the Juniata; and Fort Littleton and Fort Loudon, within

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the present limits of Franklin county. The military forces of the entire province were weak, and these forts were very poorly garrisoned. Farther west of these, however, were a few block houses, and to these the settlers could flee in time of Indian raids, and, thus united, could in some degree protect themselves. From month to month the Indian depredations became more and more severe, and it was discovered that the instigators were two chiefs, Shingas and Captain Jacobs. Each had a large band of warriors, and their habitation and field of activity was east and north of the Fork of the Ohio. On the death of General Braddock, General Shirley was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, but General Montcalm, the French commander who afterward died so heroically when opposing General James Wolfe at Quebec, was then invading Northern New York, and Shirley and his army were scarcely adequate to the defence of even that section. This left the French and Indian marauders in Western Pennsylvania but little opposition in 1755-56.

In August of the latter year, Colonel John Armstrong, a bold and daring military officer of Pennsylvania, who afterward became a general in the Revolution, made preparations to surprise and if possible exterminate these tribes of Indians. He took with him the Second Battalion, which consisted of eight companies stationed on the western side of the Susquehanna. He left Fort Shirley on August 30, 1756, with 307 men, and marched up the Juniata and stealthily down the Kiskiminetas, journeying by the Kittaning Indian path, and marching a greater part of the way by night. His objective point was the Indian stronghold at Kittaningtown, which he reached on September 8th. The last night he marched thirty miles, and reached the town before daylight. These Indians were of the Loup family, of the Delawares, and were at that time preparing an attack on Fort Shirley, and had a war dance preparatory to their expedition on the night of Armstrong's arrival. Knowing that there were no English troops here, they were not on their guard, and for these reasons Armstrong's march was not discovered, though he marched with a train of pack horses and necessary munitions of war. The town was composed of about thirty buildings. Dividing his forces, he placed one detachment on the hill beyond the huts, to intercept the Indians if they should take that course in their flight. The night being hot, many of the Indians had slept in a cornfield which lay between the Allegheny river and the town. Captain Jacobs discovered the forces of the army, and gave out a few war cries to arouse the Indians, and then the battle began. The attack was from both divisions of Armstrong's troops. The Indians kept close to their huts, and wounded a good many soldiers in the early morning by firing through cracks and portholes. Against these barricades, though slight in themselves, the soldiers' fire was almost futile, but at considerable loss of life Armstrong ordered the houses to be set on fire. In the firing of a hut Armstrong was severely wounded in the shoulder. The fire spread rapidly and soon enveloped the entire collection of huts and wigwams, and drove the Indians from their shelter. The Kittaningtown Indians had boasted that they had ammunition enough to fight the English for ten

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years, and its abundance was well proven, for, as the buildings burned, many guns were heated and discharged and kegs of powder were exploded with terrific effect. As the Indians broke from the burning huts, they were shot down, the soldiers being so stationed as to command every retreat. Jacobs, their leader, was reported killed, but this has been questioned. The stronghold was destroyed, and the Indian inhabitants were either killed or driven away. It was a most effectual blow to the Indians, the entire secrecy of the march and attack making it all the more so. Thereafter for many months the Indians were afraid to join in large raiding parties lest they might at any time be attacked and cut down as they were at Kittaningtown. In its immediate salutary effect on the peace and good order of our western border, it has been justly rated as one of the most effectual expeditions in the pioneer history of America, and is famous as "The Armstrong Expedition." The reader, in this modern day of large armies, will probably smile at 307 men being called the Second Battalion. It is the language of the colonies, and perhaps, with their limited means, this was in reality a large body of men to enlist and support.

Still, the French and Indian power over the British in America largely predominated, and this state of affairs dissatisfied the English. Their people believed that the deporable situation was due to bad management on the part of the home government. The Duke of Newcastle had proven himself to be a weak war minister, and in June, 1757, William Pitt, "The Great Commoner," (a name which should always be revered in America), was made Premier. From the beginning of his administration he favored the colonies, and in return they were always loyal to him. Pennsylvania voted abundant funds for the defence of its western borders, and showed many other signs of loyalty. Pitt set about at once to regain the lost standing of the English armies in the new world. In the early part of 1758 Admiral Boscawen reached America with 12,000 soldiers. The colonists enlisted very rapidly, and with the British soldiers already here, swelled the number to over 50,000 troops, all in the English service and in defence of the colonies.

Again three distinct expeditions had been projected—one against Louisburg, on the St. Lawrence; another against Ticonderoga, in Northern New York; and the last, most important of all, to Pittsburg, against Fort Duquesne. The latter was under command of a Scotch brigadier-general, John Forbes. He started west from Philadelphia. After the preliminaries incident to such a campaign were arranged, the first question which presented itself to him was the route he should select. The Pennsylvanians asked him to go directly through the province, they being interested in having a new road opened up through their territory; but Virginia had the same claim, and she too was furnishing many soldiers and munitions of war. The old route was, of course, Braddock's Road, by the way of Cumberland, and the new one was by way of Bedford. So much had been said about the slowness of Braddock's march west that his defenders had undoubtedly magnified the difficulties of the route he took. Washington strongly favored Braddock's route, which in the light

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of subsequent discoveries was undoubtedly the better one to take, if to reach the fort with the least effort and in the shortest time were the chief objects. It was fifty miles longer than the Bedford route, but it was opened, in part at least, while by the Bedford route a road must be cut from Bedford to the Fork of the Ohio, a distance of one hundred miles. Notwithstanding this, it was selected with the expectation that the making of the road would require less effort than to overcome the difficulties which retarded Braddock's march. It was probably Sir John Sinclair, who was supposed to know the country, and Colonel Henry Bouquet, who more than any others determined on this new route. Forbes was undecided, but even after they had selected it and the difficulties of the new route were made manifest, he for a time doubted the wisdom of the selection. Washington favored the Virginia route, in common with all Virginians, for they did not want the transportation of the Ohio Valley diverted from the Potomac route. This was one of the objects of the Ohio Company, in the interests of which he made his first journey west. He regarded the selection of the Bedford route as a great error, and repeatedly reiterated this opinion in his letters. Yet he at all times did all he could to make the campaign a success. Bouquet, on the other hand, in a letter to Chief Justice Allen, dated November 25, 1758, attributed the success of the expedition largely to the selection of the Bedford route, because of the greater facilities to procure transportation by it. Forbes was much wiser and not less courageous than Braddock. He did not hesitate to imitate the backwoods or Indian methods of warfare, and wrote to Bouquet, saying, "I have been long of your opinion of equipping numbers of our men like the savages, and I fancy Colonel Burd of Virginia has most of his men equipped in that manner. In this country we must learn our art of war from the Indians, or any one else who has carried it on here." His army was nearly three times as large as Braddock's had been, he having in all over 7,000 men, consisting of 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, 2,700 Provincials from Pennsylvania, 100 from the lower counties of Delaware, 1,600 from Virginia, 250 from Maryland, 150 from North Carolina, and about 1,000 wagoners and laborers. The Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland troops were brought together at Winchester, and were placed under command of Colonel George Washington. The Pennsylvania forces were assembled at Raystown (now Bedford), and were commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet, General Forbes was long detained in Philadelphia by the delays incident to a campaign in a new country, and by a severe sickness of which he was never cured. He did not reach Shippensburg until the advance army was cutting a way across Laurel Hill, and did not arrive at Bedford until September, by which time Colonel Bouquet, with the assistance of Colonel James Burd, with 2,500 soldiers and axmen, had finished the road across the Allegheny Mountains and across Laurel Hill, and had encamped on the banks of the Loyalhanna, in Ligonier Valley, where the town of Ligonier now stands. There was erected a fort called Fort Ligonier, named after General Sir John, Lord Viscount Ligonier, under whom Forbes had served in the English army. Instead of attempting to march direct to Fort Duquesne, burdened with a long and cumber-

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some train, he pushed on by easy stages, establishing fortified magazines as he went, intending at last, when close to the fort, to overwhelm it with his united forces. In furtherance of these plans he meant to unite his army at Fort Ligonier before a final march was made.

While Bouquet was at Ligonier awaiting the arrival of the main army of Forbes, he sent out, perhaps unwisely, an expedition under Colonel James Grant, composed of thirty-seven officers and eight hundred and thirteen men. Grant was supported by Major Lewis, of Virginia, and Captains Bullet, McDonald and McKenzie. He was particularly instructed by the wary Bouquet not in any event to bring on a battle, but to approach as near the fort as safety would permit and to collect all possible information concerning the enemy. Major Grant had urged Bouquet to send him out on this mission. Bouquet, however, had great faith in Grant, for in a long letter written to Colonel Burd, relative to the westward march, (the original of which is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), he says, "If any difficulty should occur to you, consult Major Grant, whose experience and perfect knowledge of the service you may rely on."

The command left camp at Loyalhanna on September 11th. They made rapid marches, for they were unincumbered with baggage. The first day's march took them across Chestnut Ridge, and at night they encamped near the mouth of Nine Mile Run, so named from its flowing into the Loyalhanna about nine miles from the encampment they had left, now Ligonier. The place of encampment was a plateau covered with heavy timber, and is accurately described in the diary of Christian Frederick Post, the pious Moravian missionary. On the east was the run, with a steep bank about twenty feet high, which formed a natural fortification. Grant threw up earthworks facing the west and north. These are all gone now but they are remembered by the oldest men of the community, and the place is still known as Breastworks Hill. The second day he marched twenty-five miles west, and was then within about fifteen miles of the famous Fort Duquesne.

The French and Indians had spies out, mostly Indians, who kept a close watch on the main army, but undoubtedly overlooked Grant and his forces, who passed under the very shadows of the fort without being seen. Two miles east of the fort he left his horses and baggage, under the command of Captain Bullet, with about fifty men. Late on the night of September 13th, or early on the 14th, he reached the hill overlooking the fort, and less than a half-mile from it. The celebrated hill which has since borne his name and is traversed by Grant street, Pittsburg, is now known as the much discussed but apparently immovable "hump." It was much higher then than now for its paring down has been gradually going on for the last hundred years. It was then a rocky bluff thickly covered with timber and was steep in its descent to the low ground nearer the fort. Moreover, it was cut up by ravines which near the foot of the hill formed a lagoon or swamp around which were thickets of underbrush, making the passage still more difficult. Near the fort was a cornfield from

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which the French occupants of the point in their first year had harvested as much as two thousand bushels of corn. Closer to the fort were twenty-five or thirty cabins scattered promiscuously about, and in these lived the Indian allies.

Before the break of day on the 14th, Grant sent Major Lewis forward with about four hundred Virginians, to "take anything that was found about the fort." Grant's forces, which were about equal to those of Lewis, remained on the hill. Lewis's men each wore over his clothes a white shirt, in order that they could easily distinguish each other in the dark. Lewis very soon returned and reported to Grant that because of the many barricades of logs, briars, fences, swamps, etc., and of the darkness, he could do nothing. Grant investigated the matter personally, and found Lewis's men in great confusion, returning to the hill, as he said, "each one seeking out his own way." Grant at once sent forward a new party of fifty men, who approached near enough to the fort to fire an outbuilding. The fire was discovered by the French and put out, and so meagerly was the fort guarded that these approaches were not discovered, the fire being doubtless regarded as an accident. Daylight had now arrived. Grant was thoroughly disgusted with Major Lewis, and he accordingly sent him to the rear, with two hundred men, presumably to strengthen Bullet's command. In reality, it is believed that he sent him back so that he (Grant) might claim all the victory for himself. His undiscovered march and the undetected approach of his men had led Grant to conclude that the fort was in reality very weak. He therefore became most anxious to win the great honor of taking the fortress over which two mighty nations had been for years contending. He overstepped his orders, if, indeed, he had not done so before. Had Grant reached the fort a few days earlier his rashly ambituous scheme might have succeeded, for, but a day or so previous to his arrival, Captain Aubrey had come from the Illinois region with large reinforcements for Fort Duquesne, and the enemy now outnumbered Grant's forces more than two to one. Lewis took with him to the rear most of the Royal Americans and the Virginia troops, leaving the Highlanders and the Pennsylvanians with Grant. Even after daybreak a heavy fog obscured his vision almost as much as the darkness, and Grant was still unable to more than locate the position of the fort. He now determined to attempt its capture, and seemingly did it in the most blundering way he could imagine. He ordered Captain McDonald with 100 Highlanders to go forward and assault the fort. He placed Captain McKenzie, with about 250 troops, on the left of the fort, that is, on the Monongahela side, and 100 Pennsylvanians were ordered to the right, that is, on the Allegheny side. Thus his forces were divided, so that they could not in any event support each other. The drums and bagpipes were kept with Grant on the hill. In a long letter which he wrote to General Forbes, explaining his actions, he says that "in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men that they had no reason to be afraid," he gave orders to beat the drums and sound the bagpipes. It was probably the noise of these bagpipes which exasperated

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the inmates of the fort. Their method of defence was one which showed great military ability. They knew the country better than Grant did, and sent about one-third of their forces quietly and quickly up the bank of the Allegheny, and one-third with similar orders up the Monongahela river, while the remainder occupied the fort until the first and second detachments had passed up their respective rivers far enough to be practically in the rear of Grant's army. When these dispositions had been made, the soldiers in the fort marched out boldly toward Grant's men, while the other divisions moved against their right and left rear. In a few minutes they had practically surrounded Grant's entire forces, and from all sides came the attack. The Indians filled the woods with their warwhoops, and sprang upon the soldiers with tomahawks and scalping knives. Lewis heard the firing, and hastened to the relief of Grant, (perhaps by his order), but Grant had fallen back from his original position and retreated by a different route from that taken by Lewis, and the latter therefore missed him. Both Lewis and Grant were captured by the French. Captain McDonald, who had led the center, was killed early in the fight, and his men fell back in confusion. Captain McKenzie was made a prisoner, and those of his men who were not killed or captured were chased away. In less than a half-hour everything was in confusion.

Several attempts upon Grant's part to make a stand failed, and his only hope was to make a hasty retreat. Just when the rout promised to rival Braddock's defeat three years before, a partial relief came from an unlooked-for source. Captain Bullet, stationed in rear with the wagons and baggage, heard the sound of battle and hastened to the rescue. Knowing his fifty men amounted to nothing in the face of the enemy, he concealed them in the bushes and behind rocks, and kept up such an effective fire that the enemy magnified his force, and to a great extent ceased firing. Bullet then restored to a strategem. He and his men marched boldly toward the enemy, with arms reversed, as if they meant to surrender. The Indians, being pastmasters in the art of treachery, and undoubtedly with sinister designs, fell into the trap. When within a few yeards of the Indians, Bullet commanded a death-dealing volley to be thrown in their faces, and the next instant the little command charged with bayonets. The Indians never withstood the bayonet, and by this means were temporarily routed. Bullet's men kept up the fight, refusing quarter or to surrender, until two-thirds of them were killed, and they were driven to the Allegheny, where some escaped by swimming across, and others were drowned. It was learned afterward that the audacity of the onslaught convinced the Indians that the much larger force which they feared, was in waiting near by. Meanwhile Grant's army, though with little order, made the best of its way back to the Loyalhanna camp, with a loss of 273 men. This loss fell most heavily upon the Highlanders, because, like Braddock's men, they had fought in the open while the provincial troops concealed themselves and fought more nearly according to the methods of their savage enemy.

This battle occurred near the hill where the Allegheney court house now

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stands. Grant and Lewis were held as prisoners a short time, and then were exchanged. Both were kindly treated by the French officers. Grant was a man of ability, though he did not display it on this occasion. His stolen march was probably unobserved by the spies only because of its improbability and foolhardiness. Two years later he was made governor of Florida. He afterward won high renown in the English army, and fought during a part of the Revolutionary war, notably in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth Court House. He commanded at the latter battle, and defeated General Lee. After the Revolution he was a member of the British Parliament, and died at his country seat, near Elgin, Scotland, May 13, 1806, aged eighty-six years.

The battle above narrated occurred on September 14, 1758, and the troops marched from the scene of action at Ligonier to Fort Duquesne in three days. Stragglers reached the camp at Loyalhanna on the 17th, bearing the sad news to Bouquet. He was by no means discouraged, but at once set to work to strengthen his position until Forbes and his army should arrive. Flushed by this victory over Grant, Bouquet had little doubt but the enemy would soon storm his gates, and so it was, for on October 12th the foe was in battle array about the camp at Fort Ligonier, they having approached the fort from the south-west. There came about 1,200 French soldiers, but only a few hundred Indians. The small number of the latter was due to the fact that many of them had by this time deserted the French and gone to their homes, as was their custom, to lay in a stock of venison before the cold weather came, so that their families might not starve during the winter.

The French and Indians who gave battle at Fort Ligonier were under the command of De Vitri. He commenced the action almost immediately after his arrival. The firing began about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and lasted four hours. The battle was fought on or near the ground where the town of Ligonier now stands. The army at Loyalhanna numbered about 2,500 men on its arrival from Bedford, but nearly 300 were lost in Grant's fiasco, leaving only about 2,200 men. Bouquet was not present at the battle, but was stuck in the mud at Stony Creek, near Stoystown, in Somerset county. Colonel James Burd commanded the fort in Bouquet's absence, and was undoubtedly one of the ablest colonels of the colonial period. They made but little impression by their four hours' fighting. After nightfall they renewed the attack, but Colonel Burd threw mortar shells into the woods in which the French and Indians were concealed, and they were soon glad to retreat. The loss to the American army was 63 officers and men, killed, wounded and missing; and that of the enemy was much larger, though the exact number has never been known. The French were employed most of the night in carrying off their dead and wounded. Securing nothing by this foray, De Vitri's command with great difficulty made their way back to Fort Duquesne. In order to subsist, they were obliged to kill and eat their pack horses.

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Forbes's army had mostly arrived at Loyalhanna by November 1st, and the general himself reached there on the 6th. He was yet suffering greatly from his malady. In journeying from Bedford he was carried most of the way in a litter swung between two horses, but at intervals his pains were so severe that the litter was carried by men. Most men, under such difficulties, would have resigned the command, but the determined Scotchman was not easily discouraged, and there lay his great strength as a commander. In addition to all this he was a diplomat as well as a soldier, and by the slowness of his westward march he accomplished two very important objects which all writers accredit him with having had in view all the time. First, he knew of the hunting fever which comes over the Indians in the fall, and he was waiting until they would leave the fort before he would attack it; second, through all his sickness he was working through Sir William Johnston and Frederick Post to bring about a treaty with the Indians by which they would be called from their hostile attitude towards the approaching English army. In both these measures he succeeded. The treaty conference was held in Easton, in October, 1758. It was very largely attended by representatives of the Five Nations, by the Mohegans and the Delawares and other kindred tribes, and the result was a peace that was most pleasing to the English and most disastrous to the French.

In the meantime Burd, Bouquet and Washington had about completed a fort and place of deposit, at Ligonier, for on every hand were signs of winter. Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge, both in full view of the camp, were covered with snow. A council of war was held, and the consensus of opinion was that with the little knowledge of the country intervening between the army and Fort Duquesne, with the terrible lesson which the army learned by Grant's foolhardy expedition, with no road cut except the path over which Grant had traveled, and with winter coming on, it would be unwise to attempt to march an army that distance. Forbes's army, a part of it, had consumed fifty days in marching from Bedford to Loyalhanna, a distance of about fifty miles, and the general had been greatly reduced by the journey. The outlook was so gloomy that an abandonment of the expedition was contemplated. The place of deposit and so much of the fort as was completed were at once put in use, and the army set about to prepare winter quarters and to remain until spring time. The army crossed the Alleghenies and Laurel Hill by "hewing, digging, blasting, laying fascines and gabions, to support the track along the sides of the steep declivities, or worming their way like moles through the jungle of swamp and forest." Both horses and men were well nigh exhausted. All fall the rain came down in torrents which tore up their road on the mountain side, while in the valleys it was churned into mud by the wheels of the wagons and by the tramp of animals. The teams had to draw their own oats and corn as well as the army supplies. As a result they were overworked and underfed, and the long pull of over two hundred miles through the forest had made their condition a most wretched one indeed. But about this time several stragglers

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from De Vitri's army were taken, and from them valuable though not entirely reliable information concerning the weakness of the enemy was obtained. Still later, on November 12th, the command ran across another squad of De Vitri's men who were yet lurking around Fort Ligonier, their mission being doubtless that of spies. They were attacked, and one of them was killed and three taken prisoners. One of the prisoners proved to be an Englishman who had been taken from his home in Lancaster county by the Indians. His testimony concerning the weak condition of Fort Duquesne was believed, and it corresponded entirely with that of the other prisoners. It was therefore resolved to push rapidly forward and try to capture it. Before leaving Ligonier a circumstance occurred which undoubtedly involved Washington in great danger, and this may be well related here.

To quote from Washington's own words, (*Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1893): "The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our camp, and to ascertain our strength. In consequence of our intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp, a party commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mercer, of the Virginia line, a gallant and good officer, was sent out to dislodge them. A severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was believed that our party was yielding the ground, and upon which, with permission of General Forbes, I called for volunteers, and immediately marched at their head to sustain our troops. Led on by the firing until we came within less than a half-mile of the enemy, and the firing ceasing, scouts were detached to investigate the cause and to communicate with Colonel Mercer. Our troops advancing in the meantime, and it being dark, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Colonel Mercer's corps, they took us for the enemy, who they supposed were approaching from another direction. Mercer's troops began firing a heavy fire on ours, and drew fire in return, and in spite of all the exertions of the officers, one officer and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it. I was, in accomplishing this, never in more imminent danger, being between two fires, and knocking up with my sword the presented pieces." It is worthy of note that Washington, in his last years, with the memory of all the dangers of the Revolution; indeed, of a life of warfare fresh upon him—believed and wrote that in Ligonier his most imminent danger in battle had occurred. The location of this occurrence was probably on the bluff northwest of Idelwild.

In preparing for the hard march on Fort Duquesne the army was divided into three brigades. One of these was under the command of Colonel Washington, and it was his duty to open up the road. It must be remembered that it was on this occasion that Washington for the first time was placed in actual command of a brigade. The promotion came to him at Ligonier. Washington had claimed the privilege of leading the advance column from Ligonier because, as he said, "from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and diffi-

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culties as any troops that can be employed." This request was granted, and on November 12th, he began the journey, with about fifteen hundred men. Colonel Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning, followed him the next day with about one thousand men, who were mostly Pennsylvania soldiers. Forbes left Fort Ligonier on November 17th with over four thousand men, having left a force in the garrison at Ligonier.

These forces opened up the western part of what has since been known as the Forbes road. Its location in the main is not a matter of conjecture, for a journal of it was kept and sent to the British war office in London, and which, under the label of "General Forbes' Marching Journal to the Ohio," is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. The map appearing herewith shows by dotted lines the route which Forbes took, if the journal may be relied upon. In the main the road took the general course that was afterward taken by the state road built in 1791, and still later by the turnpike now generally known as the Pittsburg and Philadelphia turnpike, though it is very rarely that either road was built on the exact line of the Forbes road. The Forbes road was built for the sole purpose of transporting an army through a mountainous country, covered with a dense forest, and infested with Indians. It was invariably built on the highest ground, the dividing line or watershed between brooks and creeks being taken, not only because it was much drier than the low ground, but so that they might avoid the danger of Indian ambuscades while hemmed in by narrow valleys. The line of the Forbes road is generally to the right (that is, to the north) of the turnpike as one journeys from Bedford to Pittsburg, and keeps to the north most of the way until it crosses the Allegheny mountains and Laurel Hill. At Fort Ligonier it crossed the present line of the turnpike, and crossed the Loyalhanna a few rods below the fort, passing over Chestnut Ridge at a point about two miles west of the line of the Ligonier Valley railroad. It came down off the ridge, passing Youngstown, and thence turned northward and passed through Murrysville thence into Allegheny county, and a short distance north of Wilkinsburg, and through Shannopinstown, on the Allegheny river, and down that stream to the fort, the line of it in Pittsburg being most nearly marked by the present Liberty avenue. Though nearly a century and a half has passed since that damp, chilly November when the road was made, yet in some places it can be followed by its original cuts and embankments, and in many places is yet used as a public road. It was made about twelve feet wide, and for nearly fifty years was the principal highway between the East and the West. The army was twelve days in constructing the road and marching from Ligonier to Fort Duquesne, a distance by the road of about fifty-six miles. Notwithstanding the rumors about the weakness of Fort Duquesne, the army moved west with great caution, allowing the enemy no opportunity to repeat the surprises of Braddock and Grant. There were a few Indians with them, and these and some of the more daring Americans were used as scouts in all directions.

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It may be of interest to the reader to know something of the condition of the fort just before its capture. Much has since been learned from French manuscripts and letters, notably those of M. de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada. He made an order at that time that all posts convenient to the Ohio should send French and Indians to Fort Duquesne. It is further learned from the same source that M. Dumas, the commandant of Fort Duquesne in the early summer of 1758, did not intend to defend it, but was planning to meet Forbes's army and surprise it as he did Braddock's. The governor general further said in a letter that "Fort Duquesne in its present condition could not offer any resistance to the enemy; 'tis too small to lodge the garrison necessary on such an occasion. A single shell would be sufficient to set it on fire, too, that it would be impossible to extinguish it because the houses are so close." In the summer of 1758 the number of French and Indians at Fort Duquesne was much larger, for the French army records show that almost regularly three thousand rations, and sometimes many more, were daily issued. But in October the number of daily rations had fallen to 1080. Christian Frederick Post thought that in September the garrison consisted of about fourteen hundred, but was of the opinion that they would call in French and Indians on short notice and be able to meet the Forbes army with at least three thousand troops. This was probably very nearly correct, but in November the militia of Louisiana and Illinois left the fort and went home; the Detroit and Wabash Indians would not remain longer; and, more than all this, the supplies shipped to Fort Duquesne had been seized and destroyed or taken by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac. M. Ligneris was the new commander at Fort Duquesne, and, with starvation staring his troops in the face, he was compelled to dismiss many of his forces and await the coming of Forbes's army, almost in despair. There was a custom among the Indians of going home after a battle or an extended hunting expedition, whether the result was successful or otherwise. James Smith, whom we have quoted before, says that after Grant's defeat the general opinion was that Forbes's army would go home, as the British had done under Dunbar. The French were anxious to have the Indians stay, or at least all they could support, but they were away from their squaws, and many of them returned to do their regular fall hunting, as General Forbes had anticipated. This accounted for the small army at Fort Duquesne. Further, the Indians were of the opinion that Forbes's American soldiers, and even the redcoats, were learning the Indian or backwoods art of warfare, and were not anxious to meet them in battle. But all these matters, we need not say, were entirely unknown to the English when they had about concluded to go into winter quarters at Fort Ligonier, and it was only an intimation of them that prompted them to change their purpose and move hurriedly on towards Fort Duquesne. Understanding these matters the reader will be prepared for the bloodless capture which awaited the army at Fort Duquesne.

When Forbes left Ligonier, Washington had progressed twenty-six miles, and was at a point about eight miles northwest of Greensburg. Forbes's af-

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fliction was such that he could not sleep at night without a chimney and an open fire, and Washington in his letters makes mention of having built him chimneys at the places marked out for his army to camp at night. On November 24 the advance army encamped near Turtle creek and by that time Forbes's army had overtaken it. Provisions were very scanty, and the weather so rough that many even then advised a retreat to Fort Ligonier. It is perhaps due to the self-willed Scotch commander that this advice was not followed. The scouts during the night reported a cloud of smoke arising above Fort Duquesne, and soon after that, others arrived with the information that the fort had been burned and abandoned by the French and Indians. Men on horses were sent rapidly forward to put out the fire. At midnight the sentinels on guard at Turtle creek heard a dull heavy sound in the direction of the fort. On the morning of November 25th the march, with a strong advance guard, was resumed. Forbes was carried in his litter, and the troops moved in three parallel columns—the Highlanders, under Colonel Montgomery, in the center; the Royal Americans, under Bouquet, on the right; and the Provincials, under Washington on the left. By thus contracting their forces and moving in parallel lines they presented a more formidable body to any ambuscading enemy that might attack them. By the tap of drum at the head of each column they marched slowly through the entangled forest all day. About dark they came to the open plain surrounding the fort, and saw the smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne, with the towering hills beyond the Monongahela as a background. They found the fort almost entirely destroyed, and around it were the smouldering embers of over thirty houses, pointed out by their blackened chimneys still standing. To make the fort burn more readily, the French had taken the roofs of their houses and had laid them around and against it before it was set on fire. The French had laid two powder mines, one under each magazine. One of these was sprung which ruined everything near it, but in their haste to get away they forgot or neglected to blow up the other, and in it the army found some supplies—about sixteen barrels of ammunition, many guns, irons, etc., and a cartload, so the account says, of scalping knives. In their haste to leave the fort they burned five of the prisoners whom they had taken from Grant's army, and delivered the others over to the Indians, who tomahawked them at once. The mantle of charity is scarcely broad enough to cover this act on the part of the French, who were supposed to be fighting under the rules of civilized warfare, nor could they reasonably blame this inhuman conduct on the Indians. The army found many dead bodies unburied about the fort. As the Americans and English approached the fort, upon each side of the path they found a number of stakes firmly implanted in the ground, each stake having the bark peeled from it so as to show its white surface. Upon each was the head and kilt of a Highlander who had been killed or wounded at Grant's defeat. The Provincials were in front, and were the first to behold these horrible scenes, but they passed them in the line of march without any special manifestations of wrath, but when the Highlanders came in sight of them their

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fury knew no bounds. They were maddened, not only by the barbarous outrages upon the bodies of their unfortunate comrades who had been so recently sacrificed, but they were further exasperated by the exhibition of their kilts, for they knew they had been called "petticoat warriors" by the Indians, in derision of their peculiar style of dress. The infuriated Scots broke from their places in the march, threw away their guns, drew their swords, and rushed by the Provincials in foaming rage, determined to wreak their vengeance upon the Indians in the fort, or on the French troops who had permitted this outrage and insult. But all the French and Indians had fled, and their wrath subsided into a solemn and relentless vow for revenge upon their allied enemies.

Fort Duquesne stood close to the banks, on the immediate point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. It was a square structure in its main part, and at each corner was a diamond shaped projection, or bastion, upon which were mounted the large guns, while the projections beyond the main walls enabled a gunner or rifleman to command the approaches. The main structure was made of square logs which formed the outer and inner surfaces of the walls, while the space between the logs was filled with earth, thus presenting to an approaching enemy a wall of logs and earth from eight to ten feet in thickness. The sides facing the river were protected from attack only by the water and a high bank. The sides facing the land were surrounded by a deep ditch, or moat, crossed by a drawbridge for those entering the fort. Inside the structure were the barracks of the soldiers, officers' quarters, guard house, store house, etc., all built of logs and boards. It had about it very little if any masonry or stone work. Close to the ditch on the outside were the cabins and huts for the Canadian and Indian troops, made of boards and bark. For a distance greater than the firearms of those days were effective, the forest was entirely cleared from the land surrounding the fort, and the stumps had been cut off level with the ground. On this cleared land, outside of the space occupied by the cabins, were the corn fields and gardens planted by those in the fort.

Bancroft attributes the success of this campaign largely to Washington, but again we doubt that, but for his eminence in after life he would not have been so glorified by the great historian. Parkman, who investigated the history of the expedition more thoroughly, and wrote glowing descriptions of it in his matchless style, gives to Forbes, notwithstanding his long continued illness, the highest meed of praise for its successful termination. But perhaps still more importance should be attached to the words of Bouquet, who in a letter to Chief Justice Allen says that "after God, the success of the expedition is entirely due to the general. He has shown the greatest prudence, firmness and ability. No one is better informed than I am, who had an opportunity to see every step that has been taken from the beginning, and every obstacle that was thrown in his way." To Forbes, therefore, we believe is due the great credit of its success.

Bancroft says that Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the

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ruined bastions of the fortress. "As the banner of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburg. It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. * * * Long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of Freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."

An important incident in the life of Washington resulted directly from this campaign, and may well be related here. The Virginia forces, which were assembled at Winchester preparatory to marching against Fort Duquesne, were sadly in need of arms, tents, etc. Washington was finally ordered to Williamsburg to lay their condition before the House of Burgesses, with the hope of securing further aid. He set off promptly on horseback. In crossing the Pamunky river on a ferry, he fell in with a Virginia planter by the name of Chamberlain, who lived near by, and who, with the oldtime Virginia hospitality, claimed Washington as his guest. Washington pleaded the urgency of his journey to Williamsburg in declining Chamberlain's invitation, but finally, being further importuned, consented to remain for dinner, which was an earlier meal in those days than now. Among the guests at Chamberlain's was a charming young widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, a daughter of John Dandridge, a gentleman of Virginia, of patrician birth. Her husband had been dead about three years, and had left her a large fortune, as fortunes were at that early time. She was of fine form, dark hair and eyes, with frank and engaging manners. It is believed that Washington had never met her before, for it must be remembered that he was absent on the frontier most of the time for several years. Washington had ordered his servant, Bishop, to have his horses ready to resume their journey promptly after dinner. The horses were at the door, but for once their master loitered in the path of duty, and remained with his host until the following morning. Though his stay was brief, his time with the widow was well improved, for before he had traveled west with his troops they had mutually plighted their faith, and they were married on January 6, 1759, immediately after the close of the campaign.

General John Forbes was born in Scotland, in 1710. He was educated for the medical profession, but when quite young abandoned it for the military, entered the English army, and became a lieutenant in the Scots Dragoons. He won the highest praise from his general, Lord Ligonier, and from other superior officers, and was quartermaster-general in the army of the Duke of Bedford. He was about forty-eight years old when he reached America. Few men have left their names so indissolubly associated with the early history of Western Pennsylvania as John Forbes. Though a man of gentle birth, he was of simple tastes. He detested ceremony, and dealt fairly with the colonists, who formed a great admiration for him. It is said that when the tide of affairs was against him on this campaign, he swore most violently, but he may be pardoned for this in some degree because of his illness, and, furthermore, pro-

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fanity was a very common vice among the English officers of his day. All through the American campaign just described he suffered intensely from a general breaking down of his system. From Fort Duquesne he was carried all the way to Philadelphia in a litter borne generally by horses, but part of the way by men. He reached Philadelphia on January 18th. There he remained during the winter, and died March 13, 1759, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body was buried in the chancel of Christ Church, in Philadelphia.

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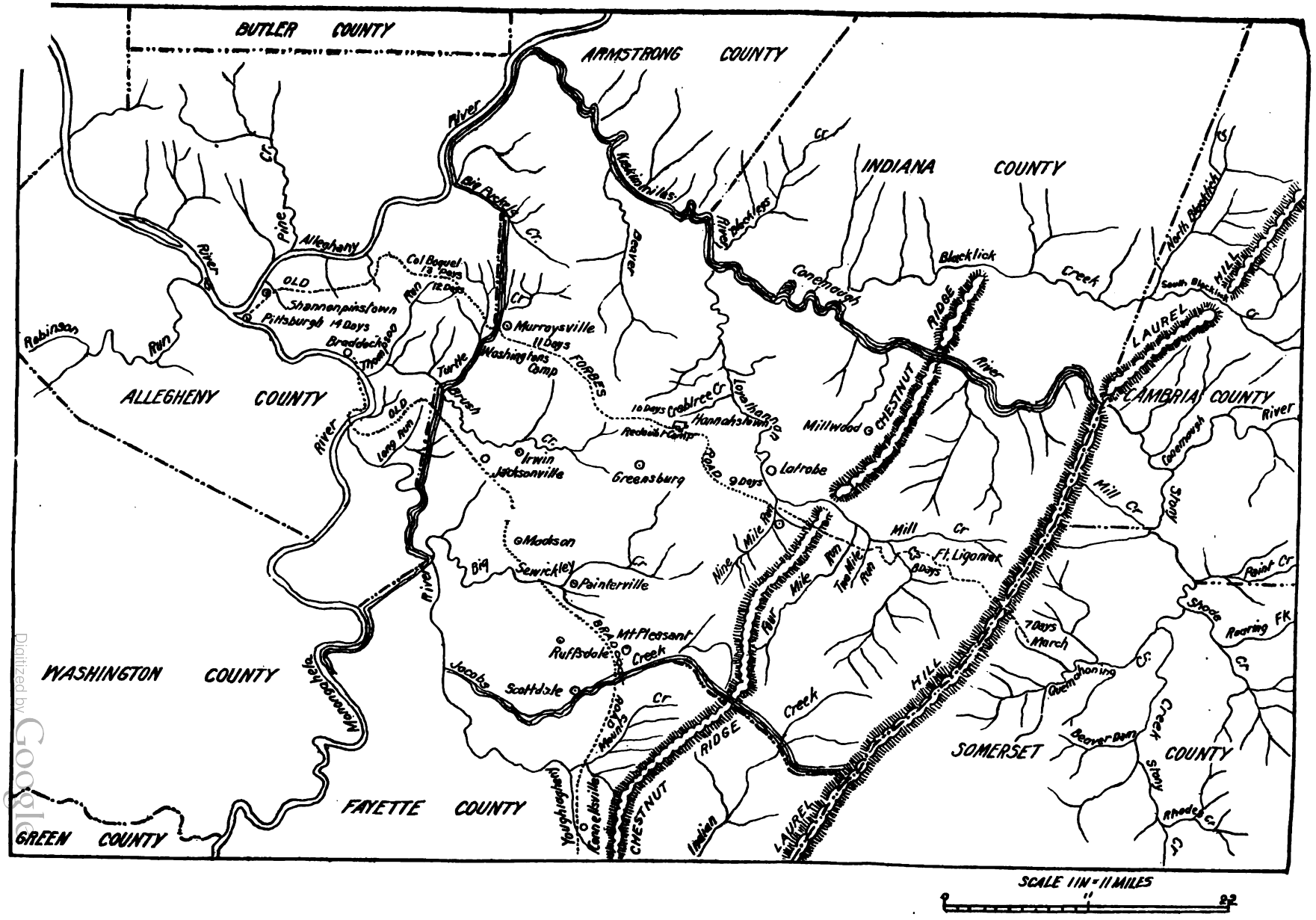

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CHAPTER III.

The Bouquet Campaign.

The writings of 1758 indicate that the winter of that year set in very early. We have seen that the mountains were white with snow before Forbes's troops left Fort Ligonier early in November. The cold, chilly weather annoyed the soldiers in their passage to Fort Duquesne, and their first night there was one of great hardship and discomfiture. The army had been lightly equipped for rapid traveling, and each man carried little else than a blanket and light arms. All shelter at the abandoned fort had been destroyed, a blinding snow storm came from the West, and the cold continued all night and for several days. Fires were kindled and rations were eaten under such shelter as the meagerly equipped army could extemporize. The usual sentinels were posted every direction from the abandoned fort. Thus was passed the first dreary night of the English at Pittsburg. The following morning work was begun on a place of shelter for the troops which were there, and for those who must remain to guard the ground which had been captured after the long contest and by the loss of so much life and property. The fort built was but a temporary one to house them over the winter and until a better one could be provided. It is generally understood that the name Pittsburg was taken from the fort, but the writings of that age do not bear out this supposition. The temporary structure was not called Fort Pitt, indeed there was no special name given to it at all. Griffs, in his "Life of Sir William Johnson," published in "Makers of America," says that the place was named Pittsburg by Washington. General Forbes, in a letter, says that he (Forbes) named the place for the great commoner, William Pitt. Many writers have attributed the honor to Washington, but we believe that, but for his great achievements in after life Forbes' name would never have been mentioned in that connection at all. There was, it is true, nothing around the fort but ruins, no town, no name, no place of habitation except the tramped war-marked ground, yet General Forbes on the next day after the arrival of his troops wrote a letter and dated it from Fort Duquesne, "or now Pitts-Bourg." This letter is published in the Colonial Records, vol. 8, page 332. It is dated November 26th, and is the first use of the name which with a slight change of

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orthography the place has borne ever since. Some one in the same army had given English names to Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier. This could scarcely have been Washington, who was but little more prominent in the army than Armstrong, and not so much so as Bouquet, nor was he supposed to either admire or be so familiar with the English names. It is much more reasonable to suppose that Forbes suggested the first name because the Duke of Bedford had been greatly interested in the campaign, and was Forbes's special patron, and that he suggested the second name because he had served under Lord Ligonier in the English army, he being one of the most noted generals of his day. It was the custom, also, and is yet, for the commander to name the fort erected by him. Now the capture of Fort Duquesne was the main object of the expedition. For this the English armies had twice crossed the Atlantic ocean, and when the long dreamed of possession was an actual reality, it is quite likely that the general in command named this most important post in remembrance of the man who, far above all others, had been instrumental in sending the army to America—the great war minister, William Pitt. This is entirely reasonable, without the fact that Forbes had dated and written the letter above referred to, in which for the first time the name of the city is written. To Washington must always be given the credit of selecting and naming the "Fork of the Ohio" as a suitable place to build a fort, but to Forbes the people of Pittsburg are indebted for the name under which their city has grown to be one of the wealthiest and most productive in the new world.

Nor was Fort Pitt mentioned in the writings of the day even by the military inhabitants of the place, for more than a year after the name Pittsburg was used regularly. Colonel Hugh Mercer, who remained there all year even as late as July and September, 1759, dated his correspondence from Pittsburg and does not mention Fort Pitt at all, though he had charge of the temporary fortress in which the troops were kept. General Stanwix who, December 8, 1759, dated a letter from "Camp at Pittsburg," and speaks of the military works at the place, does not name Fort Pitt. Finally, however, Stanwix wrote a letter on December 24, 1759, and made mention of Fort Pitt, but only incidentally, in the body of the letter. This letter, which is the first mention of Fort Pitt of which we have any record, is found in Pennsylvania Archives, vol. 3, page 696. So it appears that more than a year elapsed after the capture of Fort Duquesne before we have any mention of Fort Pitt, and that the temporary fort was never called Fort Pitt. It will appear later on also, that by that time the real Fort Pitt was then well-nigh completed. From the foregoing we take it as an indisputable fact that the name Pittsburg is older than Fort Pitt, and that the place bound in by the mighty arms of the Ohio, covered as it was by the spoils of victory and defeat, was, almost from the moment of its dominion by the English, known and called by the great name it still bears.

The chaplain of Colonel Claphans' regiment of Pennsylvania soldiers was Rev. Charles Beatty, of the Presbyterian faith. To him came the duty of preaching to the army standing on ruins of the dismantled fort, the first

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Protestant sermon preached west of the Allegheny mountains in Pennsylvania. The day, November 26, 1759, had been set apart by special orders as "a day of public Thanksgiving." On Tuesday following a large detachment of Pennsylvania soldiers under Captain West was detailed to bury the dead in Braddock's army, and to perform a like service to the dead of their own army on Grant's Hill. With Captain West and his troops went Sir Peter Halket, the son and heir of Sir Peter Halket, who so bravely fell while guarding the baggage in Braddock's army. The son had made a journey to America with Forbes's army mainly for the purpose of finding his father's body, and also that of his brother, who perished in the same battle.

After reaching the field, the guide conducted them to the location of the baggage in the battle, and after some search two skeletons were found, one of which was identified by Sir Peter Halket as that of his father, because of an artificial tooth which was yet remaining in the jaw, and which he knew his father had worn. A grave was dug, a Highland plaid was spread over them, and both skeletons were interred with usual military ceremony. This incident would probably have been lost to us but for the fact that Captain West was a full brother of the renowned painter, Benjamin West, whose biographer (Galt) has preserved it. Over all the skeletons had drifted the dead leaves of four successive seasons, and upon their removal they found evidence that the bodies of many who perished there had been devoured by wild animals, and that others who were wounded but unable to leave the field, had crawled to places of seclusion and perished of starvation. Their bones were collected and buried in a trench dug in the frozen ground.

While this was being done, and indeed at once upon the accession of the army, General Forbes began the erection of a temporary fort, and pushed the work with all possible speed, for there was no telling how near to the dismantled fort the stealthy enemy was lurking. In reality, the greater part of the enemy had gone up the Allegheny river to Fort Machault (Venango). Many of them had gone down the Ohio and were yet at Logstown, twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. Still others had gone to the Illinois regions, but the vigilant Scotchman knew that his army was daily watched by spies. The main part of Forbes's army left the Ohio again on December 3rd, and slowly proceeded to Philadelphia, leaving Colonel Mercer in charge of the camp, with over two hundred men, and with him were left instructions concerning the completion of the temporary barracks, or fort. It was located on the banks of the Monongahela, about two hundred yards from Fort Duquesne. It was probably completed early in January, 1759. On January 8th, Mercer reported a force of two hundred and eighty men, and that the "works," as he styled the temporary fort, though put together in a very hasty manner because of the extremely cold weather, was capable of some considerable defense. On March 17, 1759, the report of the garrison showed that twelve of the force had died since January 1st. Those remaining were ten commissioned officers, eighteen non-commissioned officers, three drummers, three hundred and forty-six rank and file fit for

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duty, seventy-nine sick and three unaccounted for, making in all a total of four hundred and fifty-six. Of the rank and file, twenty were Royal Americans, eighty were Highlanders, ninety-nine were Virginians, and one hundred and thirty-six were of the First and eighty-five of the Second Battalion of Pennsylvania. The names of the offices are not given, but on July 9th they were as follows: Colonel Hugh Mercer; Captains Waggoner, Woodward, Ward, Clayton, Morgan, Smallman, and Prentice; Lieutenants Matthews, Hydler, Biddle, Conrad, Kennedy, Sumner, Anderson, Hutchins, Dangerfield and Wright; Ensigns Crawford, Morgan and Crawford.

On the death of General Forbes, as noticed in the previous chapter, General John Stanwix was made commander of His Majesty's troops and of those to be raised in the province for the Southern department. This announcement and that of the death of General Forbes was made on March 15th by General Jeffrey Amherst, who was commander-in-chief of all the English armies in America.

On January 23rd, only two months after the fort had been captured by the English, William Pitt wrote a letter to the general showing that his keen intellect was alive to the importance of retaining the possession of the Ohio Valley, and that as war minister of England he thoroughly comprehended the situation in America. After expressing for King George II his great delight over the success of the loyal soldiers on the Ohio, the letter bore express orders to restore the dismantled fort as speedily as possible, or erect another in place of it, which should be of sufficient strength in every way to maintain the possession of the Ohio, and to cut off all trade between the west and southwest Indians, and protect the British colonies from the incursions to which they had been subjected ever since the French had built the fort, and furthermore to make themselves masters of the navigation of the Ohio. He also instructed them to secure an alliance again with the several Indian nations, and to so treat them that they would be dependent upon His Majesty's government. But the French were equally alive to the situation. The Indians had left the fort and gone to Fort Machault or Venango, collecting at that place and at Presq' Isle a large force of Indians and French with the evident intention of descending the river and retaking the fort which they had been forced to abandon. These forces were under Captains Aubry and Ligneris, but in June, General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson with their forces had moved against the French of Niagara, and these forces in Northern Pennsylvania were forthwith marched to Niagara to defend that position. The temporary fort on the Ohio would have offered but little resistance had the French collected in the North attacked it. John Ormsby wrote a letter, which is published in Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," in which he said that the little force on the Ohio knelt behind their weak fortress and prayed for deliverance in the hour of danger. The success of the English arms at Niagara undoubtedly saved the camp on the Ohio, for had the French succeeded they would evidently have moved at once on the works at old Fort Duquesne.

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Shortly after General Stanwix was appointed, he arranged to go to the Ohio with his forces to begin the erection of a permanent fortification suggested by Pitt—one that would do honor to the English army, and insure a permanent possession of the Ohio Valley. But he, like Braddock and Forbes, had great trouble with the Pennsylvania authorities to secure the full share of supplies and men that were due from the province. He had marched as far as Bedford, and with the summer advancing rapidly, on August 13, 1759, wrote to Governor Denny as follows: "It is with reluctance that I must trouble you to again open this subject, but being stopped in my march for want of sufficient and certain succession of carriages I am obliged to have recourse to you to extricate me out of this difficulty." In another letter he said, "All our delays are owing to want of carriage. The troops are impatient to dislodge and drive the enemy from their posts on this side of the lake, and, by building a respectable fort on the Ohio, secure to his Majesty the just possession of that rich country."

By this time there were many Indians around the camp at the Fork, who pretended great friendship to the English. They came there as they had been accustomed to come from time immemorial, to attend conferences and councils. A treaty had been held there in July, 1759, and was attended by great numbers. In order to keep their good will, they had to be fed by the garrison, which was not overstocked with provisions, and the Indians showed no signs of leaving the place as long as the rations held out. Most of the provisions of the garrison had to be brought out on pack horses from the East, and on August 6th, Colonel Mercer wrote that on account of the Indian drain on his supplies he was unable to save out an ounce of provisions between convoys from the East, and had been compelled to reduce his force to three hundred and fifty. On the same day Captain Gordon, the chief engineer, had arrived with a number of artificers to build the fort. Under Mercer's instructions they began at once to prepare building material for the fort, but Mercer delayed the selection of a location until Gen. Stanwix's arrival. General Stanwix reached the place late in August, and on September 3, 1759, with additional skilled workmen and laborers brought for that purpose, began the erection of the fortifications known ever afterwards as Fort Pitt. On September 15th, Mercer wrote of the peace and tranquility at the place since Stanwix had arrived, and of the rapid work on the fort. Though no enemy appeared, Stanwix had many difficulties to contend with. To insure the safe transportation of supplies, he had to keep soldiers scattered all over Western Pennsylvania. Many were at Fort Ligonier and at Fort Bedford, while Colonel Burd was forming a post at Redstone Creek, and the greater part of Mercer's battalion had to be scattered along Forbes' road between the Ohio and Carlisle. In the letter before referred to, dated at "Camp at Pittsburgh," December 8, 1759, General Stanwix reported to Governor Hamilton that the building of the proposed "works" was being carried on, and that he was now forming a winter garrison of three hundred Provincials, one-half to be of Pennsylvania and the other half of Virginia soldiers, and four hundred of the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment to be left under the com-

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mand of Major Tulikins. These, he said, he hoped to cover well under good barracks, and to supply them with provisions for six months from January 1st. He spoke also of the provision necessary for the Indians who lounged around the place. They were undoubtedly a constant drain on the garrison, and they seemed to have no idea of helping themselves or of leaving the place so long as the larder of the garrison was full. Nor did they ever fail to attend a conference when they wanted something to eat or drink, or when their supply of ammunition and blankets needed replenishing.

In the fall of 1759, General Stanwix held a conference with the Indians which was very fruitful of good results. It was the policy of the English government as well as of the province of Pennsylvania and Virginia, that all military authorities should put forth every effort within reason to conciliate the Indians and keep on good terms with them. General Stanwix was an officer of great efficiency and remained in the new fort until the spring of 1760. On March 17th he wrote to Governor Hamilton that he would leave for Philadelphia as soon as the waters subsided, for he had practically finished the works in a defensible manner, and would leave the garrison in good health, in excellent barracks, and with seven months wholesome provisions after April 1st. The inside finishing of the works, he said, could be prosecuted under cover, and the men be asked to work only in good weather. The winter had been a very hard one for fort building, and the spring so far had been but little suited to outdoor work. He wrote also that the works would "give a strong security to all the southern provinces, and answer every end proposed for his Majesty's service." Although it was used as a fort in 1760, it was not really finished until the summer of 1761, when it was completed by Colonel Henry Bouquet. It occupied the ground between Third street, West street and Liberty street, the present Penn avenue passing almost through the centre of its site, with one of its points extending up to and across Liberty street and almost reaching the Monongahela. It was between the site of Fort Duquesne and the temporary structure built by Mercer. The old block house, which is still standing on its original location, was close to the side of the fort wall next to the Allegheny river. It was not on the bank of either river but was nearer the Monongahela. It was a five-sided structure, though the sides were not equal, as has been erroneously stated, and had a large bastion at each of the five corners. The earth around the fort was dug out and thrown up so as to enclose it with a rampart. On the sides of the fort away from the river, facing the present city, this rampart was reinforced by a revetment of brick work, which was built nearly perpendicular, thus presenting an additional obstacle to an approaching enemy. On the other sides of the fort—that is, next to the rivers—the rampart was made of earth, but was not covered with brick work, and its surface, as presented to an approaching enemy, was not so perpendicular nor so formidable. To remedy this a line of pickets was emplanted at the foot of the slooping ramparts. Around the rampart was a wide ditch which could be filled with water when the river was moderately high. In

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the summer time, when the river was low, the ditch was dry, and the officers and men frequently played alley ball in the ditch, knocking the balls against the brick rampart. The ditch extended from the most northern point, that is, the sharp angle of the bastion of the extreme corner near Marbury street down to where the street strikes the Allegheny. The ditch was still visible in the boyhood days of Mr. Craig, perhaps in the early thirties, for he wrote in 1848 and 1850. Another part of the ditch, he says, extended to the Monongahela river, and a third end or debouche from it reached the river about the end of Penn avenue.

General Stanwix left Fort Pitt on March 21, 1760. A communication from Pittsburg of that date, and published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* notices that he was escorted east by thirty-five chiefs of Ohio Indians and fifty Royal American soldiers. It speaks very flatteringly of his work during the past winter, not only in building the fort, but in cultivating the friendship of the Indians as well. The works, it says, are quite perfect between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and that eighteen pieces of artillery were mounted on the bastions. The casements, barracks and store houses were sufficient for a garrison of a thousand men and officers, and the article further glories that the British domain is established on the Ohio.

General Stanwix left in Fort Pitt about seven hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were Virginians, one hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians, and four hundred from the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment. The termination of the war between England and France by the fall of Quebec and the surrender of Montreal, on September, 1759, was of great advantage generally to the colonies, and to Fort Pitt in particular, for thereafter the French were less hostile and the French posts being now in possession of the English, all were in harmony with the Colonial troops and with the force at the Fork of the Ohio. General Monckton was made commander of the department, and reached Fort Pitt on June 29, 1760. It was his purpose and that of the colonial authorities to perfect the line of forts from Montreal to Fort Pitt. To accomplish this he marched four companies of the Royal Americans, and also one company commanded by Colonel McNeil, all under command of Colonel Henry Bouquet, to take charge of Presq' Isle. Shortly after these, Colonel Hugh Mercer followed with three companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment under Captains Biddle, Claphan and Anderson, and still later two other companies under Captains Atlee and Miles followed.

Many statements have been made as to the cost of Fort Pitt. Some of them place it as high as sixty thousand pounds. Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who visited it in 1784, and who seems to have investigated its cost, says that it cost the English government about six hundred pounds. Either estimate may be correct, for the first may include the entire outlay for materials and also the wages of the soldiers and skilled workmen who erected it. The second estimate may not include the cost of labor performed by the soldiers who were stationed at the fort and who undoubtedly dug the entrenchments, prepared the lumber,

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burnt the brick, etc., and performed the greater part of the labor of constructing the fort. It was proved afterwards, as we shall see, that it was strong enough to withstand any attack made by the Indians, but it could not long have endured an attack of the artillery, even of that day of small guns. The location of Fort Pitt would not be selected by modern military experts if the intention was to protect the city, since it was in full view, and entirely commanded by the high hills beyond the Monongahela, whose summits were scarcely a quarter of a mile by air line from the fort, but for its day and purpose it was indeed an ideal location. Almost at once, when occupied by the English, a village sprung up around its walls. With the rude log huts of the fur traders came a mixed population of camp followers and settlers, some of whom were soon in a primitive way engaged as merchants. Access to the place was easily gained by canoes, rafts, and other light crafts, from every direction by the three rivers. It had been moreover a favorite place of meeting for the Indians for perhaps untold ages, and hither came the red man, now that a market was open, laden with the results of his season's trapping; coming by water in his frail bark, or mayhap by the same Indian paths which were trodden by his dusky ancestors centuries before. The two great roads, Braddock's and Forbes' terminated here, and, on these came many who there embarked on the Ohio for the Great West. While it was mentioned as a name repeatedly in 1758-59, the first real mention of Pittsburg as a town was by Colonel James Burd in 1760. He was in command of the Augusta Regiment, as his Pennsylvania troops were called, and reached Pittsburg on Sunday, July 6, 1760, and remained on duty until November. In his journal is the following, which may be called the first census of Pittsburg—"21st Monday. (July, 1760). Today numbered the houses at Pittsburgh and made return of the number of people; men, women & children, that did not belong to the army. Number of houses, 146. Number of unfinished houses, 19. Number of Hutts, 36. Total, 201. Number of men, 88. Number of Women, 29. Number of male children, 14. Number of female children, 18. Total 149. N. B.—The above houses exclusive of those in the fort." But in April, 1761, Colonel Claphan took a census, and gave the number of houses as 104 with a population, counting all, of 332.

In the winter of 1760-61, Colonel Vaughn, with a regiment known as his Majesty's Regiment of Royal Welsh Volunteers, was garrisoning a number of posts communicating with Fort Pitt. General Amherst wanted these troops for service elsewhere, and he requested the governor to call for troops to volunteer to take their places. The request met with the usual refusal on the part of the Supreme Executive Council. General Monckton, of Fort Pitt, urged the project in a letter to Governor Hamilton and insisted on at least four hundred Pennsylvania troops. The matter was laid before the Council, but its consideration was deferred. When brought before them again, they refused, and gave as a reason that since the reduction of Canada and the withdrawal of the French, there remained nothing for the regular troops, fed by the "Nation" but to guard these posts, and for that reason it was not necessary to enlist additional

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men. Monckton then applied to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, who on February 27, 1761, further urged the governor and assured him that Vaughn's regiment must and would be removed. He requested that three hundred troops be raised in Pennsylvania, and on March 13th in pursuance of this more urgent appeal from a higher authority the required bill was passed.

This tardiness on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities to assist in the defence of the western border was encountered by all military expeditions, and lasted up until the Revolution. There were several causes which produced it. The Quakers of Philadelphia and the Quaker counties near by, were the thriftiest people of the province, and were not only religiously opposed to war, but had become somewhat intolerant of all other religions. They were also hostile to the sons of William Penn, who had with one exception become Tories, and were regarded as renegades from the religion of their revered father. The Quakers talked of the sinfulness of war, wore broad-brimmed hats, defied Lindly Murray, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of wealth and to the enjoyments of the comforts it brought. The middle counties had been settled largely by German peasants, who having known only servitude in Europe, were delighted with the enjoyment of the liberty of the province. They hated the idea of military service, for it but reminded them of the oppressive army of Germany from which they had fled. Speaking only a German tongue, they knew little of the operations of the French and English on the Ohio, and cared still less whether they lived under English or French dominion, so long as they could increase their herds and widen their productive acres.

The Penns, moreover, had large tracts of unsettled and unproductive land in the West which the eastern people thought should be taxed, and particularly did they think this if they were to turn out to defend it from French encroachment. But the Penns had had laws passed which precluded the possibility of taxing it. Benjamin Franklin was without doubt the intellectual and political leader of the province and of the Supreme Executive Council. The feudalism of the Penns was extremely obnoxious to him, yet with his great foresight he saw all the dangers of the French operations on the Ohio, and while he was opposed to any administration measure in the Council which would add material strength to the Penns, he was willing to put forth his best efforts not only to repel the French, as he did in the Braddock campaign, but to protect the settlers afterwards or to work by any other means to that end that would not strengthen the feudal tenure of the Proprietaries. This left the defence of the West largely to the pioneers west of the Allegheny mountains. They were mainly composed of German Lutherans, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Irish Catholics, all of whom were so equally intolerant of each other that a united effort on their part was scarcely possible. Upon their heads fell the burdens of border warfare in its severest forms.

Governor Hamilton seems to have left little undone to appease the wrath of the Indians. A store or trading house was set up by him at Pittsburg near Fort Pitt, and the Indians traded with this house and were furnished with all

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kinds of goods and supplies at low rates. But the efforts of these in authority in the province at best but temporarily allayed the wrath of the Indians. With the great victory of General James Wolfe at Quebec, in September, 1759, the French domain in the St. Lawrence region was practically ended. As we have seen, the habits of the Indian peculiarly suited him for an alliance with the French. They were greatly attached to the French, and were extremely displeased with the termination of the French and Indian war, resulting as it did so adversely to their friends. The region around Fort Pitt was one of perfect peace so far as the French were concerned, and the effects of the strong fortification and military provisions generally in Western Pennsylvania deterred the Indians from passing them in their incursions. The effect was felt all over Western Pennsylvania, Maryland and Western Virginia, but a still greater effect was to draw the settler to these regions and to open up territory further west. Many settlers who had been driven from their frontier homes, with the protection now offered them by the western military operations, felt safe upon their lands again and these were yearly increasing in numbers and rapidly hewing out homes for themselves in the wilderness. No one noticed these encroachments upon the Indian domain, his birthright, as he thought, more readily than the Indian himself. In silence he nursed his wrath, which grew gradually. In 1762, however, they repeatedly attended treaties with the English, most likely actuated by purely sinister motives. On November 3, 1762, the preliminary treaty between Great Britain and France was arranged, and this culminated in the signing of a definite treaty between these two powers, on February 10, 1763. By this treaty all of the territory between the Allegheny river and the Mississippi, with Canada as well, was ceded by the French government to the English. This was apparently more than the Indian in his wrath, aggravated by constant English encroachments, could endure. The result was that a great uprising, by far the greatest in Indian history, was set on foot by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas. He had been steadfast in his friendship with the French, actuated both by natural inclination and by self interest. He had fought the English side by side with the French, and as a young warrior he had led his tribe with Charles Langdale at the unfortunate defeat of Braddock. The English supremacy, to his mind, meant the loss of the hunting grounds of his fathers and the gradual extinction of his entire race. He thought that he and his friends could unite all western tribes between Mackinaw and Fort Pitt, and by one blow exterminate the English forts, kill and drive the settlers back across the mountains or into the Atlantic ocean, and restore to the Indian his just heritage of hunting ground. He was an Indian of marvelous resources. All writers have rated him as pre-eminently endowed with courage, resolution and eloquence, and as the ablest leader the American Indian race ever produced. Parkman says that "He could govern with almost despotic sway a race unruly as the winds, and his authority was derived chiefly from the force of his own individual mind." He was born in the Catawba Indian tribe, but was captured when a child by the Ottawas whose chief civil ruler or

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sachem he became by sheer force of his superior ability and courage. At Braddock's defeat he formed a supreme contempt for the English soldiers and doubtless at that time the seed of the great conspiracy was sown in his fertile mind.

Late in 1762 this mighty leader sent representatives to all the northwestern tribes of Indians. They visited all the tribes between the Upper Lakes, the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, and journeying from camp to camp, bearing the war belt of wampum and a tomahawk stained red as a symbol of blood, and to each they bore the same message from Pontiac. The Indians almost universally approved the plan. The blow all along the line of the English civilization was to be struck at the same time, the time to be indicated later on. Each tribe was to destroy its nearest English garrison, and then all were to unite and exterminate the frontier settlements. Except a few small tribes, the whole of the Algonquin race of Indians were thus united with the Wyandottes and Senecas, and other small tribes from south of the Ohio. Except the Senecas, the entire Iroquois race were kept out of the conspiracy by the efforts of Sir William Johnson. His power among the Indians of New York surpassed that of any men of his time, but with all this he was forced to exert his utmost strength to quiet their feelings and prevent their union with Pontiac in his confederation. Of the twelve English forts west of Fort Pitt thus assaulted, nine of them fell. Those which were closest to Pittsburg which were overpowered, were Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. The only ones of those assaulted which withstood the attack were Forts Detroit, Niagara and Pitt. The first fort east of Fort Pitt, fifty miles distant, was Fort Ligonier, commanded by Captain Archibald Blane. East of that, fifty miles further, was Fort Bedford, commanded by Captain Lewis Ourry. The country west of Bedford was but sparsely settled. Both Forts Ligonier and Bedford were built in almost unbroken forests, with here and there a log cabin and a clearing near them. Both were on the Forbes' road, and along it were scattered the log cabins of a few adventurous pioneers. The great object of Pontiac's War in our section was to capture Fort Pitt. It was then under the command of Captain Simon Ecuyer, a bold and daring officer who came to America from Switzerland. On May 4, 1763, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet expressing his fears that trouble with the Indians was imminent. His suspicions were excited by the actions of the Delawares and Shawnees which he thought betokened mischief. Pontiac showed great cunning in planning his conspiracy. He selected a season when the Indians could conceal themselves readily in the leafy groves and when the settlers were likely to be busily engaged with their growing crops. It was well for the pioneers that the lieutenants of Pontiac were not able to execute his plans with the shrewdness and diplomacy which he manifested in laying them for otherwise they might have indeed been almost exterminated, driven east of the Allegheny mountains or even into the sea as he had prophesied. A leading feature of his plans was that the attack should be made on all forts, block houses, settlements and individuals at one and the same

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time. A grand council of the Indian tribes was held which fixed the time for the attack, designating it by giving a bundle of rods to each tribe. Each bundle contained as many rods as there were days intervening between the day of the council and the day fixed upon which the general attack was to be made. One rod was to be taken from the bundle every morning and when but a single rod remained the outbreak was to begin. But a squaw of the Delaware tribe had secretly extracted three rods from the bundle in the hands of her tribe and it thus happened that the attack on Fort Pitt was precipitated though it was made simultaneously at the time fixed by the council on all other posts and settlements. The squaw may have done this to hasten the destructive wrath of the Indians on Fort Pitt, though it is generally supposed that her purpose was to frustrate the plans of the conspiracy.

The first appearance of the enemy around Fort Pitt was a party of Indians coming down to the banks of the Allegheny river, driving a number of pack horses laden with skins and furs. They built fires and encamped there all night, and in the morning crossed the river to the fort. Their furs were of great value, and in exchange for them they wanted little else of the traders than bullets, hatchets and gunpowder. The authorities at the fort by their actions thought they were spies, or at all events were there with some sinister designs. They had scarcely left the place when the news came that Colonel Claphan and one of his men, two women and a child had been murdered by a party of Indians led by a Delaware Indian named Wolf. This was followed by the news that the Indians of a small town up the Allegheny river had left their wigwams as though they had gone on the war path. The day following two soldiers were shot within a mile of the fort, though before that they had gone about over the hills without danger. A messenger was sent to warn the forces at Fort Venango, but he was soon driven back, having been fired at and wounded. Then came a trader named Calhoun, with the news that at 11:00 o'clock on the night of May 27th Chief Shingas and several warriors had come to his cabin and warned and begged him to leave the country, for they did not wish to see him killed in cold blood. They assured him that the Ottawas and Ojibwas had begun a war of extermination, and had captured Detroit, Sandusky and all other interior forts. They said, too, that the Delawares and Ottawas were following their example and were murdering all traders and settlers whom they could apprehend. Calhoun was the employer of thirteen men, and they left their cabins at once, but Shingas and his warriors forced them to leave their guns behind, and in return gave them three warriors to direct them to Fort Pitt, and therein lay the treacherous designs so characteristic of the race. The three guides led them to the mouth of Beaver creek, where other Indians were in ambush, and where a volley of shots were fired into them, killing eleven, while Calhoun and two others ran for their lives and escaped to Fort Pitt. This convinced the commander of the fort that the uprising was a general one, and that his post was surrounded by hostile Indians. He determined to defend the fort as best he could, and accordingly made every preparation for an attack.

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At this time two groups of cabins, one called Lowertown and the other Uppertown, were built around the fort. The cabins of Lowertown were close to the fort while those of Uppertown were on higher ground up the Monongahela a short distance. Near by lived a man named Thompson, while George Croghan, the celebrated Indian agent, explorer and scout, lived a few miles up the Allegheny river. Ecuyer's first movement was to tear down the houses and cabins near the fort and burn them, so that the Indians could not fire them and thus drive the soldiers from the fort. The strictest discipline, which in times of peace had not been rigid by any means, was enforced. Because of the false economy of the province the garrison was very weak, for all that the captain could muster, counting soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen, was three hundred and thirty men. Then there were in the fort about a hundred women and more than that many children. Most of the women and children belonged to settlers who were temporarily at the fort while they were building or preparing to build cabins near by. The fort was, therefore, greatly crowded and hard to keep clean, and in spite of every precaution on the part of Captain Ecuyer, disease broke out, and he was compelled to provide a small-pox hospital, which was located under the drawbridge. The outrages upon the community continued. Death was almost certain to any one who ventured outside of the fort walls. The Indians, moreover, fired all night at the sentinels, thus making the siege almost a perpetual one. The woods near the fort were filled with prowling warriors, and as the days advanced their numbers increased. From Alexander McKee, the commander learned that the Mingoes and Delawares had recently sold skins and furs worth three hundred pounds, and invested it all in powder and lead. One day Sergeant Miller and two others ventured up to Grant's Hill, contrary to orders, whereupon Miller was killed and the others escaped by running for their lives. At the fall of Venango not a man escaped to tell the tale. At the fall of Presq' Isle two men escaped into the forest, and one of them, Benjamin Gray, a Scotchman, reached Fort Pitt, haggard and half starved, ten days afterwards. At the fall of Fort LeBoeuf on June 18th, Ensign Price was commander and escaped into the woods with a small force of men. On June 25th two of them reached Fort Pitt, and the next day the ensign and five others reached there. On the 27th four men and a woman from the fallen fort came in and with them came Benjamin Gray, above mentioned. As it happened they reached the vicinity of the fort when the Indian vigilance was somewhat relaxed, but there is no account of the number who were killed in their attempts to reach this place of safety. On June 22nd, a party of these Indians drove away the horses and killed the cattle that were grazing near the edge of the woods. Immediately, when these were out of the way, an attack was made on all sides of the fort, but the assailants were so far away that only two of the soldiers were killed. The garrison discharged their heavy guns, and the bursting shells among the Indians frightened them and for a time drove them away in confusion. With nightfall

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the firing slackened somewhat, though the entire night was made hideous by the war whoops of the foe, and by the occasional flashes from their guns.

At nine o'clock the following day several warriors approached the fort, apparently with no fear, and stood on the edge of the ditch while one of them named Turtle Heart, addressed the garrison. His story was that they came in great friendship to warn the English that six great nations of Indians had banded together, that Sandusky, Detroit and other forts had fallen, and that the Indians were on their way to Fort Pitt and would soon arrive. They advised the garrison to go at once, with their women and children, to the eastern settlements, which, Turtle Heart said, was their only safety. These friendly Indians would protect them from the few bad ones who were already around the fort, but this they could not hope to do when the western bands arrived. Captain Ecuyer told them that they must be mistaken about the western forts being captured, and that the garrison had plenty of provisions and ammunition, and was able to contend with all the nations of Indians who might try to attack them. He also told them that they were satisfied, and meant to remain where they were. Then he told them that in return for their kind feelings in telling him of these matters, he was bound to tell them of an army of six thousand English which would soon arrive at the fort, and that another of three thousand had gone up the lakes to punish the Ottawas and the Ojibwas, and a third had gone to Virginia where the Cherokees and Catawbas had united with them, and these were also coming to Fort Pitt. He advised them to go to their homes and their squaws and children at once, but told them not to tell the other Indians, lest they too, escape the vengeance that was soon to overtake them. In a letter written at that time, the captain says that he further gave "Turtle Heart, out of regard to him, two blankets and a handkerchief from the small pox hospital,".and adds, "I hope the present will have its desired effect." The captain's advice undoubtedly alarmed the visiting Indians, for the day following most of them withdrew towards the West, from whence they expected their allies.

A part of the ramparts of Fort Pitt had been damaged by the floods in the spring, and as soon as the Indians temporarily withdrew this was repaired and a line of palisades was set up at the foot of the rampart. The barracks were strengthened so as to be entirely bullet proof, and to the strongest part the women and children were assigned. The entire inside of the fort was of wood, and a fire engine from which water could be thrown was improvised, so that if the Indians should use burning arrows the flames could be put out from the inside. But several weeks passed with but little trouble, the enemy being again engaged in exterminating smaller settlements in the immediate vicinity of forts that had already fallen.

During July but little was done to annoy the garrison except by a few small bands of Indians who hung around the fort, but these on all occasions manifested the inherent malice of the race, and were sufficiently strong to cut off all possible communication with the eastern settlements. No letters were

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written during this time, and resultant upon this the most effectual means of preserving the story of their trials is lost to us. On July 26th a small body of Indians appeared at the gate, bearing a flag which had been presented to one of them by an English officer. They were admitted and were found to be chiefs high in standing in their tribes. Among them were Shingas and Turtle Heart, and others who had called before. They made a long, and, from the Indian standpoint, particularly, not an unreasonable plea. They admitted all the depredations the race had committed, but claimed that the English had brought it all on themselves. It was their country, which had been given them by their fathers, and into this the English had marched armies, built forts, cleared lands, though time and again the Indians had warned them to remove. "This land," said they, is ours, not yours." They said they had a message from the Ottawas at Detroit which informed them that a great body of Indians would soon join them and strike at the English at the Fork of the Ohio. They assured the garrison that no harm would be done them if they peaceably left the fort and went east to their wives and children. "But if you stay," said they, "you must blame yourselves for what may happen." This statement was, of course, not a reasonable one to Captain Ecuyer, who wasted words on them by telling them that the forts were built to supply the Indians with clothes and ammunition. He then refused to abandon the fort and said "I have warriors, provisions and ammunition to defend it three years against all the Indians in the woods, and I shall never abandon it as long as a white man lives in America. I despise the Ottawas, and am much surprised at you the friendly Delawares, proposing to us to leave these places and go home. This is our home. You have attacked us without reason or provocation. You have murdered and plundered our settlers and traders, you have taken our horses and cattle." With a few others words of admonition, he threatened to blow them up if they appeared again, and advised them to go home at once, and the emissaries departed. No one can blame the captain for meeting them in the way he thought his straitened circumstances demanded, yet all must have a feeling of sympathy because of the hardships which the progress of civilization had inflicted on these unfortunate tenants of the wilderness, and this feeling goes far to extenuate the bad faith and cruelty which marked their conduct during the whole uprising.

When the Indians could not thus gain the fort by flimsy pretext of friendship, they began a general attack. The first night after the conference the fort was surrounded by great numbers of them. They crawled under the banks of the rivers and dug holes with their knives, and in these burrows they were well concealed from the fort. The whole bank was lined with them, and from each burrow there sped a bullet or an arrow whenever a soldier's head was exposed. The day following, the attack on all sides was opened at sunrise and kept up without a moment's cessation until dark, and the same was repeated for five succeeding days. The soldiers were strictly ordered to lay close behind their parapets of logs. Thus for days they watched the stealthy enemy, and in reality more than paid back each shot from them. Side by side were lying behind these

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parapets the soldiers in the red uniform of the Royal Americans, and the border riflemen clad in homespun garments, or in the fringed hunting shirt so common on the frontier. Many of these had learned in the school of experience to fight with a skill which even surpassed that of the Indian warriors themselves. The soldiers within the fort enjoyed it, and were only prevented by the stern rules of the captain, from charging on their assailants and fighting them at close quarters. In broken English, Ecuyer directed, encouraged and applauded them for their bravery. The Indians shot fire arrows from their burrows, but none of them took effect. The war whoop of the enemy was terrible, and the women and children in the barracks clung to each other in agonizing fear from day to day. The attack was thus carried on for five days and five nights, yet so thoroughly bullet-proof was the fort, that no one was killed, and only seven were wounded. The captain reported that they were certain of having killed and wounded twenty warriors, without counting those they could not see. "Not an Indian," said he, "could show his nose without being pricked with a bullet, for I have some good shots here. Our men were doing admirably—regulars and the rest. All they ask is to go out and fight. I am proud to have the honor of commanding such brave men. I only wish the Indians had ventured an assault." The captain himself was one of the wounded and he reported the casualities in the following words: "Only two arrows came into the fort, one of which had the insolence to make free with my left leg."

While this method of warfare with its adverse results may seem like leading a forlorn hope on the part of the Indians, yet on the contrary, it could not otherwise than have succeeded, had they been permitted to keep it up, as was evidently their intention, for it must be remembered that all supplies and all communication were cut off from the fort. Nor could the fort have held out much longer, for notwithstanding Captain Ecuyer's boasts to the Indians, they had but a small supply to begin with, so small, indeed, that from the beginning of the siege those in the fort were put on half rations of bread and meat. The only possible result, therefore, would have been that the garrison would finally be forced to surrender, because of starvation. The force within the fort was outnumbered by the Indian besiegers, so that the prospect of victory by boldly leaving the fort and battling in the open, was almost equally remote.

But the Indians around the fort had spies out, and when, on August 1st, the rumor of an approaching army reached them, at once the force was moved away to another field. They knew they would be powerless as against one army within the fort and another marching on them from the East, hence they marched out to surprise the advancing army on the way, hoping to deal with them as Beaujeu had dealt with Braddock's army. How worthy this scheme was of the great leaders, Pontiac and Guyasuta, and how nearly it came to succeeding, will be more readily appreciated if the reader will begin with the march of the approaching army and follow it to the decisive battle which followed the removal of the Indians from the forests around Fort Pitt and from the burrows in the banks of the river.

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The reader will understand that while the object of Pontiac in Pennsylvania was first to capture Fort Pitt, he did not confine his hostilities to this region. Pontiac's forces extended as far east as Bedford and Carlisle, and even reached and overran the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia. Settlers in all these regions were driven from their homes and took refuge in forts and block houses, while scalping parties covered the community with devastation and blood. Fort Pitt had to be supplied mostly by pack horse trains under a military guard, and by way of the Forbes road. If, then, Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier fell before the Indians, the soldiers in Fort Pitt would soon be forced to surrender or starve. Ligonier had been surrounded, and, failing to take it, the Indians tried to burn it by shooting arrows with inflammable substance attached over the stockade to the combustible buildings inside. Fires kindled this way were many times extinguished. Captain Ourry, knowing that Bedford was in less danger than Ligonier, it being nearer the eastern supplies and troops, weakened his own garrison to send support to Fort Ligonier. He selected twenty riflemen, all strong young men accustomed to the hardships incident to a life in the wilderness, and directed them to make their way as rapidly as possible over the mountains to Fort Ligonier. The Forbes road was closely watched by the Indians, so these young men struck out through the trackless mountains, and soon appeared on the hillside east of Fort Ligonier. Being unheralded they dare not approach the fort lest they be mistaken for the enemy and fired on by those whom they sought to relieve. But fortunately they were discovered and fired on by the Indians surrounding the fort, and with this certificate of good faith, they were recognized by the watchful soldiers in the garrison, who opened its gates to welcome them, and, moreover, fired on their pursuers. The relief thus sent came none too soon, for the force was nearly exhausted, though they had plenty of provisions, ammunition and water. No one dared to leave the stockade for weeks. Domestic animals wandering outside were killed at once by the besieging Indians. The enemy doubtless knew of the military stores in Fort Ligonier ready for Fort Pitt, and that to secure these would force the stronghold on the Ohio to surrender, and that the devastation of the western settlements would follow. Rumors of all these matters were carried from Fort Pitt and from Fort Ligonier and Bedford to Carlisle. All united in asking that an army march at once to their relief. This army, it is true, must come from Philadelphia, and would require weeks of marching over the entire intervening Appalachian system of mountains, but it was the nearest assistance the besieged garrison could call on.

The French and Indian War had been a long one, and with the treaty of February 10, 1763, the army had been largely disbanded, so that when Pontiac's War came it found the resources of the country well nigh exhausted. Therefore, when the appeal of Fort Pitt for assistance was made to the commander-in-chief, General Amherst, it found him almost powerless to render any material aid. Nor could he in his northern post, appreciate the magnitude of the

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uprisings on the part of Pontiac's Indians. He regarded it as an uprising such as had often been threatened, and as often met bravely when it came, by the sturdy pioneers. He accordingly wrote to Colonel Bouquet saying, "Fort Pitt, or any others commanded by officers, could certainly never be in danger from such wretched enemies." In the same letter he asked for further information concerning the progress the savages were making, and upon receipt of this, promised to execute certain measures which he had in mind for the defence of the frontiers. His purpose was in reality to march an army from the North, and going down by the lakes, relieve Presq' Isle and Fort Le Boeuf, and then proceed to Fort Pitt. Like Braddock, he undoubtedly underestimated the power of the enemy, regarding them as undrilled savages and, therefore, not equal to meet the "King's Regulars." The appeals for assistance were sent largely to Colonel Bouquet, and came not alone from Fort Pitt but from Forts Ligonier and Bedford as well. With each advancing week the news grew worse and worse, and Bouquet was all this time communicating regularly with Amherst. Finally the latter, with considerable inconvenience to his plans, placed the Forty-second and Seventy-fifth Regiments, which were then at Philadelphia, under Bouquet's command, and directed him "if he thought necessary, to proceed to Fort Pitt." On July 3, 1763, Bouquet was at Carlisle when an express rider sent by Colonel Ourry, commanding at Fort Bedford, brought the news of the fall of Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. This added to the already great excitement and unrest among the people in the Carlisle region. The regiments intended for Fort Pitt had in the meantime moved to Carlisle, and were there preparing for their long westward march under Bouquet. The commander, with his usual expedition, was trying to recruit and build them up, but it must be remembered that the community surrounding Carlisle was already overrun with Pontiac's Indians. Almost every house, stable and shop in Carlisle and the military barracks at that place were filled to overflowing, and even the woods and fields around the town abounded with settlers and their families, many of whom were on their way to Philadelphia and were abandoning their homes, perhaps forever. This excited condition of the community prevented Bouquet from securing the proper transportation and from adding any material strength to his forces. Indeed, such was their great need and fear that he was compelled to share his own scanty provisions with them. The savages overran the country, far east of the Allegheny mountains and carried death and desolation everywhere they went. Hundreds of farmers were murdered and their wives and children if not murdered were carried off as captives. The property destroyed and stolen has been estimated at five hundred thousand pounds. On July 3rd the courier from Fort Bedford rode into Carlisle. He was at once surrounded by an anxious crowd and his tale of woe struck horror to the bravest pioneers. "The Indians," said he, "will soon be here." Bouquet spread the alarm by messengers sent in every direction; the messengers were met by fugitives on every highway or by-path, all fleeing to Carlisle for refuge. Armed men were sent out to warn the living

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and bury the dead. They found only death and desolation and were sickened by the horrible spectacle of groups of hogs tearing and devouring the dead bodies of men, women and children. In addition to the troops sent him by General Amherst, Bouquet had two companies of his own regiment, the German Swiss and the Royal American. But of the Seventy-seventh Regiment he received only a part and even these were so debilitated by long service and sickness in the South, that Amherst assigned them to Boquet's command with great reluctance, regarding them as only fit to recuperate in hospitals. With as much expedition as possible, Bouquet prepared his little band for the westward march. His mission was not by any means an inviting one. Except for the narrow road which Forbes, Washington, Bouquet and Burd had cut five years before, his way for the main part lay through an almost unbroken forest. Near Fort Pitt, in the gloomy wilderness before him, lay the bleaching bones of Braddock's army, and these dead in numbers far exceed all the soldiers of his army. To march west with such an army, only one-fifth of Braddock's army and scarcely the one-fifteenth of the army of Forbes, and at such a time, seemed almost foolhardy to the military men of that day. Nor did his soldiers know anything about Indian warfare save what he taught them as they marched west, for they had been but recently in the West Indies, where they were engaged in fighting the Spaniards. But the brave Swiss colonel was a most excellent teacher, for he was able at all times to match in shrewdness with the most wary Indian warriors. Washington prophesied that his force would never reach Fort Pitt. Indeed, all things being considered, we believe Bouquet's march to the relief of Fort Pitt must ever rank as the most stupendous undertaking of our colonial history. Finally on the 17th day of July he set out with a force of about five hundred men, of whom the most effective were the Highlanders from the Forty-second Regiment. As the heavy wagons of the convoy moved slowly westward through the streets of Carlisle, guarded by the barelegged Highlanders in kilts and plaids, the excited crowd gazed upon them with silence, for they knew that their only hope of relief centered around this doubtful enterprise. The haggard looks and thin, wan frames of the wornout soldiers, at least sixty of whom were unable to march at all and were carried in wagons, added to their doubts. Bouquet hoped that these would recuperate as he marched westward, and would be able to reinforce the small garrisons which he passed along the route. He reached Shippensburg, at the base of the eastern slope of the Allegheny mountains on July 20th. There his army found a starving, frightened, griefstricken multitude. According to his report there were 1384 inhabitants gathered there, consisting of men, women and children, many of whom were obliged to sleep in barns, stables, cellars and sheds, and all of whom had been frightened from their houses by the depredations committed by Pontiac's Indians.

Not knowing that Ourry had relieved Fort Ligonier from Bedford, Bouquet sent thirty of his best men on a rapid and most dangerous march to relieve the little garrison under Colonel Blane, Bouquet having previously sent two small

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companies of advance troops to relieve Fort Bedford. The troops to relieve Fort Ligonier made the march and entered the fort much as Ourry's men had done, under the fire of the besieging Indians. All the way west, Bouquet saw the country devastated, met thousands of settlers fleeing from their homes in quest of safety, but saw no Indians. Whole families were murdered and scalped within a few miles of his army, but so wary was the enemy that never in a single instance did Bouquet's army come across them. Word had reached him that Bedford and the surrounding community was filled with savages. He, therefore, meant to give battle to the enemy at Bedford, for in that vicinity their depredations indicated their presence in great numbers, though they had not attacked the fort because his advanced companies had added to its well known strength. But when his army arrived, no enemy was to be seen nor fought. He reached Bedford on July 25th, where he recruited his forces by inducing thirty backwoodsmen to accompany his army west. He remained at Bedford three days to rest his men and animals. He had great difficulty in securing frontiersmen, for most of them had ties which bound them to remain at home to defend their neighbors or those of still closer kindred. Until he reached Bedford his lack of pioneers was one of the weak points of his army, for the Highlanders, though brave and daring as the knights of old, were almost useless as scouts or flankers necessary to protect the line of march and to prevent surprises, for in that capacity they invariably lost themselves in the woods. Leaving Bedford on July 28th, they reached Ligonier on August 2nd, having now marched one hundred and fifty miles from Carlisle. His arrival brightened up the drooping spirits in the fortress. All Indians about the fort vanished at once as his army approached. The fort had been completely blockaded, and, like Bedford, had received no word from the outside for weeks. One of Bouquet's strong points in this march was the vigilance with which he guarded against surprises. Riflemen from the frontier scoured the woods in front of the advancing army. Backwoodsmen marched in the front, and were closely followed by the pioneers, pack horses, wagons and teams of oxen; then came the cattle necessary to subsist the army, and these were followed and guarded by the regulars, with a rear guard of backwoodsmen. The march was necessarily very slow, and the stifling heat of July and August in the dense forest added still more suffering and toil to the army. Yet in less than four days, under all these difficulties, the train wound its zigzag way up and down the Allegheny mountains and across Laurel Hill from Bedford to Ligonier, a distance of fifty miles. From Ligonier west the road, which the reader will remember was opened hurriedly by Washington five years before, was reported to be very bad. Furthermore, from certain unmistakable signs, Bouquet knew that the Indians had spies watching every movement of his army and that his train might be attacked at any time by the ambuscading foe. He therefore determined to leave his oxen, heavy artillery, wagons and knapsacks at Ligonier, and to move more rapidly with pack horses and a few necessary cattle. On August 4th the army, thus lightened, resumed the march from Ligonier with three hundred and forty pack horses laden with

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supplies for the immediate relief of Fort Pitt, and with the soldiers each carrying only his blanket and light arms. Blane had added to Bouquet's army at Ligonier such forces as he could spare from the fort, and it was strengthened there by some settlers who were in the fort for safety. Starting late on August 4th, the army marched but nine miles that day, and encamped west of Chestnut Ridge, perhaps about three miles southeast of Latrobe. On August 5th they struck their tents shortly after daylight and began their march, hoping to reach Bushy Run, about eighteen miles northwest, where they meant to rest during the heated part of the day, and then push on thirteen miles further, and thus pass certain dangerous ravines at Turtle creek by night time, for the commander feared an at-

The barrel of this gun was plowed up about 1828, by a man named Moore, on the Bushy Run battlefield. (August 5, 1763). It remained in the Moore family until 1888, when it came into the possession of J. Howard Patton, who had it remounted. It shows the flint lock very well.

tack should he pass them by day. To this end he had timed his march in leaving Ligonier. The country through which they were marching was hilly, apparently intended for the lurking Indians, whose strength lay in ambuscades and surprises. A tall dense forest, spreading for countless miles around, covered hill and dale. By one o'clock the tired and thirsty army was nearing Bushy Run, having traveled rapidly for about seventeen miles. Among the troops added at Ligonier was Andrew Byerly and several of his neighbors. Byerly lived near Bushy Run, at a place called Byerly's Station, and when Pontiac's Indians overran the community, with his wife and family he had taken refuge in Fort Ligonier. Byerly and about eighteen Highlanders were in front, when suddenly the sharp rattle of musketry, mingled with terrific war whoops from the Indians sounded through the woods. Twelve of the eighteen men fell almost instantly. The rear of the army rushed up to support the advance, but the firing only increased. The fire was returned, for a few Indians could be seen, and on these a general charge with fixed bayonets was ordered. This charge very soon cleared the ground of Indians, but only temporarily, for the assault almost instantly burst out in the rear, which showed Bouquet that his convoy of supplies was attacked. The troops at once fell back and drove the Indians away from the supplies, and formed a circle around the terrified pack horses. The attack was led

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by Guyasuta, heading a band of Indian warriors that had been collected from as far east as Ligonier, and included the besieging Indians around Fort Pitt, who it will be remembered, had left that place on August 1st. They knew the ground well, and fought from every possible place of concealment. The regular soldiers and Scotch Highlanders, though not accustomed to such warfare, inspired by their skillful commander, stood up bravely and resisted them in splendid shape. Bouquet, it will be remembered, had been instructing them daily during their march in the Indian mode of fighting. Again and again bands of Indians, now on one side, then on the other, would rush toward the circle, trying to break in. They were fired at and regularly chased back by bayonets, but escaping behind trees with great activity, very few of them were killed. The British suffered more than the Indians, for they were less accustomed to bush fighting, and necessarily had to remain at one place to defend the convoy. Thus the fighting was carried on for seven hours without intermission, and only ceased when the forest was darkened by the approaching night. The soldiers encamped for the night in the same position they had occupied all afternoon, each soldier resting on his arms, and with sentinels posted in every direction. Thirst had quickened their march at one o'clock, when word was passel along that they were nearing Bushy Run, for it must be remembered that all day they were marching on a dividing ridge and had passed but little water. But now the surrounding enemy forbade their removing from the higher ground, and not a drop of water was within the enclosure. Bouquet wrote that night that their thirst was more intolerable than the enemy's fire. It is well authenticated that at great risk a few hat fulls of water for the wounded, were brought from a spring near by, though it was closely guarded by the Indians. The night was perhaps more horrible than the day. Bouquet himself was doubtful whether his army could survive the contest which he knew the rising sun would bring him. He, therefore, wrote an account of the day's fighting to Sir Jeffery Amherst, and closed it with these words: "Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information that you may, at all events, take such measures as you think proper with the provinces for their own safety and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt; as in case of another engagement I fear unsurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provision, being very much weakened by the losses of this day, in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable."

Well might the brave commander say that the condition of the wounded was truly deplorable. About sixty soldiers and a number of officers had been killed and wounded by the first day's battle. The wounded were placed in the center of the camp, and the space occupied by them was surrounded by a wall of flour bags taken from the packhorses. They were thus protected in some degree against the bullets which whistled around the camp all night. In addition to their wounds and the agony of thirst, was the suspense of awaiting the issue of the battle which they knew would come with the morning light, without

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being able to take any part in it. Defeat stared the whole army in the face, and the wounded in particular knew that their only mercy in that event would be the tomahawk and the scalping knife. Nor would victory insure the safety of the wounded, for but little increase in their numbers would render it impossible for the army to transport them to a place of safety. The camp, moreover, remained in darkness all night, for lights or fires would but have directed the aim of the Indians.

With the earliest dawn of morning the battle was renewed from all sides at once, and except that it was more furious, and that the Indians were seemingly more positive of victory, and, therefore, more venturesome, it was fought very much like that of the day before. The interior of the camp was one of great confusion during both battles. The horses were secured near the wall of flour bags, which during the night and in the second battle screened the wounded soldiers. Many of the horses were hit by bullets. This would greatly frighten them, and sometimes eight or ten would break away and dash through the circle of troops and tear madly through the wilderness. Thus the battle was kept up until about ten o'clock, when the fertile mind of the commander conceived a masterly stratagem. He knew if the fiery circle of whooping demons could be brought and held together, he could easily overpower them. He knew, too, from their increased audacity the enemy thought his army was about to surrender. So he ordered two companies under the command of Major Campbell (which formed a part of the circle) to fall back to the central part of the camp, while those remaining in the circle were spread out to fill up the gaps made by the apparent retreat of the two companies and to cover their movement. The line forming the outer circle was also drawn in because of their fewer numbers remaining. The Indians, as was intended, mistook this for a retreat and, bloodthirsty for the numerous scalps and abundant provisions which apparently awaited them, with furious yells rushed headlong toward the circle. But below the circle there was a depression in the ground covered with a thick growth of trees, which concealed it from the Indians, who were swarming about it. Through this depression Campbell's two companies ran rapidly, and very soon came around behind the furious assailants and opened fire on them. The Indians were thus surprised, and though many of them were killed at the first fire, they stood their ground till the Highlanders, with yells as wild and furious as their own, fell on them with bayonets. As was expected, they could not withstand a charge of bayonets, and they accordingly lost ground. But, while the charge was in progress Bouquet, with the eye of a true soldier, seeing the direction the Indians must flee when overcome with bayonets, had concealed in the bushes two other companies under the command of Captain Bassett, taken from other parts of the circle, with orders to await quietly the approach of the enemy. Pressed by the terrific Highlanders, now maddened with hunger and thirst, the Indians passed directly in front of these two ambushing companies. At the proper moment Bassett's companies arose and fired squarely into them, and then charged them with bayonets. This completed the rout and the four companies

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drove them fleeing down the hill, firing as rapidly as possible, but giving the Indians no time to load their guns. Many of them were killed, and the remainder of this division were scattered in hopeless confusion. While this took place a smaller body of Indians had maintained a steady contest and about an equal one, with those who still guarded the other side of the circle, but, when they saw their comrades fleeing in disorder through the woods and saw the victorious troops advancing to attack them with bayonets, they, too, lost courage and ran for shelter. In a few minutes all was quiet, and not a living Indian was left on the ground. There were about sixty of them dead, however, and among them several prominent chiefs and warriors. All through the woods the bloodstained leaves showed that many more of those who fled were badly wounded. Bouquet's army took one Indian prisoner, whom most accounts say they killed as though he had been a wolf. Tradition, which is well founded, says he was captured by a Highlander who was very proudly taking him to Bouquet, when an overzealous and indiscreet officer shot him through the head, and was severely rebuked by Bouquet for doing so. Bouquet's loss was eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men, undoubtedly greater than that of the enemy. The first battle lasted about seven hours, and the second about six. Bouquet, with his army standing on the threshold of defeat and disaster, by this masterly stratagem, grasped from the very jaws of death, the greatest victory all things being considered, that was ever won over the Indians in America.

When the battle was ended the first duty of the army was to make litters on which to transport the wounded soldiers. They were also compelled to destroy many provisions and stores valuable though they were, after transporting them so far, which the loss of many of his horses made it impossible for them to transport farther. Then the army moved to Bushy Run, where it encamped for the night, on the banks of the cool shaded stream. They had scarcely formed their camp when they were fired on by a small party of Indians, who, however, were soon driven away. Fort Pitt was yet about twenty-five miles distant, and though the weakened and overburdened army marched as rapidly as possible, yet it did not reach the fort until the morning of the 10th of August. All the way the soldiers were annoyed by attacking parties of Indians, but these were minor matters to an army which had survived such a march and such a battle. The garrison had neither seen nor heard anything of the Indians since they had abandoned the siege on August 1st. On the morning of the 10th the Indians passed the fort in a body, and, as they saluted it by a scalp yell, they displayed these barbarous trophies, for they had scalped all they could find of the soldiers killed at Bushy Run. The inmates of the fort were, however, soon delighted to see Bouquet's army marching down, bringing food and soldiers to their relief. It came none too soon, for famine was close at hand. In a letter written to Bouquet on August 2d, by Captain Ecuyer, he says, "I have four legs of beef and no flour." This was indeed a limited commissary upon which to subsist nearly six hundred men, women and children. Had the siege been kept up by the Indians a day or two

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longer, which would have been the case but for the rumored approach of Bouquet's army, Ecuyer would have been compelled to surrender, which meant the murder of most of those in the fort. But during the summer the gardens around the fort were cultivated and, strange to say, they were not destroyed by the Indians. Doubtless they were so sure of capturing it that they preserved them for their own use. So the people had access to these when the Indians left on August 1st. Spelt, called also German wheat, was ripe, and moreover, the rivers abounded with fish, and the garrison was therefore reasonably well subsisted until Bouquet's army, with its relief, arrived. Bouquet had been ordered to march from Fort Pitt to relieve Forts Venango, Le Boeuf and Presq' Isle, but these forts had fallen, and his army was in such condition that a further march was out of the question. Shortly after his arrival at Fort Pitt he sent to Fort Ligonier for the stores and heavier guns left there. What he had already done excited great joy throughout the country, particularly among those who realized the incalculable difficulties of a campaign against the Indians.

After the conspiracy had spent its forces, Pontiac went to Illinois, and for a short time remained with a tribe of Indians near Joliet. He was killed by being stabbed in the back by an Indian who had been instigated to commit the deed by an English trader, who feared that Pontiac was about to arouse the Illinois Indians against the English. The Illinois Indians were held accountable for his death and the tribes which had long followed his matchless leadership united to chastise them for his death, so loyal were these red men of the forest to their great but misguided chief ruler.

The Indian, Guyasuta, who commanded the forces at Bushy Run, was a chief of the Senecas, and with him were many warriors of the Ohio tribes. He too, was a strong warrior, and in his savage way made a lasting impression on the times in which he lived. Though not by any means so powerful a character as Pontiac; he dominated the Western Pennsylvania division of Pontiac's War, and indeed in that day it was sometimes, and not without reason, called Guyasuta's War. He was a real savage, without the "quality of mercy" in his makeup, and never made peace save when compelled so to do. When Washington made his remarkable trip to Fort Le Boeuf in 1753, Guyasuta accompanied him as guide, and in the notes of that trip is spoken of as "the hunter." Washington thought well of him, and paid him a visit at his house in 1770, at which time he says the Chief treated him with great kindness. His home was on the Allegheny river, now the Darlington estate, near Sharpsburg, where he died, and was buried on the tract of land which still bears his name.

The Indians around Fort Pitt were undoubtedly greatly disappointed with their defeat in 1763. Bouquet's army, as we have said, was unable to go north to retake the fallen forts, nor could he at this time press them beyond the Ohio. As soon after his arrival at Fort Pitt as his troops were rested, they were divided up and distributed among the frontier posts to remain in that service during the fall and winter. Early with the opening of spring, preparations were under way to send an army among the Indians to chastise them for the

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mischief they had done in Pontiac's War. The forces for this purpose were recruited by Colonel Bouquet and concentrated at Fort Louden, Pennsylvania, but the usual delay was encountered, and it was August before the army thus recruited reached Carlisle. The Quakers would not go to war readily and were therefore slow to assist him. Bouquet wrote to Amherst, saying: "I find myself utterly abandoned by the people I am ordered to protect. I have borne very patiently the ill usage of this Province, having still hopes that they would do something for us and therefore have avoided a quarrel with them." Nearly two hundred of his men deserted before they reached Fort Pitt, but here by Bouquet's request he was joined by two hundred Virginians under Colonel Lewis. The army numbered about six hundred and were Pennsylvania and Virginia volunteers. They came west by the same route Bouquet's army had taken a year before, and reached Fort Pitt on September 17th. The intended field of his operations was west of Pittsburg. Its bearing on Pittsburg and the salutary effects of his campaign on the prosperity and peace of the western border were so direct that a brief account of it is in place.

He left Fort Pitt early in October, and by slow marches in less than a fortnight pitched his camp in the midst of the Indian dominion. The Indians had not forgotten the battle of Bushy Run. They knew of Bouquet's determined nature, and of his ability, even with a weaker army, to outwit and overthrow them in a contest. He repeatedly baffled them in their attempts to ambuscade him, and made them in the end glad indeed to sue for peace. They were scarcely allowed to molest his march farther than by these attempts to surprise him. His army with the usual train of pack-horses, cattle and sheep had encamped on the banks of the Muskingum river, in Ohio. From his camp he sent out invitations to all the neighboring tribes to meet him in council. Nearly every tribe was represented by its chief. Bouquet asked them that they enter into a treaty with him, that thereafter they should live at peace with the border settlements, and that they should within twelve days, deliver up all prisoners whom they had captured among the settlers and whom they yet held in bondage. They finally complied with these terms and entered into this agreement, which is known as the "Bouquet Treaty," and, in Ohio particularly, is indeed quite a noted one. The delivery of the prisoners had to be managed with great diplomacy on his part, lest the Indians fall on the prisoners and kill them. To prevent this he held some of the chiefs of each tribe as hostages for the safe deliverance of the prisoners. Thus it was that peace was again restored to the border settlements and without bloodshed. The army at length, on November 18, started back to Fort Pitt with several hundred men, women and children, made happy by thus being freed from captivity among the savages and restored to their homes from which they had been stolen. They reached Fort Pitt in ten days, just in time to escape the approaching winter.

Another work of Bouquet's which grew out of this campaign is still preserved and serves to make the expedition an ever memorable one to the people of Pittsburg. We refer to the old block house. When his army reached the

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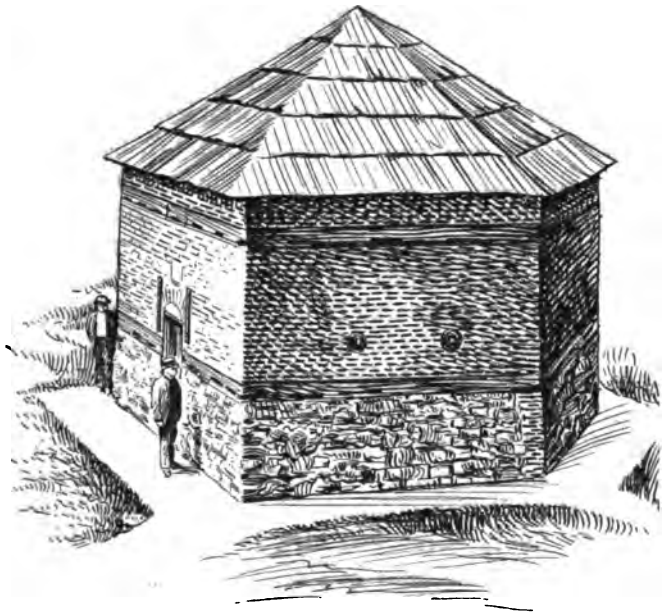
fort in August, 1763, he was not satisfied with it as a place of defence against an attacking body of Indians. The ditch or moat around the fort enabled the Indians to come within a few feet of it in dry weather and at the same time be protected against the guns by the banks of the moat. It is probable that he began the erection of a block house, or redoubt, that year, shortly after the battle



Block House at the Fork of the Ohio, built 1764, by Henry Bouquet. Still standing, now the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County.

of Bushy Run. It is certain that he finished it in 1764, but the time of year in which it was finished is not known. It is situated about four hundred and fifty feet from the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio, and it is about equally distant from each of these streams. The structure is of red brick, which the forces at the fort made and burned on the ground. Its slanting, five-sided roof was of old fashioned clapboards made from trees near by, and doubtless very much like those of a more recent make, which now protect the old structure from the rain. Near the center and also near the top of its walls are oak logs embedded in the brick and extending around the entire building and in these logs were cut thirty-three port-holes, fifteen below and eighteen above, through which the soldiers could fire on a besieging enemy. These portholes were in two rows, one above the other, one row for the upper and one for the lower story, for more effective action and by more soldiers in times of necessity. The structure is in the main part twenty-two and a half by sixteen feet, and has five sides, three of which are

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rectangular, the other two sides being each fifteen feet long, and closing up the twenty-two and a half foot side next to the Allegheny river. For this reason pictures of it taken from one side show apparently a four-square structure, while those taken from another point show a five-sided one. It is twenty-two feet high from the floor to the eaves of the roof. The inside of the building was and is yet provided with a stairway which wound up the two short fifteen-foot sides next to the Allegheny, going up to a gallery extending around the building. On this galley the riflemen stood when firing through the upper tier of port-holes mentioned. It was entered by one small door, and had no other means of receiving the sunlight except through the portholes. Above the door was a stone tablet, set into the wall, with the inscription, "A. D, 1764," and below is the name, "Coll. Bouquet." The carving is rudely done on a plain piece of sandstone, such as might have been found anywhere around the fort, but both the stone and its inscription are almost as perfect as though the workmen had but recently finished them. When the City Hall of Pittsburgh was built, the stone tablet was taken from the wall of the block house, which was not valued so highly then, and placed in the inside of the new building, at the head of the first landing of the stairway. On December 15, 1894, it was, by permission of the City Councils, and at the request of the Daughters of the American Revolution, taken from the City Hall and firmly cemented into its original position, where it is now and perhaps will ever remain. The block house is the sole existing monument of British dominion at Pittsburg, and is and perhaps will ever remain by far the most precious historic structure in the city. It is the oldest and first brick house built in Pittsburg. Further of its more recent history and the record title of the land upon which it stands, may interest the reader, and will be found elsewhere in this work.

Henry Bouquet was born on the northern shores of Lake Geneva, in the canton of Berne, Switzerland, about 1719. When seventeen years old he became a cadet in the regiment of Constance and later entered the service of the King of Sardinia, in whose wars he advanced rapidly in position, and was soon raised to the rank of lieutenant and later to that of adjutant. He entered the Swiss Guards as lieutenant-colonel in 1748. In 1754, when the war between England and France broke out, he came to America in the English service. He was an officer of high native ability, and soon won the confidence of the people of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He distinguished himself under Forbes in 1758, and was one of his chief advisers. More readily than any foreign officer of his day, he learned the best methods of fighting the American Indian. Few if any soldiers in our history have equalled him in this method of warfare. The crowning event of his military life must ever be his march to the relief of Fort Pitt, and the battle of Bushy Run. The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the House of Burgesses of Virginia adopted addresses of gratitude, tendered him their thanks, and recommended him for promotion in His Majesty's service. When peace with the Indians indicated that his services would no longer be needed, in this section, the king appointed him a brigadier-general and com-

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mandant in the Southern Colonies. He died in Pensacola, Florida, September 2, 1765. His will is on record in Philadelphia. His grave is unmarked and unknown. About a quarter of a century ago efforts were put forth by Adjutant General Richard C. Drum to locate his grave, through military authorities in the land in which he died. All efforts proved fruitless. He was probably buried in Pensacola, and the old cemetery of that place, which most likely held his remains, was destroyed by the Spaniards under General Galvez, in 1781.

HENRY BOUQUET.

Pittsburg is without monuments to five men whose names should be forever revered by her people. George Washington discovered and recommended the "Fork of the Ohio" as the best place to build a fort, and his suggestion was carried out. He afterward gave years of military service to wrest this community from the French, and to implant here the English speaking race which has since built up the busiest and one of the most powerful cities of the world. His achievements in life were all for the benefit of the human family, and were such as to rank him as the greatest man who has yet sprung from the English speaking people. A monument to him may be therefore erected with propriety anywhere in the United States, but there is no community save one, whose right to call him her special benefactor, and to preserve and revere his name for all time is equal to that of Pittsburg. Yet the stranger within her gates sees no monument, no tablet in bronze, and scarcely an inscription to emphasize his early connection with this locality.

The city itself, as the great American historian has beautifully said, is an enduring monument to William Pitt. Greatly, indeed, is the city indebted to him. It was his genius and foresight which sent armies across the ocean to assist us when we were weak; it was his enthusiasm and energy which inspired

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the English soldier to heroic efforts in the American wilderness; it was his integrity and sense of justice which nerved him to stand almost alone in the British Parliament in advocating the rights of the struggling colonies, by which advocacy he brought upon his hoary head the wrath of the English government. But the people whose greatest pride is the city which bears his name, have failed to rear to this forerunner of American liberty a special monument commemorating the interest which the great Englishman took in our cause, and particularly the efforts he put forth to secure possession of Fort Duquesne and the Ohio Valley for the Anglo-Saxon race forever.

Edward Braddock died bravely in the cause, and while his expedition did not accomplish the object for which he made the long, tedious journey, his defeat and death opened the eyes of the English and American people to the grave situation before them, so that they girt on their armor and renewed their attack with a zeal, a force and a caution equal to the demands of the occasion. In all our wars men have been sacrified before the people sustaining them realized the needs of the hour. The army which followed Braddock wisely profited by his bitter experience, but he who taught this lesson by laying down his life, should be none the less glorified because of "a memory clouded by misfortune and a name foreverever coupled with defeat."

John Forbes, by sheer power of his iron will, forced his army through the gloomy wilderness and, though debilitated by disease, succeeded on the way in bringing about a treaty with the Indians by reason of which the French were largely compelled to surrender Fort Duquesne without a contest. His victory opened the great West, which has since been filled with America's most thrifty people. His campaign broke up the long standing alliance between the French and the Indians, and did much to relieve Western Pennsylvania from the horror of the tomahawk and the scalping knife. He opened the first road into Pittsburg from the well settled East and there is no doubt but that he gave it the name of which all of its busy citizens are yet so justly proud.

Last but not least, a monument should be erected to Henry Bouquet. Aside from sharing with Forbes and Washington in the glory of taking Fort Duquesne and opening up the West, his march to the relief of the starving Fortress in 1763, must always be considered as one of the most marvellous in our history. The battle of Bushy Run, incidental to the march, brought a measure of peace and safety to the western frontier, and is without a parallel in the annals of our usually unfortunate warfare with the American Indians. These efforts were put forth by one born in a foreign land who sleeps perhaps in our territory, in an unknown grave. He dared to perform these services for the benefit of Fort Pitt and the surrounding community. Monuments to all these great names, even though in tardy recognition of their services, would show that the people appreciate the hardships endured and the heroic efforts put forth to found and nurture the civilization, the industry and the culture at the Fork of the Ohio which today constitutes their chief pride. They would bear down to future generations of unborn Pittsburgers, and to all the world, an enduring evidence of the patriotic spirit of the Iron City in the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER IV.

Titles to Lands In and Around Pittsburg

In order to understand thoroughly the difficulties by which Pittsburg was founded, and the methods by which titles to land purchased by the first settlers were granted, the reader must glance at our early history and its effects upon primitive settlements in Western Pennsylvania.

All of the present state of Pennsylvania was granted on March 4, 1681, by Charles II, king of England, to William Penn for marine services, which his father, Admiral Penn, had rendered the English government in European wars. This debt was about 10,000 pounds and the grant in payment was made directly to the son, William Penn, so that Pennsylvania was granted solely to an individual and not to a company or colony. William Penn began a settlement at Philadelphia in 1682. It was never called a colony as other settlements were, but a province, indicating in some degree, that its government was under the direction of one man. The heirs and descendants of Penn were called proprietaries and their civil government was called a proprietary government. From William Penn's first settlement in the province his policy was primarily one of peace with the Indians. Though his title to the land was pre-eminent, yet he purchased these lands from the Indians; these lands which were already his by a royal grant. In this way the province was saved much bloodshed and only when the spirit of his pacific principles in dealing with the Indians was forgotten or disregarded, or but nominally adhered to, were the settlements deluged in blood. His grant began at the Delaware river near the 40th degree of North latitude and extended west in a straight line a distance of five degrees of longitude, and thence in a straight line north to Lake Erie. When it was finally surveyed there was no room for doubt about its boundaries, but at the time of the first settlement of Pittsburg the boundary of Virginia conflicted, as it was then believed, with our territory. In 1609 the Virginia Company had been chartered by James I. By their charter, though it had been revoked in 1624, they laid claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania and Ohio and practically to all of the territory westward to the Pacific Ocean. The Virginia authorities, however, never disputed Penn's right to the land for five degrees west from the Delaware, but they claimed that by measurement this land would not reach beyond the Alle-

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gheny mountains, or at all events not west of the Monongahela river. This river flowing nearly north and the Allegheny river flowing nearly south would make, as it seemed to them, a natural and a reasonable boundary for Western Pennsylvania. The Virginians claimed further that they had fought for this territory around the Fork of the Ohio to wrest it from the French and Indians in the armies of Washington, Braddock and Forbes, and that the territory had been already settled to a considerable extent by people from their colony who had been guarded and protected in every way by Virginia. These claims were somewhat arrogant and in the main, as we shall see, were ill founded.

The southern boundary had also been in dispute and in 1767 Lord Baltimore, governor of Maryland, arranged with the Penns that two engineers should survey the land and forever determine the boundaries between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The surveyors chosen were Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who came from England to do this work. Their authority extended west only as far as Western Maryland. The line they located has since been known as the Mason and Dixon's Line, and has perpetuated their names in history for all time. But the survey did not settle the line west of Maryland, though Governor Farquier and many other prominent men of Virginia never seriously doubted its western location after that survey. The survey, moreover, settled nothing as to the western boundary (running north and south) of Pennsylvania, and the Virginia authorities continued to claim the land between the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers. They sold lands in that region at lower rates than the Pennsylvania authorities were selling them in any section, and the latter discouraged all settlements in the disputed territory until the boundaries could be determined. The reasoning on the part of both colony and province was obvious. To Virginia it was a clear gain to sell this land at any price, for the authorities scarcely hoped to hold all of it under the ultimate decision, but Pennsylvania had plenty of land to sell in undisputed territory and why, therefore, sell and improve lands which some day might in part at least fall within the limits of Virginia, or which by their improvements, would but quicken the zeal of Virginia in claiming them. Then it was the policy of the proprietary government to settle lands gradually as they came west so that the frontier settlers might unitedly protect themselves against the Indians.

But there was another reason far above all these why, so far as possible, they not only discouraged but prohibited all settlements in this section. William Penn, not only purchased or re-purchased his lands from the Indians, but he so thoroughly emplanted this principle in the minds of his sons and representatives that though he had been dead nearly fifty years, when Pittsburg was settled they were still at least pretending to follow his precepts in this matter. The proprietary government never willingly permitted any one to settle on land in a district which had not been purchased by them from the Indians. The Indians, it is true, were gradually receding before the white race, and were perhaps forced to sell their lands or be driven from them without remuneration. They were by nature a wandering people and the white race as a whole were

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naturally progressive and aggressive. These purchases from the Indians were made at treaties held between them and the white men. Both races were in all cases represented, but no territory was supposed to be ceded by the Indians to the white race, that is purchased from them, except for a valuable consideration on the part of the whites and especially upon a mutual agreement entered into between the representatives of both races in a treaty. These treaties from time to time secured the Indians in their possession of certain districts over which they were to have dominion, and this security was in return for lands which the Indians for other valuable considerations, sold to the white race. The districts thus ceded to the white race were called "purchases" because they were supposed to be purchased from the Indian. It is true that some times with but slight provocation the Indians broke their treaties, but it is doubtful whether they as a race flagrantly broke a regularly authorized treaty without some considerable and unnecessary provocation or reason given them by the white settlers.

At the treaty of Albany in 1754 all lands practically lying west of the Susquehanna river were supposed to be ceded to the white race by the Indians, but the latter very soon discovered that their representatives in the treaty did not understand the location of this western country and its boundaries, nor did they understand the points of the compass as well as the white representatives; for by this treaty they had parted with all their rights to lands as far west as Ohio. Much of this land they in reality meant to retain and it had been virtually secured to them by former treaties between the white race and the Six Nations, a confederacy formed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras tribes. To say the least, the purchases at the Albany treaty were irregularly if not fraudulently gained from the Indians. So flagrant was this treaty deception perpetrated on them that Governor Morris in 1755 issued a proclamation in which he denounced the Albany Purchase as little less than criminal and as an affront to the whole world. It took from the natives, he said, that which had been virtually ceded to them, and that which they had not knowingly parted with, and was, moreover, so sweeping in its dimensions that it left the Indians no country east of the Ohio to roam over and call their own. The white representatives of the Albany Treaty defended their actions by giving out that they, too, were ignorant of the geography of Western Pennsylvania, and by the terms of the purchase had received a much wider territory than they expected or intended to gain. This may have been true, at least in part. The hardship of this treaty on the Indians aggravated them and was an additional incentive which prompted them to unite with the French in opposing Braddock and which spurred them on to the violences and bloodshed which followed in the next three years after his defeat. The white race had paid dearly for the actions of their incompetent if not dishonest representatives in the Albany Treaty.

This was the great reason which induced the proprietaries to oppose and forbid the settlement of the Pittsburg territory. They had no right to grant

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lands in this section, if they kept their faith with the Indians, except by right of the Albany purchase, which they admitted was fraudulently obtained. To grant them, therefore, would have been a violation of good faith. There were several of these treaties by which the lands of Indians were purchased from them, but the treaties of 1682, 1718, 1736, 1754, 1758, 1768 and 1784 were the principal ones.

But far above and paramount to the rights of the proprietaries were the reserved privileges of the English crown. At will His Majesty had a right to send armies anywhere in America, to make conquests, to open and keep up highways, to establish military posts and to support a standing army in our midst if he thought fit or if his policy demanded it. When the Crown secured the Canadas, as well as the boundless west by the termination of the French and Indian War, the military posts built by the French fell into the possession of the English. These had to be kept up and for the purpose of supplying them alone, if for no other purposes, a communication had to be kept open between them and with the eastern settlements which served as a base of supplies for the garrisons. Most of the forts, whether built by the French or English, were regularly garrisoned. Generally the commandant was an English officer. To these commandants were delegated the power under certain restrictions to grant military permits to any one to settle on, cultivate and improve lands near the forts or on the military roads leading from one fort to another. This was necessary for the sustenance of the garrison. These settlers, particularly after the first year, were able to raise farm products in abundance and were glad to sell a sufficient amount of them to supply the garrison. In this way alone perhaps the garrison could be supported. It was a scheme of the great war minister, William Pitt, and was worthy of him, the shrewdest intellectual force of his century in England. The commandants did not grant absolute titles, but titles which might be perfected afterwards by complying with such regulations as the Proprietaries might require. The English government never even recognized the Indian's claim to the land, and of course never questioned Penn or his successors' title to it.

In the meantime hundreds of settlers, fur traders, farmers and merchants located in this region, some of them with military permits and others in direct disobedience of the mandate of the Proprietaries. To restrain these illegal settlements George the Third, king of England, as early as 1763 issued a proclamation to the effect that a line was drawn around the head waters of all rivers in the colonies which flowed into the Atlantic Ocean, and all emigrants were forbidden to settle west of that line. All of the territory west of the line was reserved for the Indians as far west as the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi river. Pittsburg was, of course, within the Indian territory. If the anxious-to-go-west people ever heard of the king's proclamation they paid no attention whatever to it. One writer says—"the hardy pioneer cared no more for the king's proclamation than he did for the bark of a wolf at his cabin door. The ink with which the document was written had not dried before emigrants

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from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania were hurrying into the Valley of the Monongahela." They squatted on land which they thought desirable and hoped finally to become its owners. It was wisdom on the part of the Proprietaries to keep these settlers out of this forbidden territory for their presence was a constant menace to the Indians, who did not and could not know, and would not believe that they were not there by sanction of the Penns, and, therefore, in violation of their treaty. The Indians laid in many complaints because of these encroachments, for they saw the inevitable result to their race. General Gage was then commander-in-chief of the armies of the colonies and put forth every effort to stop it, but all was in vain. Finally on February 13, 1768, an Act of Parliament was passed which provided that any one having settled here without permission and who should fail to move after a legal notice was served on him to do so should, after being convicted of such neglect, "be punished with death without the benefit of the clergy." There was also a severe penalty, imprisonment and a fine, imposed on those who even hunted deer or other wild animals in the prohibited district. Of course these drastic measures did not apply to those who had long before carved out homes in the woods of this district, nor to those who settled by military permits. Many adventurous pioneers who were determined to come here evaded the law in a measure by securing military permits, and these were granted right readily by accommodating commandants. The permit gave the settler permission to live on and cultivate a certain tract of land which was fairly well described and bounded, and in return the settler was to submit to all orders of the commander-in-chief, the commanding officer of the district and of the garrison. Finally General Gage with his troops began to remove settlers by force, and a great many of them were so ejected from this section, but as soon as the soldiers returned to the garrison the hardy pioneers moved again on to their farms or clearings. It was impossible to enforce the law, for the penalty of death could not be inflicted on a whole community; so the settlers came and the murmurings of the Indians became louder each month. The fear of an Indian uprising was, of course, the great reason why the Proprietaries were so determined to enforce the law prohibiting settlers from this district. Had there been nothing to prevent its settlement but the Indians all of these valleys would have been filled up almost in one season with an aggressive pioneer element who would have made short work of the Indian race. Settlers came west by both the Forbes and Braddock roads, the only ones open at that time, and both of them terminating at Pittsburg, made this a stopping place for all westward bound pioneers.

The Indians were always at war with themselves and no doubt often killed each other, but when a dead Indian was found the killing was invariably attributed to white settlers. In this connection Col. George Croghan, a brave, loyal and most capable diplomat, then living at Redstone, reported that many Indians had been killed by white settlers in times of peace around Fort Pitt, and insisted on the Proprietaries devising some means of stopping it. The settlers, it may be inferred, were an aggressive people, accustomed to rough usages, and

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Croghan's representations have never been disbelieved. The leaders in this community saw in this situation only one result, namely an Indian uprising. Accordingly in April, 1768, a preliminary treaty was held at Fort Pitt. Col. Croghan was the leader among the white representatives and there were from 1,700 to 2,000 Indians present, among whom were the chiefs of the Six Nations and also representatives from the Delawares, Shawnees and Muncys. Many presents were given to the Indians but no agreement or settlement of the difficulties could be arrived at. It was, however, a friendly meeting and the uprising among the Indians was somewhat allayed. During the summer the settlers came continually and those who were here would not remove. By the close of the summer the authorities knew that unless something was done to prevent it, a general Indian war might break out at any time. At the Fort Pitt meeting it was clear that the only safety was to purchase this territory from the Indians.

One of the most prominent men then in America was General Sir William Johnston. He lived near the present city of Johnstown, New York, and was, all things being considered, the ablest diplomat in Indian affairs in this country. He had managed many treaties, was thoroughly honest and was trusted implicitly by both races. He had, at the age of nineteen, come to America in 1734 because of a disappointment in love in Ireland, it is said, and had settled in the Mohawk Valley in New York, where he gradually acquired and managed large tracts of land and traded continually with the Indians. He became very wealthy and built a stately mansion of stone which is yet standing. On its mahogany staircase are to be seen the marks of the tomahawk made by the Indian chiefs who were friendly to him, as a sign to all Indians that this house was to be spared from the torch. He was married to a German woman, and upon her death married a handsome Indian girl, and this was perhaps the secret of much of his power with the race. He was clearly a leader, whether among the well-bred citizens of his native land or

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

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among the savages of America, adapting himself readily to the customs and habits of either. He had been a major-general in the French and Indian War and for these services was knighted by George I, and was afterward known as Sir William Johnson. The Crown also gave him large tracts of land and these with those he purchased, made him the largest land owner in America excepting the Penns. He had a marvelous power in harmonizing discordant elements among the Indians and white race and in leading or preventing Indian outbreaks.

The time had now arrived when the Indians of New York, Pennslyvania, Virginia and Ohio were rapidly putting on their war paint. The trembling wife and mother scarcely knew when she parted with her hubsand and child in the morning whether she would ever see them again or not. Under these circumstances all parties turned to Sir William Johnston as the chief arbitrator of the differences between the white and the Indian races. He suggested and called a convention at Fort Stanwix in New York in the fall of 1768. His chief assistant here was Col. George Croghan. It was largely attended by Indian chiefs and other representatives of the Indian race and by white representatives. By his great power over the red men most of the Indian grievances were redressed, tomahawks were buried, arrows were broken and peace and harmony secured. The final treaty was reached November 5, 1768, and by its terms the lands east of the Allegheny river as far north as Kittanning and southward and eastward of the Ohio down to the mouth of the Tennessee river "and extending eastward from every part of the said line as far as the lands between the said line and the purchased lands or settlements," were purchased from the Indians and conveyed to the Proprietaries. This treaty was held at Fort Stanwix near where Rome, New York, is now built. The district is yet called the "New Purchase" and embraced the land upon which Pittsburg was built but did not cross the Allegheny river or include the land on which Allegheny City was located. It was the last purchase made by the Penns from the Indians. The consideration paid them is said to have been equal to about $10,000 in provisions and money, and an unlimited supply of rum.

This of course opened up the territory in southwestern Pennsylvania so that the Proprietaries could in good faith grant lands in this section south of the Ohio and east of the Allegheny rivers, if they saw fit. There was accordingly a great rush for lands all around the head waters of the Ohio. Perhaps the very fact of settlements in this section having been so long prohibited, made the pioneer all the more anxious to locate here. The East, they said, was overpopulated and their anxious young men who wanted more land could not be provided for. We were not then very far removed from England with its large landed estates. The use of coal had not been discovered and every land owner thought he should have enough timber to furnish fuel for him and his descendants forever. While they were necessarily wasteful of timber in clearing land they, nevertheless, reserved an abundance. Our people were almost purely an agricultural people and nothing so pleased them as unnumbered acres of land. Particularly was

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this burning desire for large land possessions true of those who had recently come from Europe.

It was the custom of William Penn and his successors to reserve for themselves surveys of land in each section of the country opened up for general sale and settlement. Their purpose in thus reserving land was to hold it until the improvements of lands around it would make the reserved surveys more valuable. They generally reserved about one acre for every ten they sold. This custom was begun about 1700 and kept up constantly as they came westward for three quarters of a century. There was a very important reservation here called the "Manor of Pittsburg." The reader must now look into this matter and also into the manner adopted by the Assembly of divesting the title of the Penns to all other parts of the state.

The reader has had some intimation that a hostile feeling had gradually grown up between the Penns and the majority of the people of the province. The people were opposed to large estates like those reserved by the Penns, and to their holding unbounded acres under their original charter. Benjamin Franklin was a leader in this line of thought and for many years held that the entire system savored of the feudalism of England. Nevertheless the power of the Penns and the title to the lands was not seriously disputed prior to the Revolutionary War. Since the settling of the province the political authority of the Penns as granted to William Penn and his successors in the original charter by Charles II had been exercised by them or those whom they appointed. When the Revolution began John Penn, the grandson of William Penn, was at the head of the provincial government. The political power of the province was mainly vested in him or in him conjointly with his uncle, Thomas Penn, who was a son of William Penn and was then a resident of England. In the fall of 1779 Richard Penn, the son of Richard and grandson of William Penn, in company with Arthur Lee of Virginia was sent to England by the American congress bearing the last petition of that body to the Crown. Richard Penn was there subjected to a very severe examination by the House of Lords. His testimony was so much in favor of the provincialists in their rising dispute with the crown that he incurred the wrath of the peers. He said: "When I left Pennsylvania they had 20.000 men in arms," and he said further that there were 60,000 men in the provinces able to bear arms. Lord Littleton said: "With all the caution with which Mr. Penn guarded his expressions he, nevertheless, betrayed through the whole of his examination the strongest indication of the strongest prejudice." Richard Penn was in reality the only one of the Penns who was loyal to the American cause and who remained so during the Revolution. Had all the members of the Penn family been as loyal as he they would doubtless have fared better with the law-making body of the state of Pennsylvania.

The impression rapidly grew upon the people that the proprietary tenure of the land within the limits of Pennsylvania and the rights which the Penns had reserved in the form of quit rents payable from year to year should not be allowed to continue. Particularly did this sentiment grow when the state was

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thinking of its ultimate freedom and when the Penns were apparently opposed to the liberty of the people. The reserved powers of the Crown could not be interfered with at that time. This hostile feeling toward the Proprietaries grew very rapidly after the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It did not seem even reasonable thereafter that vast domains of unimproved lands should remain the property of the Penns who in the very titles they granted recognized and acknowledged their allegiance to Great Britain. This land was moreover unproductive so far as contributing its share of the expense of the war then coming on was concerned. Controversy had often arisen even in the days of William Penn, who died in 1718, over the quit rents which patented land was subject to from year to year. The grievance of the citizens was, therefore, not new but it was year by year growing more violent. The time had arrived when a remedy in the shape of a divesting act which would take from the Penns their original rights must be applied. It is to the credit of the men of that day that though in the midst of the Revolution when precipitate measures might have been overlooked they met the question with firmness and dignity and without any unnecesary violation of the rights of others.

President Reed in a message to the Assembly in February, 1778, called attention to the character and effect of the claims of the Proprietaries, saying that "to reconcile the rights and demands of the state with those of private justice and equity in this case will be worthy of your most serious attention." The Assembly took up the matter by giving due notice to John Penn of what it had in mind. He requested time to more thoroughly examine into the rights of the proprietaries of whom he was the acknowledged head. On March 18th, his counsel asked for a further delay, which was readily granted by the assembly. After this five days were given over to the argument of the question in the assembly. On March 21st, it asked for the opinion of Chief Justice McKean on the legal points of the controversy. The questions asked him were relative to the authority of the Crown to grant the original charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of the concessions of the first purchase with the rights of the Proprietaries to reserve quit rents, etc. These questions were answered by the chief justice. At that time a great many men denied the right of the Crown to grant to Penn and consequently denied the validity of the Penn's claim. They strenuously argued that the quit rents were reserved to the Penns for the purposes of supporting the government and should not be paid to them but to the new government which was formed shortly after the Declaration of Independence. The chief justice denied these favorite propositions, taking decidedly the unpopular side of the controversy. The committee appointed by the Assembly was not guided by his opinion. They did not ponder long over the abstruse questions of the law but adhered firmly to the political question which confronted them and which controled the situation. No one who looks at the question with the light of the present day will doubt for a moment that the continuance of the Penns' rights including their preemptions and quit rents, was entirely incongruous and inconsistent with the republican institutions which

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came with the Revolution of 1776. The opinion of the chief justice and the report of the committee were ordered to be printed on April 5, 1779, and the legislature adjourned soon after that and before any action was taken. The new legislature met in October and at once took up the subject and prepared a bill which was referred to the chief justice and to the chief legal adviser of the assembly, now called the attorney-general. The bill, called the "Divesting Act," was finally passed on November 24, 1779, by a vote of forty to seven. The minority vote entered a protest, and John Penn wrote an able but short remonstrance against the proceeding and sent it to the assembly. This remonstrance was printed in the *Journal*. The Act, as its name indicates, divested the Penns of all their proprietary interests in the public lands and of all quit rents reserved from lands which had already been sold, but it carefully protected their rights in all private property, and regarded the various reservations in the state, among which was the Manor of Pittsburg as private property. The Assembly did not take these immense possessions from the Penns without compensation, but allowed them 130,000 pounds sterling money of Great Britain, amounting then to about $600,000, for the rights of which they were divested by the bill. This money, with interest, was paid to them in full within eight years following the passage of the act. The law and its compensatory clause probably did justice to both parties, for after the first irritation which the controversy had brought about had passed away, there was very little complaint on either side. The Penns moreover claimed, and not without reason, that the Divesting Act had been brought about by the action of Great Britian toward the colonies, and whereas the Crown had assured to William Penn and his successors forever, these lands in Pennsylvania, they set up a claim against Great Britian for their loss which they estimated at one half million sterling. Recognizing the Penns as loyal subjects who had suffered because of their loyality to the English government, the Crown agreed to pay them the additional annuity of 4,000 pounds.

The Manor of Pittsburg was surveyed on March 27, 1769, on a warrant which had been dated on January 5th. On May 19th the survey was returned to the land office. It called for 5766 acres and an allowance of 6 per cent for roads, etc. The metes and bounds of the original survey was as follows:

"Beginning at a spanish oak on the southern bank of the Monongahela; thence South 800 perches to a hickory; thence West 150 perches to a white oak; thence North 35 degrees West 144 perches to a white oak; thence West 518 perches to a white oak; thence North 758 perches to a post; thence East 60 perches to a post; thence North 14 degrees East 208 perches to a white walnut on the banks of the Ohio; thence up the said river 202 perches to a white walnut; thence across the river obliquely and up the south side of the Allegheny 762 perches to a spanish oak, at the corner of Crogan's claim; thence South 60 degrees East 249 perches to a sugar tree; thence South 85 degrees East 192 perches to a sugar tree; thence by vacant lands South 18 degrees East 23 perches to a white oak; thence South 40 degrees West 150 perches to a white oak; thence West to claim of Samuel Semple 192 perches to a hickory; thence South 65 degrees West 74 perches to a red oak on the bank of the

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Monongahela and thence obliquely across the river South 78 degrees West 308 perches to the place of beginning at the spanish oak."

This was the most valuable of all the Penns' reservation in Pennsylvania. It did not require great foresight in the Penns to fortell that this land between the two rivers at the head of the Ohio navigation would one day be of great value, and hence the reservation. They reserved the lands south of the Ohio because the hills were even then known to be full of coal. But the reader cannot but readily see that by the Stanwix purchase the land west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio was not passed from the Indians. Since this is the land upon which Allegheny City is now built, it becomes very important. It was claimed by the Indians, that is, by the Six Nations, up to and including the years of the Revolution. It included all lands west of the line of the Stanwix purchase of 1768, within the charter limits of the state. Accordingly a second treaty was held with the Indians of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix on the 24th of October, 1784. In this treaty an agreement was made between the commissioners who represented Pennsylvania and the Indians, whereby their title to all land within the boundaries of the State that remained in them after the treaty of 1768, was passed to the white race or extinguished. The consideration was $5,000, and $9,000 additional, which was expended in purchasing presents for the Indians. But after this was concluded and the lands passed, the Delawares set up a claim and with them were united the Wyandots, all claiming an interest in this same land. The same commissioners who had represented the State at Fort Stanwix were then sent to Fort McIntosh, where in January, 1785, they succeeded in making a final agreement by which they purchased the same land from the Delawares and the Wyandots. The deed, signed by both tribes, is dated January 21, 1785, and is the same in words, boundaries, etc. as the Stanwix deed except that the consideration of the latter was $2,000. It was thus that the land north of the Allegheny river could not be legally settled till after the above dates, and as we shall see, it was very rapidly taken up.

The land office was opened for warrants for land in the Stanwix purchase on April 3, 1769. The method of selling land adopted by the Proprietaries has been practicaly unchanged even to this day.

From the foregoing it will be learned that no warrant for land in Allegheny county ante-dated April 3, 1769, though even the Pittsburg settlement is older than this date. Those who had settled on unimproved lands were now allowed to prove their titles by securing warrants and patents. A preference of location was shown to those who had served in the army and likewise to those who had settled by military permits, but warrants were not issued until 1772 to those who had settled on and improved lands without some right to do so. After that, as far as it was possible, without imposing upon the rights of others, the land office authorities when it came to granting titles recognized the claims of the enthusiastic pioneer who had the hardihood to settle here in defiance of law and authority. But there were many titles in this section which were in-

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volved in almost endless litigation. In some instances these lands were sold often more than once, before a title from the Proprietaries of the commonwealth was possible. From these and kindred complications arose long litigations which for almost a century perplexed the minds of the ablest lawyers and judges we have yet produced. They were known as land lawyers, a title which is almost unknown to our generation.

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CHAPTER V.

Formation of Westmoreland County.

As early as 1770 efforts were made in southwestern Pennsylvania to organize a new county for it must not be forgotten that Pittsburg through all these years was in Cumberland county. Petitions were then presented to the council, and in 1771 the county of Bedford was organized, with Bedford as its county seat. Cumberland county assumed civil authority in this community, for as early as May, 1770, Thomas Gist, Dorsey Pentecoast, Arthur St. Clair, and William Crawford were appointed justices of the peace for that part of Cumberland county which lay west of Laurel Hill, though we can find no authority for saying that they exercised their official functions in this immediate locality. The reader may wonder why, when the settlers lived so remote from their county seat, they were so slow in securing the erection of new counties. The length of time intervening between the formation of counties coming westward is indeed remarkable. Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester counties were formed by William Penn when the Province was founded in 1682, and these three have always been known as the Quaker counties. Next coming westward was Lancaster in 1729, while twenty years afterward came York in 1749, with Cumberland in 1750. Twenty years then elapsed before another county was formed on the Southern border. The explanation is simple: A new county had to be erected by an Act of Assembly, and the old counties had a preponderating influence in that body. The Quaker counties particularly were strong and desired to retain their majority in the Assembly, or council. Had it not been for the desire of Proprietaries to sell lands in newly acquired districts, it is doubtful whether they would have followed each other as rapidly in their formation as they did. On the formation of Bedford county justices were appointed for the region of Bedford county lying west of Laurel Hill. The entire territory to the Ohio was divided into townships. Taxes were assessed and roads were laid out, but all accounts show that for the preservation of peace the justices were almost powerless. A turbulent element composed largely of fur traders, had grown up here and had organized themselves into a body to resist the power of the justices, and one or two deputy sheriffs who came out here from Bedford to arrest them were severely beaten

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and sent home. Some indictments were preferred against members of this unruly element, but the authority was too feeble; they were too far removed from the seat of justice for the county justices to be in any way efficacious. Bedford was 100 miles east of Pittsburg and the only communication was by the Forbes road, which was at best but a crude military way, winding over three ranges of mountains and by this time badly neglected. This road was at that time, fitted for little else than pack horse trains, but there came a constant stream of immigration to this section. There was, moreover, a growing desire to settle on the Ohio or on the banks of these navigable rivers. Pittsburg became an important point; not only was it the metropolis of this immediate section, but from here supplies were sent down the river to the southwest, for even then Western Virginia and Kentucky were filling up with pioneers from the East. Pittsburg in 1772 had the aspect of a town, and was the only one west of the Allegheny mountains. All legal business had to be transacted in Bedford. Arthur St. Clair at this time was living at Ligonier, where he had formerly been in command of the fort. He had come to America with the army of General James Wolfe and had fought with him at Quebec. He had later married a wealthy young woman, Phoebe Bayard, of Boston, and had finally become chief agent for the Penns in southwestern Pennsylvania. In Scotland he had received a superior education and, being of a noble family, had all his life moved in the best society. He had taken up his residence near Fort Ligonier, where he acted as an arbiter between the authorities and the Indian tribes, and had great influence with the Indians, for he always treated them fairly. His relations with the Penns, the glamour of his military record under the romantic General Wolfe, his education, his manners and wealth gave him a high. standing all over this community. In 1772 petitions were circulated in the settlements between Laurel Hill and the Ohio, praying for the erection of a new county. These petitions set forth in good form the disadvantages under which the citizens labored and asked that a county be formed, with its county seat west of Laurel Hill. This movement was headed by St. Clair, and all the settlers apparently looked to him to manage the matter before the Council and before the Penns. In 1773 the Assembly took the matter under consideration and in due time passed the organizing Act, which was dated February 26, 1773. The governor who signed the bill was Richard Penn, and he named its officers, as was his duty, to serve until their successors could be elected. At that time, in selecting names for new counties, the council or those introducing the bills, had not gotten away from the time-honored English names, for we were yet under the dominion of Great Britain. The new county was therefore named Westmoreland after a county of the same name in England. Since it included the most western part of the province its name was peculiarly appropriate. The first section of the act creating Westmoreland county sets forth that the formation of a new county was represented to be necessary by petition signed by the inhabitants of that part of Bedford lying west of Laurel Hill, and that a new county was

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therefore formed called Westmoreland. This section also gives the boundary which began at a point where the most western tributary of the Youghiogheny river crossed the boundary line of the province; thence down the eastern bank of the river till it crossed Laurel Hill, which it followed northeastward till it ran into the Allegheny mountains; thence following those mountains along the ridge dividing the Susquehanna from the Allegheny river to the purchase line at the head of the Susquehanna river and from there due west to the limits of the province, and by that line to the place of beginning.

The second section of the Act secured to the inhabitants all the rights and privileges then enjoyed by the inhabitants of other counties. It provided also for the election of a representative in the assembly defining the place of holding the election as at the house of Robert Hanna until a court house should be built. The next section declared the authority of the justices of the supreme court to be the same in the new county as it was in other counties, and authorized them to deliver the jails from capital and other offenders. The last section indicated that there should be a competent number of justices authorized by the governor to hold courts of general quarter sessions of the peace and of general jail delivery and courts for holding pleas. It also designated the time for holding the courts, fixing this time on the Tuesday before the Bedford term of courts in the months of January, July and October. It further directed that the place for holding courts should be at the house of Robert Hanna till a court house should be built. The Act also provided for the collection of taxes which had been assessed in Bedford county, for the continuance of suits previously brought in Bedford county, and appointed trustees for building a court house and prison, and directed that the sheriff of Bedford county should superintend the first election. Thus it was that Pittsburg as a part, and indeed a very important part of Westmoreland county, really began its civil existence. It was the eleventh of the original provincial counties and was the last one erected under the Hereditary Proprietaries and under the reign of the English law. The territory included in Westmoreland, as indicated by the boundary given above, embraced all of the western part of Pennsylvania. For reasons explained in the previous chapter, the authorities did not feel safe in taking in any territory west of the Fork of the Ohio river, nor did they feel safe about the southern boundary, for Mason and Dixon's line had not yet been completed farther west than the western part of Maryland. They left the southwestern region beyond the most westerly branch of the Youghiogheny to Virginia, but claimed all the territory as far west as the Ohio.

At this time Virginia claimed practically all territory in Pennsylvania west of the mountains and the formation of Westmoreland was readily secured, for by this means the Penns hoped to assert their claims as against those of Virginia. The Virginia claims will be considered in a following chapter.

On February 27th, the day after the Erecting Act was passed, the governor sent to the Assembly a list of names of persons he had chosen as justices in the county court and as justices of the peace. These names were: James

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Hamilton, Joseph Turner, William Logan, Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, Thomas Cadwalader, James Tilgman, Andrew Allen, Edward Shippen, Jr., William Crawford, Arthur St. Clair, Thomas Gist, Alexander McKee, Robert Hanna, William Lochry, George Wilson, William Thomas, Aeneas MacKay, Joseph Speer, Alexander McLean, James Cavett, William Bracken, James Pollock, Samuel Sloan and Michael Rugh.

A few words of explanation concerning the duties and powers of these justices may not be out of place here. Any three of them had power to hold the ordinary common pleas and quarter sessions courts. The Act of September 9, 1759, provided that "persons of the best discretion, capacity, judgment and integrity" should be commissioned for the common pleas and orphans' court, and that any three of them should be empowered to act. All were appointed for life or good behavior. By the constitution of 1776 this term was limited to seven years, but the constitution of 1790 restored the former tenure. The Act of 1722 provided for the appointment of a supreme court of three judges, afterward increased to four, before whom proceedings of the county could be reviewed. The members of this supreme court were necessarily learned in the law, and they had further jurisdiction over the capital cases, and for this purpose one of them was compelled to sit in each county twice a year. Treason, murder, manslaughter, robbery, horse-stealing, arson, burglary and witchcraft, etc., were all punishable by death. Any three of the above justices therefore could hold our ordinary courts but they could not try a case the punishment of which was death. They were also justices of the peace and could separately hear cases as aldermen do now. Some of the above named justices were really great men and are spoken of elsewhere in this work. They were not learned in the law but were men of high standing in the community, and almost every one of them had a trace of the manners of the Old World about them.

The first court was held at Hannastown on April 6, 1773. The minutes recite "that it was held in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III, by the Grace of God, Great Britain, France and Ireland, King and Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three." William Crawford and two of the Associates whose names were not given in the minutes, sat on the bench and organized a court of the quarter sessions of the peace, William Crawford presiding. There, in a low two-storied log house, overshadowed by the trees of the forest, were the great principles of English jurisprudence publicly meted out to the pioneer inhabitants, and this was the first place west of the Allegheny mountains where courts were held and justice was administered by judicial authority. The court house was on the Forbes road, about three and one-half miles northeast of the present town of Greensburg. The first business of the court was to divide the county into eleven townships and to name the townships. Some of the names had already been given to localities in this section as townships of Bedford county. These eleven townships covered all the territory of Westmoreland county between Kittanning and the Youghiogheny river and be-

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tween Laurel Hill and the Ohio, as is evidenced by their boundaries given in the minutes. The townships were named Fairfield, Donegal, Huntingdon, Mt. Pleasant, Hempfield, Pitt, Tyrone, Spring Hill, Manillin, Rostraver and Armstrong. Pitt township included all of the present county of Allegheny east of the Allegheny and south of the Ohio rivers and much that is now in Westmoreland, Fayette and Washington counties. In the court minutes its boundary is noted as beginning at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas and running down the Allegheny river to its junction with the Monongahela; thence down the Ohio to the western limits of the province; thence down the western boundary to the line of Spring Hill township; thence with that line to the mouth of Red Stone Creek; thence down the Monongahela to the mouth of the Youghiogheny river; thence with the line of Hempfield township to the mouth of Brush Run; thence with the line of said township to the beginning.

After the division of the county into townships the minutes show that a grand jury was called and John Carnahan was made foreman. A number of constables were appointed and they were put to work at once, for several jurymen who were summoned had failed to attend. These were brought in by the constable and fined. A number of persons were also authorized to sell liquor; their names being Erasmus Bockavus, John Barr, William Elliot, George Kelly, and Joseph Erwin. The latter kept an inn at Hannastown in a log house which was owned by Robert Hanna, who was probably on the bench when the license was granted and is supposed to have taken care of his tenant. There is, however, no evidence that any who applied for license were refused. The courts also fixed the rates to be charged by the tavern keepers who were licensed, and directed that the clerk of courts should make out a copy of these rates for each landlord who should pay the clerk 1s. 6d. for doing so. A copy of these rates was to be suspended in a prominent place in their hotel. The rates fixed by the judges were spread on the minutes and were as follows:

Whiskey per gill, 4 pence; West India Rum per gill, 6 pence; Continent per gill, 4 pence; Toddy per gill, 1 shilling; 1 bowl of West India Rum Toddy in which there shall be one-half pint of loaf sugar, 1 shilling, 6 pence; a bowl of Continent, 1 shilling; Madeira Wine per bottle, 7 shillings 6 pence; Lisbon Wine, 6 pence; Western Toland Wines, 5 shillings; Grain per quart, 2 1-2 pence; Hay and Stabling per night, 1 shilling; Pasturage per night or 24 hours, 6 pence; Cider per quart, 1 shilling; Strong Beer per quart, 8 pence.

The incompatibility of office to which we are accustomed now was apparently not thought of then as is evidenced by the minutes of these early courts. One man could hold as many offices as he could secure. Arthur St. Clair was the first prothonotary and clerk of courts, which offices he had also held in Bedford before. He recorded deeds and performed all the business of the courts for a time. He was also justice of the peace and heard cases before him at his home in Ligonier, and sometimes sat on the common pleas bench at Hannastown. Occasionally too, he conducted a case, perhaps in the absence of a regular attorney. He kept the court records and during the time of the Indian incur-

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sions and during Dunmore's War, took the records to his house at Fort Ligonier for safe keeping. John Proctor was appointed sheriff, a position which he held in Bedford county, although he lived west of Laurel Hill in what is now Unity township, near St. Vincent's monastery. His sureties were William Loughry and Robert Hanna, and they were approved in the presence of Michael Huffnagle by Arthur St. Clair, all of whom were justices of the same court. James Bryson was employed by Arthur St. Clair as his office clerk and remained in office some years after St. Clair resigned to enter the revolution. Those who will take time to examine the first court records as kept by Bryson will feel amply repaid and will be delighted with their legibility and artistic beauty. After 135 years they are almost as bright and legible as though they were written but yesterday, while many writings written almost a century afterward are rapidly becoming illegible. James Bryson afterwards became a prominent citizen of Pittsburg. John Proctor, the first sheriff, was a man of sterling qualities and though appointed by the Penns, took sides against them when their Tory principles brought them into conflict with the people. He was a colonel in the militia in his day and of a regiment of associaters brought into being by the gathering war clouds. During the Revolution he held many offices of trust and with Thomas Galbraith, was appointed to seize the property of Tories of Westmoreland, most of whom were in and about Pittsburg. Later he was a member of the assembly. His last days were somewhat clouded for his property was sold by the sheriff in 1791 and his family was very poor. He was a Presbyterian and his house was used as a preaching place before a church had been erected. He is buried in Unity cemetery near Latrobe in an unmarked and unknown grave.

The election which was provided for in the Erecting Act was held in Hanna's house on October 1, 1773. Proctor was elected sheriff and was commissioned on October 18th. Joseph Beeler, James Smith and James Cavett were elected county commissioners. James Kinkaid and William Wilson were chosen coroners. Benjamin Davis, Charles Hitchman, Christopher Hayes, Phillip Rodgers, James McLain and Alexander Barr were elected assessors for the various parts of the county. William Thompson was elected first assemblyman from Westmoreland. All were sworn into office by St. Clair. The commissioners proceeded at once after their election to adjust debts and to levy a county tax. For eight years the entire county voted at Hannastown. In 1783 two other districts were provided, but with the erection of Fayette county one of them, the Redstone district, fell almost entirely within the new county. The legislature therefore changed the district so that those electors who still remained in Westmoreland should vote at William Moore's house in Rostraver township. The act of September 13, 1785, redivided the county into five districts. All lying north of the Conemaugh and Kiskiminetas were to vote at Daniel Johnson's house; all in Ligonier township between Fayette county and the Conemaugh river were to vote at Samuel Jamison's house; all in Huntingdon and Rostraver townships were to vote at William Moore's house in the

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latter township; those in the Fort Pitt district, now Allegheny county, were to vote at Devereux Smith's house, and all who were not included in these four district were to vote at Hannastown.

It was scarcely supposed when the county was formed that the county seat would or could be located elsewhere than at Pittsburg. It was the only town in the county and though at its western border so far as the real jurisdiction of the courts extended, it was the metropolis of all of southwestern Pennsylvania. The trustees appointed by the Supreme Executive Council were: Robert Hanna, Joseph Erwin, John Cavett, George Wilson and Samuel Sloan. Hanna had come from the north of Ireland and had taken up lands on the Forbes road, about thirty-four miles from Pittsburg. There was even then considerable travel over the road and a demand for a stopping place between Pittsburg and Fort Ligonier. To cater to this demand he had converted his log house into a tavern, but the law forbade the granting of a license to one who, by virtue of his office could sit on the bench, and Hanna had accordingly rented his tavern to Joseph Erwin. Hanna must have been a leader of men and more than average shrewdness. He rapidly induced other immigrants to settle around him, so that the place was, even as early as 1773, known as Hannastown. Erwin, being Hanna's tenant, readily sided with Hanna, and in some way they induced Samuel Sloan, who lived nearby, to vote with them in the selection of a temporary county seat. Thus there were three out of five trustees who voted for Hannastown. The place had many disadvantages and only one advantage over Pittsburg, that is, it was more centrally located between Laurel Hill and the Ohio. It was selected with great opposition particularly from Pittsburg and other settlements west of Hannastown. Aeneas MacKay, a merchant of Pittsburg, on March 13, 1773, wrote a letter to Arthur St. Clair in which he greatly deprecated the selection of Hannastown. In the letter he says:

"Everybody up this way are well satisfied there is a County this side of the Hills, although I find everybody else as well as myself observes with infinite concern that the point in question is not attended with so favorable circumstances as we at this place had reason to expect from the very nature of things. I cannot express my surprise at the point determined in favor of the courts of law as sitting at Hanna's Town. Pray may I ask the question where is the convenience for transacting business on these occasions, as there are neither houses, tables nor chairs. Certainly people must sit at the roots of trees and stumps and in case of rain the lawyer's books and papers must be exposed to the weather. Yet to no purpose as they cannot presume to write, consequently nothing can be done but that of receiving fees by which means everybody, the lawyers only excepted, going to or attending court, must be sufferers. No doubt Mr. Erwin and a few more of his party may find they are interested in this glaring stretch of partiality; yet we, at this place in particular, are too much interested to overlook such proceedings in silence. The whole inhabitants exclaim against the step already taken to the injury of the county yet in its infancy, and that, too, before it got its eyes or tongue to speak for itself. My dear friend, if I had as much to say among the great as you, I would declare it as my opinion that it would be absolutely necessary that the trustees

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should be nominated in Philadelphia, by which means I think we could not fail to have the point in question carried in our favor; whereas, should they be appointed by this way it is ten to one Joe Erwin, the tavern keeper, and his associates will prevail."

St. Clair was thoroughly a public spirited man and though he owned thousands of acres of land east of Hannastown and none at that time at Pittsburg, he easily forgot his own interests as he did in all public matters and steadily favored Pittsburg as a county seat. On January 15, 1774, he wrote a letter to Joseph Shippen, president of the council, which throws considerable light on the matter. The letter was written at Ligonier and is published in the Pennsylvania archives, Volume 4, page 471, and is as follows:

"Sir:—This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Hanna, one of the trustees of Westmoreland county and to some maneuver of his I believe the opposition to fixing the county town at Pittsburg is chiefly owing, as it is to his interest that it should continue where the law has fixed the courts protempore; he lives there, used to keep a public house there and has now on that respect rented his house at an extravagant price. Erwin, another trustee, adjoins and is also a public house keeper. A third trustee, Sloan, lives in the neighborhood which always makes a majority for continuing the courts at the present place. A passage in the law for erecting a county is that the courts shall be held at Hanna's house till a court house and a jail are built. This puts it in their power to continue them as long as they please for a little management might prevent the court house from being built these twenty years. Then you will excuse inaccuracies as I write in greatest hurry, Mr. Hanna holding the horse while I write. I will see you early in the spring."

Sending letters by men who chanced to be going east was common in those days for there was no mail service. Much of western Pennsylvania's early history depends on material sent east in this way. It was not usual, however, that they were carried by men whose actions they criticised as severely as this one does those of its bearer. The matter of a more permanent selection was delayed, just as St. Clair feared it would be, on October 3, 1774, when four of the trustees made the following report: "We being appointed Trustees for the County of Westmoreland to make a report for a proper place, having accurately examined and considered the same, do report that 'tis our opinion that Hannastown seems to be the most centrical and fit to answer the purpose intended. We are further of the opinion that should your Honor and the Honorable Council think the Brush Creek Manor a more proper place, it cannot be of much disadvantage to the County. We pray your Honor sentiments on this head which will be most fully acknowledged by us. (Signed) Robert Hanna, Joseph Erwin, Samuel Sloan, John Cavett."

It will be seen that in addition to Hanna and the trustees whom he controlled they had induced John Cavatt to sign the report with them in favor of Hannastown. George Wilson did not sign it; both he and Cavett were united with St. Clair in opposition to its location at Hannastown. They had steadily favored and voted for Pittsburg. St. Clair in speaking in favor of Pittsburg even then foretold something of the great future the place had in store. He probably

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foresaw the importance of its location on three navigable rivers. Many of the far-seeing citizens favored Pittsburg for the reason that though it was in our territory, Virginia was claiming it and they wanted to more boldly assert their rights to it by founding a county town with all its attending civil powers in the heart of the disputed territory. St. Clair also stated in a letter to Governor Richard Penn that Hanna and Erwin had voted for Hannastown through selfish motives. Aside from Virginia's claim which would undoubtedly have been weakened by the selection of Pittsburg, Hannastown was not a bad selection, particularly in view of the counties that were a few years afterward formed all around it.

The report and action of the trustees was never endorsed entirely by the proprietary governor and it is doubtful if Hannastown would have become the permanent county seat even though it had not met with disaster. The trustees adopted the very plan that St. Clair feared in his letter above quoted. They never built a court house there but court was held at Hanna's house which, of course, was also his dwelling house. Hannastown was then a collection of from twelve to fifteen houses built of hewed logs and roofed with split shingles or clap-boards. Most of these houses had but one story and a loft, the latter often only accessible by a ladder or even by pins driven into the logs. The well-to-do people of the place, for wealth has only a relative value, had two story houses with two rooms and a large chimney and fire-place below. There was a stockade erected at Hannastown in 1774 under the direction and by the advice of St. Clair. This undoubtedly helped the town and settlement a great deal, for the pioneers felt more secure if located near a fort or a stockade. The town had increased to twenty or twenty-five log houses when the Revolution came in 1775, but it never grew much after that, for the reason that during the war most of the citizens of this western community were bearing arms in defense of the colonies and home improvements were sadly neglected. The best days of Hannastown were from 1773 to 1776. Moving westward from the old counties was then at its height and this was the popular and only highway through Pennsylvania. Then, when the war clouds began to gather, militia musters came into vogue and these for all Westmoreland county were held at Hannastown.

Militia Parade Day was a great event among our fore-fathers and remained for more than fifty years without a rival as a means of assembling the honest yeomanry of our western section. Nearly all of our population then was in the country. There were but few towns and but small need of them. The people raised all they ate, and with spinning-wheels and looms manufactured nearly everything they wore from wool and flax both home products. There were no stores, in a modern sense, in Hannastown. There was scarcely anything to buy and almost no money to buy it with. Hence the absence of stores. Whiskey, rum, etc., were sold under a license, and there was also a demand for flints, powder, lead and a few other articles, but there was no occasion for even a small country store.

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CHAPTER VI.

Dunmore's War—Disputed Boundary Between Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Reference has been made many times to the claims of Virginia to certain parts of Southwestern Pennsylvania. All these disputes culminated in almost an open war in the early months of 1774. Virginia, it will be remembered, claimed the fork of the Ohio and all lands west and many of her high authorities claimed that all lands in the Province of Pennsylvania west of the Laurel Hill lay within her domain. But the Penns had actual possession of the disputed territory, and Virginia was compelled on the organization of Westmoreland county, to take the aggressive, to assert her claims or retire forever from the field. No one doubts now but that Virginia had many reasons for urging her claims. Spottswood in 1716 had come west and laid claim to the Mississippi Valley. Gov. Dinwiddie had sent Washington to look after this section; indeed by asserting the claims of Virginia to it the French and Indian War was begun and as a result the Canadas and all the west were ceded to England. To possess this section, or to banish the French from it, Virginia had battled long and earnestly, had given many lives and much property. She had moreover maintained actual possession of the region south of the Ohio and it was largely populated by her westward bound citizens. The claim of Pennsylvania lay mainly in her original charter and in the Stanwix purchase of 1768. No one disputed the validity of Penn's charter nor that his representatives were entitled to the land five degrees west of the Delaware. The great dispute was as to how far west the actual bounds extended. The boundary of Westmoreland county, the last and most westerly county formed, did not at that time in reality extend farther southwest than the most westerly branch of the Youghiogheny river, nor farther west than the Ohio at Fort Pitt. As early as 1752 Thomas Penn, then governor had instructed his deputies to assist the governor of Virginia in erecting a fort at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, but he cautioned them to take special pains that nothing be done to injure his claims to that section. Christopher Gist made the first survey of this region. His survey, the first settlements on the tributaries of the Ohio, and the attempts to erect a fort by the Ohio Company, were all made under the direct assumption that this point was within the boundary of Virginia. Accordingly on February 19, 1754, Governor

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Dinwiddie, to encourage soldiers and settlers, began granting large tracts of land about the headwaters of the Ohio. In November, 1775, Governor Hamilton wrote Governor Dinwiddie on the part of the Proprietaries that, having given the matter some attention he was clearly of the opinion that the fort was within the limits of Pennsylvania. In a friendly letter Dinwiddie replied that he was equally confident that it was within the limits of Virginia; and referred to the survey to prove it. When the French and Indian war came, all united in opposing the enemy regardless of who might eventually prove to be the real owner. There was not much controversy on the question of ownership of the territory from the close of the Bouquet campaign against the Indians in Ohio in 1764 until after the Stanwix purchase in 1768. In the meantime the southwestern part of Pennsylvania had been settled largely under the laws of Virginia and mostly by people from Virginia and Maryland. The erection of Westmoreland county in 1773 led Virginia to again assert her claims to the land on the northern bank of the Monongahela, and accordingly to occupy Fort Pitt. The settlers, it will be remembered, were largely Scotch-Irish, and with all the aggressive spirit of their race, were ready to fly to arms to sustain their title to their lands and to defend their firesides. The agents whom Virginia sent here, therefore, to defend her claims found the people very willing to assist them. The high-minded, patriotic men of Virginia took no part in the ignoble controversy which we are about to consider, and they have long since repudiated the shameful and infamous acts of Governor Dunmore in asserting his claims. Had the contestants submitted their disputes to men like Thomas Jefferson or Patrick Henry, it could have been settled by a survey in a single season.

Bancroft says: "No royal governor showed more rapacity in the use of official power that Lord Dunmore. He reluctantly left New York, where during his short career, he acquired fifty thousand acres. * * * Upon entering upon the government of Virginia, his passion for land and fees outweighing the proclamation of the king and the reiterated and most positive instructions from the Secretary of State, he advocated the claims of the colony in the West and was himself a partner in the immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois. The area of the ancient dominion expanded with his cupidity." Washington, always moderate in his language, said of Dunmore: "Nothing less than depriving him of life or liberty will secure peace to Virginia."

To understand Dunmore and his actions it is necessary to go back a few years. No country in Europe had been so successful in founding and fostering colonies as England, and no country had so thoroughly and constantly protected these as she. To do this, to place them under the protecting care of the common law was but protecting herself. For several generations the policy of England toward her colonies in America was one of eminent justice. She regarded them as her offspring and they were extremely loyal to her. But in 1765 the policy of England had changed and she began to treat her colonies as though they were

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conquered provinces. England had long been engaged in a series of wars and her ministry to meet this expense, sought to increase the revenue of the crown. It was true that vast sums had been spent in protecting the American colonies and the authorities doubtless thought that they should bear their share of the burden. Accordingly a tax was exacted from the colonies in the shape of a stamp duty on papers, writings, etc. This act is known as the "Stamp Act." The general discontent in America was most strongly manifested in Massachusetts and in Virginia. Before this Virginia was considered the most loyal of the colonies. Lord Botetourt was governor of Virginia from 1768 to 1771. He and his predecessors were strong men and did much to allay the bitter feelings of the colonists, but Botetourt died in 1771 and his successor was John Murray, who had been governor of New York and who is known in history as the Earl of Dunmore. He was a bitter Tory and cared nothing for the interests of the people, attempting to rule them only in the interests of his king. The best that can be said of him is that he was thoroughly heartless. Most writers think that he was appointed to the governorship of Virginia for the sole purpose of ruling them with extreme severity and thus make them feel their dependence on the English crown, and by that means, quiet the growing dissension among them. His severe ruling, on the contrary, may have sprung entirely from his cruel disposition and not from a fixed policy. There is no doubt, however, that through his agents he instigated the Indians in their relentless warfare against the settlers. Nor were the latter prepared for such treatments, for at best they were battling with famine and with long, severe winters. It is believed that Dunmore supplied the Indians with firearms and furnished money to pay for the scalps of women and children. By this inhumane warfare he sought to force the colonists to abandon the pursuit of civil liberty and devote their time to the protection of their homes and lives. The Virginians who hold these views regarded the battle of Point Pleasant, the greatest battle in Dunmore's War, as the beginning of the Revolution. There is no doubt but that he used the authority with which he was clothed to his own interests. He was a supercilious, would-be aristocrat, without any of the redeeming traits of those of real patrician birth. In all that he did he was tyrannical and was quite unfit to govern Virginia at this time. So far as Dunmore's War concerns us it mostly centers around his early efforts to hold Fort Pitt and the surrounding country for Virginia. To this end, late in 1773 he sent an agent here known in Pittsburg as Dr. John Connolly, whom he appointed "captain commandant of Pittsburgh and its dependencies." Though a Pennsylvanian by birth he was a relative of Dunmore's and was at all times a willing tool and a bold servitor of his unholy cause. He has been called by some the Benedict Arnold of Pennsylvania, but this is scarcely fair, for he never betrayed the people or the cause he represented. He was well connected, being a half brother of General James Ewing, of Lancaster county, a distinguished officer in the Revolution. He was also a nephew of the noted Indian diplomat, Col. George Croghan, and was a son-in-law of Samuel Semple, who

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entertained Washington when in Pittsburg in 1770. He had associated with Washington and had enjoyed his utmost confidence, pleasing him greatly, when in Pittsburg, by stories of the extensive western travels. By these associations he secured the secrets of General Gage, Sir William Johnson, Sir Guy Carleton and others. It was moreover undoubtedly he who led McKee, Elliott and Girty from their moorings in respectable society into the Tory party and thence to the cruel lives for which alone they are remembered. In 1774 he boldly took possession of Fort Pitt by an armed force of militia which he had raised among the Virginia settlers south of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The Indians were then unusually troublesome, and in raising his militia he pretended that they were to invade their territory. He was supplied with abundant proofs that he was the accredited agent of the governor and that his general mission was to overthrow the authority of the Proprietaries in Pennsylvania. To induce the Indians to join him he pretended that he was soon to banish the Penns from that region, which was always a laudible project to their minds. Fort Pitt was taken in January, 1774, without resistance, and his first act was to change the name from Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore. He was a natural leader and had the faculty in a high degree of spreading false and unreasonable statements concerning the legitimacy of the Penns' claim to southwestern Pennsylvania, and concerning their intentions, if their claims were allowed to go unchallenged, to declare void all Virginia titles in this section. Those who held lands here by the authority of titles granted by Virginia were not slow to take up arms against the Penns when Connolly made them believe that the Penns meant to set their titles aside. His militia was not composed of the higher elements among the settlers, indeed it was the very reverse, for most of them were but little better than outlaws. They stole horses for their own use, shot cattle and hogs of peaceable citizens; indeed their love of this life of outlawry, seemed to be one of the strongest bonds which held them together. The province of Pennsylvania did not at that time have a general militia law and was almost powerless to resist these forces.

For issuing the proclamation calling out the militia and seizing Fort Pitt, Arthur St. Clair had Connolly arrested. He was brought before St. Clair at Ligonier and promptly committed to jail at Hannastown, but later was admitted to bail for his appearance at court. He next went to Augusta county, Virginia, the county seat of which was Staunton, where he was appointed a justice of the peace. It was claimed by the Virginia authorities that Fort Pitt was in that county in the part called the West Augusta District. By this appointment he meant to give a show of legality to his high-handed proceedings by covering them with the official sanction of the governor of Virginia. When he returned in March, 1774, he was in a way armed with both civil and military authority and his tyranny seemed to increase correspondingly. In April the regular courts of the new county of Westmoreland had assembled, at Hannastown, when Connolly appeared with one hundred and fifty armed men. He placed a guard before the door of the court house and refused admittance to the

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provincial magistrates. To assist him he had a sheriff appointed by Dunmore, whose jurisdiction extended over the district claimed by Virginia. In a meeting between himself and the justices of the new county he said that he was but acting under the instructions of the sheriff, and he not only denied the authority of the court but denied that the magistrates ever had any authority to act. Perhaps being fearful of the power of the province he finally agreed to allow the justices to act in civil matters until he should receive contrary instructions from Virginia. The magistrates were men of high standing and of sturdy qualities. They told him that they rested their authority to act on the legislative authority of Pennsylvania and that they must act on the authority granted from that source or not act at all. They assured him that the Proprietaries would endeavor to have the boundary line adjusted as soon as possible and that in the meantime, they would preserve the public tranquility. Among the more prominent friends of the Penns in and about Fort Pitt were Devereux Smith, Andrew McFarland, Alexander and Aeneas Mackay. All were early settlers at Pittsburg, and Aeneas Mackay had been named as county justice from the Pittsburg section of Westmoreland when the county was formed. These four men had been leaders in proceedings to resist the outrages of Connolly. They, with Arthur St. Clair, stood up manfully for the claims of the legislative government. They kept up a regular correspondence with the governor. St. Clair's communications, published in the archives of the state, are now the chief source of information on this question, though the letters of the others are all of great importance. The people endured with more patience than one would expect, the outrages heaped upon them by Connolly, but steadily opposed him, but in a peaceable manner. They claimed that his was the work of a usurper to enforce the authority of Virginia over the territory which they held by grant of the Penns, and which they had taken under the impression that it was within their jurisdiction. The justices attended court at Hannastown in April, 1774. When they returned to Pittsburg, Alexander McFarland, Devereux Smith and Aeneas Mackay were arrested by Connolly. Knowing that they had done no wrong, they refused to give bail and were sent under guard and part of the way in irons, to Staunton, Virginia. Mackay got permission to go to Williamsburg, the capitol, and to lay the matter before Dunmore. It is not known what arguments he produced, but the result was that he returned with a letter from Dunmore instructing the authorities to allow the justices to return to their homes. They reached Pittsburg on May 5th, and were doubtless somewhat emboldened by being released from the Staunton prison, for they at once began to hold court in defiance of Connolly. But such was the character of the sturdy men of that age.

After Mackay's arrest at Pittsburg he sent a letter to Governor Penn, in which he says: "I am taken at a great inconvenience as my business is suffering much on account of my absence, but I am willing to suffer a great deal more rather than bring disgrace upon the commission which I bear under Your Honor." In one way at least his business did not suffer by his arrest, for

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while there he became acquainted with Margaret Lynn Lewis, a daughter of William Lewis, one of the brothers so noted in the military annals of the Old Dominion. A few months later they were married and she came with him to his log house in Pittsburg.

Dunmore was very angry at the Penns for sustaining St. Clair in arresting Connolly. He demanded that St. Clair should be dismissed from office unless the latter could prevail on Connolly to ask for his, St. Clair's, pardon from Dunmore. The Penns did not dismiss St. Clair, and as the brave old general never bent his knee to a Tory, it is likely, says a writer of a later day, that St. Clair died at last without having received his lordship's pardon. When the news of their arrest reached the council they determined to send commissioners to go before the House of Burgesses of Virginia and lay the situation before them. These commissioners were Andrew Allen and James Tilghman. Their purpose was to have both Pennsylvania and Virginia petition the king of England to have the boundary line settled definitely and in the meantime to have a temporary line drawn. They presented their cause to Dunmore, and, after a rather impatient hearing the hot-headed governor dismissed them, and their mission amounted to nothing. When this was known it in a manner, was an endorsement of Connolly's actions, and his insolence and oppression were correspondingly increased. These occurrences were in the early spring and summer of 1774, when there were grave fears of an Indian uprising. The result was that the inhabitants found themselves between two fires. If they remained in their homes they might suffer death or captivity from the Indians, who might swoop down upon them at any moment, and on the other hand, the whole country was being overrun by the lawless militia of Connolly. This was not all. The show of authority on the part of Virginia brought up the question of titles to their estates, for it must be remembered that many who had settled here had purchased their lands from Dunmore, and were not only loyal to Virginia but had a natural hatred for Pennsylvania. Because of these apprehended dangers the crops for the year were in many places unsown, and many that were sown were never harvested. It will be understood that almost the entire people in this locality were engaged as farmers. For many miles from Pittsburg east, fences had been destroyed and domestic animals were shot down by Connolly's outlaws, while others running at large could not be reclaimed by their owners. Hundreds of families who could do so left for their homes in the East, some to wait for better times and others never to return. The public officers of the community and those most deeply interested in its welfare, used every means to induce them to remain here, but the panic was constantly increasing. In May and June public meetings were held at various places. They adopted resolutions setting forth the distressed condition of the people and sent these resolutions in the shape of well signed petitions to the governor of the province of Pennsylvania. The public meeting of Pittsburg was held on June 14, 1774. The petition is very like others from the western section, but is in better form. It sets forth plainly and forcibly the indignities which they have suffered and

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the provocations they were under from Connolly's shameful proceedings. Pittsburg and vicinity had suffered, it is true, more than the remote sections farther east. All united in saying that the situation was alarming; that they were deserted by far greater numbers of their neighbors than were represented by the petition; that they had no place of strength to resort to should a war come; that labor was at a stand and that their growing crops were being destroyed; that herds of cattle and flocks of sheep were dispersed, that the further fear of the barbarous savages had greatly disturbed the minds of all the citizens, and that in this distress, next to the Almighty, they looked to His Honor for relief.

The magistrates still continued to exercise their authority and Connolly proceeded to extremes unknown before. By his lawless militia he broke open houses as though the whole community was under his military rule. Many residents of Pittsburg contemplated a scheme of abandoning the place and forming a new colony, located elsewhere. One idea was to locate at Turtlecreek, where they meant to build a stockade for their protection. Another was to build a town and stockade at Kittanning. Indeed, many of the citizens, notably the Mackays, who were traders at Pittsburg, did at this time remove their store to Kittanning. In many instances the inhabitants fought manfully for their rights, and in some cases showed a bravery and strength which the drunken militia did not dare to encounter. In Pittsburg an association of the most active and influential inhabitants was formed for the protection of the people. They proposed to stand together to resist Connolly, and armed themselves for their mutual safety. They called on all able-bodied citizens and posted small forces, though the largest they could muster, at different points. Devereux Smith wrote a letter in June, 1774, to William Smith, in which he set forth in a masterly manner many of the outrages above mentioned and others which may interest the reader. He lays the great distress of the community at Connolly's door. He says, that his drunken militia fired on and roused an encampment of friendly Indians at Saw Mill Run, on the Ohio river below Pittsburg; that Cressap was instigated by Connolly to fire on friendly Indians, and that Connolly broke down the doors of the houses and abused the persons of Mackay, Smith and Spear, and that he tried to plunder his own (Devereux Smith's) house, but was prevented from doing so by Mr. Butler at the risk of his life. That when a man died in the fort his body was robbed by Connolly's own men and that he sent an armed force into Pittsburg with a general search-warrant to search every house, and that private property was broken open and the citizens insulted. He says further that they waylaid a horse laden with gunpowder sent by William Smith for the use of the inhabitants of the county. After reciting many other outrages he says, that these are a few of the distresses under which the people have labored and that without speedy protection and redress they could not long support themselves under such tyranny. There is much other testimony along the same line, and, taking it altogether, it does not seem that the above is overdrawn in the least. Connolly was himself a drunken,

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blasphemous man who worked for hire, and the men under him were only too apt to imitate his examples of outlawry. He supplied his men with all the whiskey they could drink, and the only work they needed to do was to forage through the town of Pittsburg and the country surrounding it, for provisions and for horse feed. These they did not scruple to take by force. Dunmore now opened several offices for the sale of lands that are now in Fayette, Washington, Greene and Allegheny counties. A warrant was granted for any number of acres on the payment of two shillings and six pence (at its highest value less than sixty cents), and in addition to this the purchaser was to pay ten shillings per hundred acres, while the Proprietaries were selling lands here at five pounds per hundred acres. This was a great inducement for settlers to purchase from Virginia rather than to go to the Proprietaries' office, and the reader must remember that the Dunmore sales were sanctioned by the laws of Virginia and that these purchases were made from the governor. He also established three courts in the region he claimed. Two were south of the Monongahela and one north at Redstone Fort, the name of which he changed to Fort Burd. Courts for the county of West Augusta were also established at Pittsburg, perhaps to more thoroughly strengthen his pretended rights to this section. The first session of Virginia court was held at Pittsburg, February 21, 1775, and lasted four days, and then adjourned to Staunton, Virginia. Other sessions were held in May and September of that year. These courts, by the way, were held regularly for West Augusta county, Virginia, in Pittsburg, until November 30, 1776, at which time the Virginia territory was divided into three counties, namely: Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia county. Pittsburg was in Yohogania county and it included most of the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The courts of Yohogania county were held regularly until August 28, 1780, but they were not always held at Pittsburg. A log court house and jail had been built on the farm of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela river, near the present Washington county line, and there many sessions were held.

The agents of the Penns, their magistrates and the higher class of men were tireless in their efforts to induce the inhabitants to remain at their homes, which they were rapidly clearing in the wilderness. The association tried to strengthen public confidence and advised and aided the rural citizens to have their firearms ready and at the first call of danger to fly to each others' assistance. Arthur St. Clair was regarded as the leader in all military operations. The governor, having great confidence in his judgment, left the direction of both military and civil affairs in a great measure to him, and he gave the matter his personal supervision. Stockades and block houses were erected at many points where there were a sufficient number of people to warrant them. The stockade at Ligonier was repaired and one which had been begun at Hannastown was rapidly pushed towards completion under his general supervision. A fort was built at Kittanning; Fort Shippen, Fort Allen and Fort Palmer were also built, for it must be remembered that troubles were not by any means con-

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fined to the region of Pittsburg. St. Clair busied himself in opening up roads so that the association for defences could more rapidly move from one stockade to another. Under him a ranging party of sixty young men had been organized, at Ligonier for defense against the Indians, and these were now increased to one hundred and ten. He called them together and after drilling them placed them so as to be of the most service. Twenty were thus posted at Turtle Creek, twenty at Bullock's Pens, seven miles east of Pittsburg; thirty at Hannastown; twenty at Proctors, which was near the St. Vincent's Monastery, and twenty at Ligonier. On every idle report the people sought the shelter of the forts and block houses, and these rangers were posted so as to strengthen public confidence. So many families had already deserted their homes that whole communities were abandoned. St. Clair himself says that it was surprising and shameful that so great a body of people should be driven from their possessions without even the appearance of an Indian, for no incursions by the red men had been made in the territory then supposed to belong to Pennsylvania. On June 11, 1774, a report was put in circulation that a party of Indians had been seen near Hannastown, and another on the Braddock road some miles south. The report aroused the whole community. St. Clair mounted a swift horse and rode over the country to ascertain the facts. He found no proof whatever and decided that the report was, at all events, highly improbable, but he could not pursuade the people of this. He stated in his letter—that he was certain that he met no fewer than two hundred families and two thousand cattle in twenty miles' riding. The people of Ligonier Valley before this had made a stand, but on that day almost the entire population moved into the stockade. They were determined on leaving the country at once, and so strong was this desire that St. Clair says that had they left they would have forced him to go with them. He says further that their harvests were then uncut and had they gone many of them must have perished with starvation. This excitement was general and arose mainly from the fear of a union of Connolly's army and the Indians. They could withstand one but not both. There was abundant evidence of an Indian invasion, but it was aimed against Virginia and not against Pennsylvania. This, however, showed those in authority that the only hope of general peace was a determination of the disputed boundary and a settlement of the jurisdiction of the rival courts and civil powers, for it was plain from this that the Indians were in some degree respecting the terms of the Stanwix Treaty, which provided that they should not molest Pennsylvania. It is not our intention to take the reader through Dunmore's War. The part of it which we have narrated is the part which most directly concerns Pittsburg. The real war was largely brought about by Dunmore and Connolly. Their high-handed rule in Pennsylvania so exasperated the Indians that the western part of the province escaped an Indian raid only through the skill and diplomacy of the Penns, St. Clair and other prominent citizens here. There is little doubt but for the regard which the Indians had for their treaty at Fort Stanwix, all our country would have been at the mercy of the enemy. The Indians did at

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length raise the tomahawk against Virginia, and this contest is known to us as Dunmore's War.

In September, 1774, Dunmore, at the head of his army, came to Pittsburg and at once issued a proclamation in which he demanded the immediate submission of all citizens west of Laurel Hill, to his county government. The army, reaching here on September 1st, had been organized by the government of Virginia—and after remaining in Pittsburg for nearly a month they went down the Ohio in keel boats, flat boats and barges. He and his followers had repeatedly fired on friendly Indians on the Ohio, notably at Captina Creek, sixteen miles below Wheeling, and at Yellow Creek, midway between Pittsburg and Wheeling. A large party of friendly Indians had collected in an encampment at Yellow Creek. The surrounding inhabitants prepared to flee and met at the house of Joshua Baker. From there they fired on the Indians and killed among others, a brother and a daughter of Logan. He was one of the great Indian warriors of his day and this induced him to take up the matter himself. The settlers fled at once and filled all the block-houses between Fort Pitt and Laurel Hill. Logan, himself, at the head of eight sturdy Cayuga warriors, overran the county and showed no mercy to the defenceless inhabitants, and his actions were imitated by many other Indians. The real suffering of the Virginia frontier will never be known, for many lonely families were entirely exterminated. Colonel Lewis, a brave officer of Virginia, had assembled an army of about 1,100, organized by the government of Virginia, on the Little Kanawha. From there they marched to the mouth of the Big Kanawha, camping at a place called Point Pleasant. Dunmore's army was to meet him there, but he failed to do so, for reasons which he never gave. Lewis and his force arrived there on October 1, 1774, and learned on October 9th that instead of marching to meet him Dunmore had remained at Fort Pitt, where he was in consultation with Connolly, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and others who afterwards became notorious Tories and traitors. When here he apparently wanted to look after the civil affairs of Pittsburg. In the meantime the Indians down the Ohio had collected the ablest warriors of the Ohio river tribes, composed of the Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandottes and Cayugas, and had a force fully as large as the Virginia army under Lewis. This force of Indians was commanded by Cornstalk, chief of the Shawnees and king of the Northern Confederacy of Indians. Cornstalk was one of the ablest leaders of his race, surpassing Logan and Guyasuta and comparing well even with Pontiac. He hesitated long before he went into the war against Virginia, but when he did so he attacked the army by a plan which would have done the highest credit to any general even though he had made the science of war a lifelong study. His movements were made with a vigilance and bravery which has seldom been equaled in our military history. The Virginians were encamped in a triangle formed by the union of the Big Kanawha and the Ohio rivers, with high precipitous banks on two sides. With great secrecy and dispatch Cornstalk brought his warriors forward until they formed a half circle, reaching almost from the

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Ohio to the Kanawha rivers. Under the cover of darkness he moved his army forward until he formed the base line of the triangle on which the Virginians were encamped, and all this was done without discovery on the part of Lewis or his men. It was his intention to drive the Virginia army into the point and cut them to pieces before they could escape over the high banks and across the river. He accordingly meant to make his line so strong that they could not break through. His orders were to kill any of his men who should attempt to run back. The Indian chief knew that reinforcements were coming to Lewis's army and he meant to bring on this battle on the 10th of October, by which time he also meant to have his base line entirely completed. Had the chief had but one more day the Virginians would probably not have escaped, but before his line was completed Lewis, on October 9th, learned that Dunmore was not coming to support him but was moving on the Ohio Indians directly. Lewis, therefore, hastened to break up his camp and march to meet Dunmore over in Ohio. By scouts sent out along the rivers he discovered the presence of the Indian line complete almost from river to river, the small gap being on the Kanawha side. Lewis ordered out his army, but they were met bravely by the Indians under Cornstalk and at once driven back to their camp with heavy losses, particularly among the leading officers. The Indians fought desperately all day and advanced their ground by means of logs and brush, which they rolled and pushed before them, from behind which they, in comparative safety, poured a deadly fire into the Virginians. It then appeared that, notwithstanding the fact that the battle had come a day sooner than they expected it, they were in a fair way to come off victorious. But Lewis executed a bold movement which at once changed the fortunes of the day. Late in the afternoon he sent three companies up the banks of the Kanawha. They passed through the gap which the chief had not time to close up, and succeeded in gaining the rear of the enemy. The Indians were so intent on the front that when the three companies, according to Lewis's orders, opened a tremendous fire on their rear they thought the reinforcements, which they knew were on their way, had actually arrived, and under this misapprehension the line gave way. As the sun went down in the evening the Indians retreated across the Ohio to their homes, and Lewis was undoubtedly glad to let them go. The Virginians lost about one-fifth of their number, and while the Indian loss was less, they still suffered greatly. This battle was the chief one and the turning point of Dunmore's War. Later Dunmore treated with the Indians' chiefs, and it was at this memorable council that Logan spoke the eloquent speech in defence of his race which has remained the school boy's delight for more than a century. Because of Lewis's victory the Indians in the Scioto valley were compelled to accept Dunmore's terms of peace, but the latter took all the credit to himself and gave Lewis none of the glory of his treaty.

After his treaty with the Indians in Ohio, Dunmore did not return to Pittsburg, but Connolly came here almost immediately and began proceedings very much like those he had carried on before the war. In November a number

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of armed men under his direction seized an agent of the Penns named Scott and carried him to Brownsville, where he was required to give bail for his appearance at the next court to be held in Pittsburg for Augusta county. In the same month another armed mob went to Hannastown, broke open the jail and released two prisoners who were their friends. In February a company, though not under Connolly's immediate command, broke open the same jail and released three prisoners. This last party was commanded by William Harrison, a son-in-law of Justice Crawford. Justices Hanna and the sheriff, who were awakened from their slumbers by the noise, remonstrated with them for this lawless act, and a short time later, February 25th, Hanna and Justice Cavett were taken by the mob and confined in the guard room at Fort Pitt for three months.

The Continental Congress finally in a measure took up the matter of the dispute between the colony and the province. The statesmen of that day regarded these proceedings as unworthy of men of real dignity. On July 25, 1775, the delegates, among whom were Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin, issued a circular urging the people of this region of both sides to a mutual forebearance. They recommended that all armed men kept by either party should be dismissed, although the Virginia forces were the only force ever kept here except the few citizens who were necessarily armed to, in self defence, resist Connolly's outrages. On August 7th, the Convention of Virginia directed Captain John Neville to take possession of Fort Pitt. His army, consisting of about one hundred men, was under the pay of the colony. It may have been that the Convention which thus ordered him did not know of the resolution of July 25th. Accordingly in August, 1775, Captain Neville started to Pittsburg from Winchester, his army being raised in the Shenendoah Valley. They arrived here on September 11th, and immediately took charge of Fort Pitt. The Penns endured even this without murmur. Neville, by the way, remained in the fort until 1777, at first as a Virginia officer, but later his force became a loyal adjunct of the American army. After the Revolution he settled in Pittsburg and became identified with the interests of the city. We shall meet him again in the account of the Whiskey Insurrection and elsewhere in these chapters. At this time, with the fortress in their hands and many of Connolly's men still in the field, and with the courts of Yohogania county being regularly held here, and all functions of the government under the control of Virginia, those who were strict adherents of the Penns and believed themselves under their authority, had indeed great cause to be disheartened. We may further add that senators and delegates to the Virginia legislature were regularly chosen in Pittsburg and in this section to serve in the Virginia State Capitol. Virginia indeed seemed to have complete dominion.

The conduct of Connolly at Pittsburg finally became so outrageous that almost the entire town took up arms against him. On June 7, 1775, St. Clair took twenty men from his company of rangers and again arrested him and took him to Ligonier. It was his intention to deliver him up to the military authorities

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at Philadelphia. But bad as he was he had friends among the Virginia settlers at Pittsburg. These feared that his arrest was the beginning of proceedings against their Virginia titles and they were ever vigilant of their rights in that direction. Lest his imprisonment in the east might, therefore, further alienate these people, when St. Clair learned of their violent demonstrations, he let him go, but both his and Dunmore's reign in Western Pennsylvania was rapidly drawing to a close. Leaving Pennsylvania by night Connolly journeyed to Portsmouth, Virginia, where he met Dunmore, who had sought safety on the British man-of-war, "Fowney." Dunmore never returned, but Connolly continued by correspondence to foment trouble in Western Pennsylvania, and was finally arrested at Fredericksburg. Dunmore escaped punishment by entering the English service in the Revolutionary War. When Connolly was arrested the last time he was with two accomplices and had papers concealed sufficient to condemn him. An examination of these papers showed that he was in conspiracy with General Gage, and of course with Dunmore, the plan being that Connolly was to be made colonel of a regiment which they hoped to enlist in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia for the service of the king. This regiment was to proceed to Detroit, then held as a British military post. There they were to be supplied and equipped, with the addition of such Indian allies as Connolly could induce to join him. They were then to proceed to Fort Pitt and thence form a junction with a similar force with Dunmore in April, 1776. This scheme was frustrated by Connolly's arrest. He was imprisoned in Philadelphia and in 1777 General Ewing became his bondsman for good behavior and took him to his farm to regain his health, but he soon betrayed the general's confidence and was returned to prison. He was finally released from prison in 1780, and at once began to plot an attack on Pittsburg, which he was to approach from Canada. This scheme failing, he renewed it in 1782 and actually collected forces for that purpose on Lake Champlain. By the aid of a spy sent out, General Irvine discovered the plot and took such measures as were necessary to end it. Still later, in 1788, he appeared in Kentucky, where he tried to induce a following to join Lord Dorchester, who was then governor of Canada, in the seizure of New Orleans and in the opening of the Mississippi river to western commerce, but this scheme failed ignominiously. After that he was deserted by friends and relatives and, it is said, died in poverty, made still more miserable by intemperance. Many think that to him and Dunmore the people of Pittsburg and of Western Pennsylvania generally, owe in a great measure their political independence. They, and particularly Connolly, were to the people of this section, and especially to the Pittsburg people, what General Gage was to the people of Boston at the beginning of the Revolution. By ruling them with an iron hand Gage made them more than ever hostile to the King whom he represented. So it was with Dunmore and Connolly. For years their names were detested by all law abiding citizens but no one ever regarded them as anything else than representatives of King George III. Perhaps had it not

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been for them and their many outrages the West would not have acquitted itself so splendidly in the Revolution which soon followed.

The province endeavored to hold the territory mainly through the civil organization of Westmoreland county, which, as we have seen, embraced not only the territory of Allegheny county but of Southwestern Pennsylvania, though possession of the out lying districts in the extreme southwest was even then doubted by the Proprietaries themselves. In the meantime the Penns were trying to have the boundary line adjusted. It is probable that but for the Indians who were common enemy of the citizens of both colony and province, this could not have been accomplished. Neither side would relinquish any material points, though several attempts, each of which promised to be successful, were from time to time made.

Governor Penn wrote a letter to Governor Dunmore in which he scarcely claimed as much territory in this section as was really belonging to the province. He says: "The western extent of the province of Pennsylvania by the royal grant is five degrees of longitude from the Delaware which is the eastern boundary." Taking into consideration Mason and Dixon's line of 1763-1767 he says, he had calculations made by several competent mathematicians and all agreed that Pittsburg "is nearly six miles east of the western extent of the province." Dunmore's reply of March 3, 1774, disputed the line as laid down by Penn. Dunmore claimed that the five degree line should be measured on the northern boundary of Pennsylvania and that the southern boundary should begin not at the Delaware river but at the circle twelve miles distant from New Castle and run west to a meridian which should pass through the western extremity of the northern boundary as he had outlined it. Surveyors have long since demonstrated that Penn's proposition gave Virginia more than she claimed and less than was really belonging to them, for Pittsburg is about thirty miles east of the western boundary. Dunmore's proposition in reality gave to Pennsylvania about what was due the province, that is about what afterwards came to her, and it was, therefore, more than the Penns demanded. All this tends to show how little was known of our territory by those who were handling the matter and were at sword's point over it.

For years, as the reader has seen, the governors of Pennsylvania in every way sought to adjust this boundary line, yet all their efforts failed. The question passed out of the public mind during the Revolutionary War, for then both Pennsylvania and Virginia were united in a common cause. A more successful movement was made in 1779. Five men, three from Pennsylvania, named George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse and two from Virginia, named James Madison and Robert Andrews, were selected to determine the point, the agreement entered into by them being signed August 31, 1779. It provided that they, on behalf of their respective states, should ratify and confirm an agreement to extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude from the Delaware and that this should be the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that the meridian line drawn from the western terminus of

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this Mason and Dixon line to the northern limit of Pennsylvania should be the western boundary of our state. This agreement was confirmed and ratified by the legislature of Virginia on June 23, 1780 but they added certain conditions, and it was ratified by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on September 23, 1780. The conditions which Virginia added to the agreement were that private property and the rights of all persons acquired under, founded on or recognized by the laws of either county previous to that date should be saved and confirmed by them, although they should be found to fall within the limits of the other; and that in the decision of disputes thereon, preference should be given to the older or prior right, regardless of which state the right was granted under. These conditions were recognized and the agreement finally ratified by Act of April 1, 1784. During the year of 1784 the boundaries were run and marked by stones set in the ground. This celebrated line is the parallel of latitude 39 degrees, 43 minutes and 26 seconds.

It was not an easy task to make this survey and determine this western point from which the northern meridian should be drawn. Mason and Dixon had come from England and had worked two years at their line. In establishing it they had assumed that a degree of longitude on that parallel was 53 miles and 167.1 perches. If that was correct it only needed to be extended 23 miles to complete the five degrees west from the Delaware. Doubters appeared on both sides and it was therefore agreed that this point should be established by astronomical observations. This required time and preparation, so in the meantime a temporary line was run. Alexander McLean, a Pennsylvania surveyor, was appointed to draw this line in conjunction with Dr. James Madison, who had been appointed by Virginia. After much delay June 1, 1782, was selected as the day to begin to survey the temporary line. McLean appeared, but the Virginia appointee and his surveyor, Joseph Neville, did not. An armed body of Virginians were on the ground and prevented McLean from proceeding with his work. Finally McLean and Neville ran the line in the fall of 1782. The permanent line and the point was determined by astronomers and surveyors appointed by the two states for that purpose in 1784. The commission was divided into two parties. One party went to the point on the Delaware where Mason and Dixon began, and the other went to the point at the western terminus of the temporary line, supposed to be the southwest corner of Pennsylvania. At each of these places an observatory was erected. After several weeks of astronomical observations, each party thought they had adjusted their chronometers to the true time. On September 20 the party from the point on the Delaware set out to meet those at the western point and to compare their observations. This comparison showed a difference of one and one-eighth seconds. They adjusted this and the permanent corner of the state was definitely established. The joint report of the commissioners is dated November 18, 1784. Because of the inclement weather the report says they delayed running the western boundary till the following year. In May, 1785, they met as they

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had agreed and established for all time, the western boundary of the state. Their report is dated on the 23rd of August, 1785.

On the north side of the mile stones mentioned was carved the arms of the Penn family, and on the south side the arms of Lord Baltimore, as far west as the Maryland line. West of this the stones had the letter "P" engraved on the north side and the letter "V" on the south side, for they were set up after the divesting act was passed and after Pennsylvania and Virginia had both become states. These stones were carved in England and brought to America, and must have been hauled hundreds of miles on wagons.

But even after this dispute was far on the way to be definitely and irrevocably settled, there was great trouble around Pittsburg. The Virginians were a people of great pride in the Old Dominion and looked down upon the Quakers of Pennsylvania and on the German settlers, commonly called "Pennsylvania Dutch." They had come here with no intention of leaving their beloved Virginia, but with the assurance that they were settling within her boundaries. Accordingly, when they found themselves about to actually become citizens of Pennsylvania, their wrath knew no bounds. They applied to the Continental Congress for some measure of relief, but the latter had sufficient trouble on its hands and, so far as we can learn, paid no attention whatever to their petition. Their next move was to advocate the formation of a new state, for states were now in vogue, to be composed of parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia, with Pittsburg as its capital. This would unite many Virginians in one state and relieve them from the opprobrium of being in the same state with the Pennsylvania Germans and the Quakers in the East, all of whom they despied. This movement grew very rapidly and was not by any means an unpopular one in Pittsburg. All the powers of the state were called into requisition to defeat it, and as a last resort, an act was passed in December, 1782, declaring all such measures to be treason.

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CHAPTER VII.

Early Courts of the County—Severe Sentences—Species of Slavery.

Shortly after the courts of the new county were opened at Hannastown, the trustees began the erection of a jail. It was made of logs, using only the largest trees. It was a square building of one story and one room. It was strong enough to hold the average prisoner, and those who were considered dangerous or likely to break jail were chained to the logs. Even in comparison to the number incarcerated, jail breaking was not so common then as now. Nearby the jail was the whipping post and the pillory, for it must be remembered that our laws then required these instruments of punishment and they were used in Hannastown, as will be seen further on. The whipping post was a section of a small tree, perhaps a foot in diameter, hewn flat on one side and firmly implanted in the ground. About six feet from the ground was a cross-piece five or six feet long, thoroughly fastened to it. The whippings were always public performances. When the wrongdoer was about to be thus punished his wrists were tied together and his hands were drawn up and tied to the end of this cross piece. The culprit was then ready to expiate his crimes and afford a public illustration of the vaunted majesty of the English law, which Blackstone calls, "the accummulated wisdom of all ages." The sheriff or his deputy did the whipping. The pillory was made like large folding doors and fastened between two upright posts. In this door were three holes and through these holes the head and arms of the prisoner were passed and his arms tied together. In this position he was forced to stand for such a period as his sentence directed. By the English law, which was then in force in Hannastown, any person passing a prisoner in the pillory had a right to throw one stone at him. The pillory was erected in the open, where a passer-by could exercise his time-honored common law right of stone-casting. The court records show that this method of punishment was not by any means uncommon in Hannastown.

It is impossible from the records to determine from what section of Westmoreland county the defendants hailed, but the following sentences of the courts are taken from the records as kept in Hannastown, and are now in Greensburg. All of Pittsburg's cases were tried there, and since it was the largest and only important town in the county, it is quite safe to presume that

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many of them originated in Pittsburg. At all events they are fairly representative of the early work of our courts. The first man to be whipped was James Brigland, who, in October, 1773, plead guilty to a felony and was sentenced by Judge William Crawford to receive ten lashes on his bare back, well laid on, the next morning, between the hours of eight and ten o'clock. But Brigland had been convicted of another crime and the sentence in the second case was that on the morning following his first whipping, he was to receive twenty additional lashes. Luke Picket was found guilty of stealing and was sentenced to receive twenty-one lashes on his bare back, well laid on, the following morning between the hours of eight and ten o'clock. So, with Huens West, who was also convicted of stealing, though his sentence called for but fifteen lashes. John Smith was charged with stealing and pleaded guilty. His sentence reflects but little credit on our early courts, or rather on the law then in force which authorized it. We doubt whether the court records of Western Pennsylvania can produce its equal in severity for the offense for which he was sentenced. He was to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back well laid on, after which his ears were to be cut off and nailed to the pillory, and his sentence reads that he should then stand one hour in the pillory. Fortunately our court history is not often disgraced with sentences so inhuman as this.

William Howard suffered one hour in the pillory in 1774 after having received thirty lashes on the bare back well laid on. This sentence was carried out in the month of January when the temperature is not supposed to have been very mild. In October, 1775, Elizabeth Smith was ordered to receive fifteen lashes on the bare back well laid on. She had been an indentured servant of James Kinkaid who had therefore at that time a right to her uninterrupted services. Four days after she was whipped, Kinkaid presented a petition to our courts setting forth that he had been unjustly deprived of her services while she was in prison and while she was recovering from the effects of the sentence. He asked the court therefore to redress him for this loss. Judges Lochry, Sloan and Cavett were on the bench and they deliberately considered his request and decreed that she, the said Elizabeth Smith, should serve Kinkaid for a period of two years after the expiration of her indenture James McGill was found guilty of a felony in 1782 and was sentenced to a public whipping, then to the pillory, after which his one ear was to be cut off and he was to be branded in the forehead with a red-hot iron.

It is not pleasant to contemplate these atrocious sentences but they are matters of our court history and all of them were tried before the Westmoreland courts while Pittsburg was a part of that county. They are introduced here to preserve them and to give the reader a true picture of the age with which we are dealing that he may know how our courts have improved and advanced in their administration of justice in the past century. All of the court business of this character was conducted in the name of the King of England, George III. Instead of being headed "Commonwealth vs. John Smith" as is the custom now the caption was "The King vs. John Smith," etc. But imme-

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diately after July 4, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was signed the King was dropped from the record and "Republica" or "Respublica" was substituted and later the change was to the Commonwealth, the caption now used.

Perhaps the servitude of Elizabeth Smith as referred to above needs some explanation. We had at this time in Pennsylvania three species of servitude or slavery that were all found in this community and, moreover, were most common in the region of Pittsburg. First: there were indentured servants who were bound either for life or for a term of years, generally for the latter. It may have been a very harmless indenture but was of very common occurrence. A minor could thus be indentured by his parents or when twenty-one years old could indenture himself. Sometimes it was very simple, that is, when a father indentured his son to pay him a debt or to pay his debt to another perhaps for the conveyance of a piece of land; it was in any case recognized by the law. The second class were foreigners who were poor in Europe and by indenture for a term of years, secured some one to pay their passage money to America. These indentures were largely in the hands of speculators. The person giving them was called a "redemptioner" and an indenture was transferable, so that a speculator could gather up any number of people in Europe, indenture them for his own service, bring them to America and when here sell their services to the highest bidder or at private sale. Thus the speculator could realize a large profit on the amount invested for passage money. This species of servitude is illustrated in a number of more recent American novels and became somewhat noted more than a century ago in the case of James Annesly who was a true heir to the estates of Lord Altham in Ireland. When a lad he was stolen from his parents by his uncle who brought him to Philadelphia and sold him as a redemptioner or slave. Two of his countrymen who chanced to be in Lancaster county recognized him and took him back to Ireland where legal proceedings were instituted which resulted in his reinstatement as the rightful heir to his paternal estates. This remarkable trial is reported in English law books and is the ground work of Charles Reade's novel, "The Wandering Heir." The romance of his career also furnished the plot for "Guy Mannering," "Roderick Random" and "Florence Macarthy."

Our forefathers sanctioned all this by their laws, court decisions and actions. Many inferior people were brought to America and some of very good blood too. Redemptioners were very common in Westmoreland, particularly in the river districts. Many of our farmers and well-to-do people purchased their servants. Sometimes the position of a redemptioner was but little better than that of a negro slave in the South but it is a deplorable fact that the more we look into the matter the less we venerate many of our pioneer ancestors who made high pretensions. We should not judge them too harshly, however, but on the contrary we must take into consideration the condition of the country, its laws and the age in which they lived. The people could not be expected to be better than the laws which governed them and in that day a man was allowed

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to beat his wife if the stick he used was not thicker than the judge's thumb. Many who came from England and Ireland and settled near Pittsburg purchased large tracts of land and at once regarded themselves as nabobs, owners of large landed estates like the landlords of England. They tried to emulate and imitate the weaker rather than the stronger characteristics of the landed gentry of Great Britain. Hugh Henry Brackenridge, afterward justice of the supreme court and one of the brightest men of his day in Pittsburg, in a work entitled "Modern Chivalry" says that they had men in Pittsburg who held and abused slaves and redemptioners who would not for a "fine cow have shaved their beards on Sunday." Our courts frequently in other cases than Kinkaid vs. Smith as noted above, were called on and did extend time of servitude of redemptioners because of loss of time and various other reasons mentioned in the petitions of their masters. This can be seen in the case of George Paul vs. Margaret Butler of July Sessions 1773, and in the case of Semple vs. Jane Adams, July Sessions 1778, and in many intervening cases. In July Sessions 1773 John Campbell stated by petition that his servant Michael Henry had been sent to jail and that the petitioner therefore sustained a loss of 2 pounds and 17 shillings together with much time and annoyance. He therefore asked the court for such redress as it saw fit to grant him. The court decreed that Michael Henry should serve him 4 1-2 months after the expiration of his indenture. So in the case of Gutchell vs. Quilkin at the same term of court wherein Andrew Gutchell sets forth that his servant Joseph Quilkin will not do his duty but on the contrary is negligent and idle and prays for relief against those from whom he purchased Quilkin. The court took Quilkin into its custody and issued a summons against Robert Meek, Alexander Bowling and William Bashers to appear at the next session and give sufficient reasons for selling Quilkin as a servant. Again, on motion of Mr. Wilson in behalf of George Paul, setting forth that Margaret Butler, his servant girl, had by reason of sickness and disobedience, deprived him of much time and forced him to incur expenses for her, the court adjudged that the said Margaret Butler should serve the said master, George Paul, one year and six months from the time mentioned in her indenture. In April sessions of 1779 one Godfrey sets forth by petition that he had been bought as a servant by Edward Lindsey and by Lindsey sold to Edwin Price and by Price sold to William Newell and that the term of his servitude had expired. The court heard the testimony, and whereas, William Newell, the last purchaser, was not in court to defend his claim to a longer service, Godfrey was discharged from further bondage.

The following bill of sale from Valentine Crawford to John Mintor, a copy of which is in the court files in Greensburg, will illustrate how these people were indentured: "Know all men by these presents that I, Valentine Crawford of the County of West Augusta, for and in consideration of the sum of Fifty Pounds lawful money to him in hand paid by John Mintor, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have bargained and sold unto the said John Mintor a

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certain negro woman named Sall, which said negro I, the said Valentine Crawford, will forever warrant and defend to the said John Mintor, his heirs and assigns. In witness I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 12th day of April, 1776." The reader will remember that Pittsburg, according to the claims of Virginia, was in West Augusta county at that time.

The third species of servitude to which we have referred was African Slavery. There were many slaves held in and around Pittsburg for the original settlers were largely from Virginia, but the institution was not confined to the river district. George Washington then owned property in Westmoreland county, and his agent, Valentine Crawford, whose bill of sale we have quoted, worked Washington's property, in part at least, with slaves. In a letter to Washington dated July 27, 1774, he says: "Dear Colonel: On Sunday evening or Monday one of the most orderly men I thought I had run away and has taken a horse and other things. I have sent you an advertisement of him. * * * I have sold all the men but two and I believe I should have sold them but the man who has run away had a very sore foot which was cut with an axe and John Smith was not well of the old disorder he had when he left your house. I sold Peter Miller and John Wood to Edward Cook for forty-five pounds, the money to be applied to building your mill. I sold Thomas McPherson and his wife, and James Howe to Major James McCullough and Jonas Ennis for sixty-five pounds payable in six months from date. To my brother I sold William Luke, Thomas White and the boy, John Knight. He is to pay you for them, or if you open up your plantation down the Ohio he is to return them to you. * * * I should have sold all of the servants agreeable to your letter if I could have got cash or good pay for them but the confusion of the times put it out of my power. I went down to Fort Pitt a day or two and two of my own servants ran away. I followed them and caught them at Bedford and brought them back. While I was gone two or your servants stole a quantity of bacon and so I sold them at once." The following is a copy of the advertisement referred to in the above letter from Crawford to Washington:

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living on Jacob's Creek, near Stewart's Crossing in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, on Sunday night the 24th instant, a convict servant man named William Orr, the property of Colonel George Washington. He is a well-made man about 5 ft. 10 in. high and about 24 years of age. He was born in Scotland and speaks that dialect pretty much. He is of a red complexion and very full faced with short sandy colored hair and very remarkable thumbs, they both being crooked. He had on and took with him an old felt hat bound with black binding, one near cotton coat and a jacket with horn buttons one old brown jacket, a pair of snuff colored breeches, one pair of trousers made in sailor fashion and they are made of sail duck, and have not been washed, a pair of red leggins and shoes tied with strings, two Osnabury shirts and one Highland shirt marked "V. C.," which he stole, and a blanket.

He stole likewise a black horse about fourteen hands high branded on the near shoulder "R. W." and shod before. He had neither bridle nor saddle that we know of. I expect he will make some seaport town as he has been much

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used to the seas. Whoever takes up the said servant and secures him so that he and horse may be had again shall receive the above reward, or three pounds for the man alone and reasonable charges if brought home paid by me.

All masters of vessels are forbidden taking him out of the country on their peril.

VAL CRAWFORD,
For Col. George Washington.

July 25th, 1774.

By Act of March 1, 1780, African slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania. It provided that every one who held negroes or mulattoes as slaves was obliged to file with the clerk of the court of quarter sessions of the county in which he resided, his or her name and the names, number, sex and age of all slaves held by him. The conflicting boundary claims of Virginia and Pennsylvania had not yet been definitely settled and many around Pittsburg who held slaves claimed that they were not amenable to the Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature of March 1st, but held that they should be governed by the Virginia Acts. This resulted in a special act in Pennsylvania dated April 13, 1782, by which the time of making the registry of slaves in Westmoreland was extended. The list of slaves made by their masters in pursuance of these acts is yet in the office of the clerk of courts in Greensburg. It contains the names of 342 male slaves and 349 females and 4 whose sex is not given. Eleven are called mulattoes. The names of the slave owners are of those who were most prominent in social life and, of course, of the more wealthy people of the county of that day. Among them are the names of two clergymen, while at least six of the early ministers in and around Pittsburg and nearly all of the leading elders and officers of the various churches were slave holders. They were generally members of the Scotch Presbyterian Church and this species of slavery was largely confined to the southern part of the county along the rivers and to the locality in and about Pittsburg. After the passage of the above Acts of Assembly many slave holders removed from here to Maryland and Virginia and carried their slaves with them. They did this rather than manumit them according to the mandates of the new acts. Both the acts above referred to, in phraseology and sentiments of benevolence and civil liberty, no less than in their remedial benefits, stand out prominently and are not surpassed by any of our legislative enactments.

The cases in which the sentences are given were all tried in the Westmoreland courts before Allegheny county was taken from its territory. There were also two murder cases tried at Hannastown, one of which is fraught with great interest. It was the case of an Indian named Mamachtaga, who was defended in court by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, then a resident of Pittsburg. He has left a complete account of the trial. The Indian was a Delaware and though his tribe had generally been friendly to the white settlers, he was always hostile. There was a camp of Delawares on Kilbuck Island, near Pittsburg. Mamachtaga was among them and was badly intoxicated. A man named John Smith visited the tribe, whereupon the drunken Indian fell on him with a knife and killed him. Another man named Evans was also killed before

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the infuriated Indian could be overpowered. The murderer was confined in the guard-house, the lock-up of Pittsburg being insecure, and it was considered unsafe at that time to transport him to the county seat, Hannastown. Our ordinary judges competent to try other cases had, as the reader will remember, no jurisdiction in capital cases, and there was considerable delay in sending a supreme court judge to Hannastown to try the case. There were several attempts in the meantime, on the part of the citizens, to secure the Indian murderer and shoot him. The people in and around Pittsburg scarcely thought that an Indian had any rights before the law. Failing to secure the Indian they tried to force Brackenridge to take an oath not to defend him. The people were also afraid that the Delaware Indians would release him by force or that he would break jail. So Robert Galbraith, a loyal citizen, wrote to President Dickinson, of the supreme executive council, urging him to send the properly qualified judges at once so that the Indian might have a speedy trial. He also asked the president in this letter to send the death warrant along with them, to save time, as he said, for there was no doubt whatever about his conviction.

The Indian gave his attorney an order on another Indian for a beaver skin as a fee, and signed the order by his mark, which Brackenridge says was the shape of a turkey foot. The attorney exchanged the beaver skin for a blanket and some food, which he gave to the client, for in his confinement he was very uncomfortable. But the Indian now thought that the beaver skin satisfied the law for his crime of killing; a good beaver skin was a high price to pay for killing a white man. Judge McKean came to Hannastown to try him, and they had great difficulty to get the Indian to plead "not guilty"; to deny the killing was foreign to his ideas of the real dignity of an Indian warrior, and, moreover, he had paid for the dead man with a good beaver skin, and how could he deny the killing. According to his belief, the killing of a white man was a badge of honor that a warrior should boast of rather than deny. The court, however, entered his plea of "not guilty," and the case went on. The Indian challenged the jurors, rejecting the cross, sour looking ones and accepting cheerful, pleasant faced men to try his case. Brackenridge defended him on the plea of drunkenness and that he did not know what he was doing when he did the killing. This was overruled by the court, but when the savage was told through his interpreter that the judge would not excuse him on that account, he said he hoped the Great Spirit above would do so. The jury convicted him at once, as was predicted in the letter written by Galbraith. When the interpreter told him that he must die, he asked that Sheriff Orr should shoot him instead of tomahawking him. When about to be sentenced he asked that the court would allow him to hunt and trap and said he would give the proceeds of his work to the family of the man he had killed. At the same time a man named Brady was sentenced to be branded on the hand with a red-hot iron. To do this it was necessary to tie the hand and arm with rope so that a good, clear letter could be made. The sheriff accordingly went out of the court room and brought in a rope, the branding tools, etc. The Indian, not having this part of

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the proceeding interpreted to him, thought he was to suffer immediately, and made a great ado about it, but when he saw Brady being tied and branded he calmed down and seemed to be very much amused by the proceedings. The judges, as was then the custom in capital cases, wore scarlet robes, and the Indian said that he thought they were in some way closely connected with the Great Spirit. While in jail awaiting sentence the jailer's child was taken sick. The Indian said he could dig roots in the woods to cure it and upon promising not to try to escape he was taken to the woods where he procured the desired herbs and from them brewed a medicine which was given to the child. The Indian did not try to escape. When the day of execution arrived he wanted to die like a warrior and at his request was again taken to the woods where he procured herbs and with the juice of them painted his face red. A simple-minded white man was to be hanged on the same day though not for murder. The gallows was erected on the hill west of Hannastown, known to this day as Gallows Hill. It was made of two posts planted in the ground and a third at the top for a cross-piece. A rope hung from the centre of the cross-piece and a ladder leaned up against it. The prisoner to be hanged was taken up the ladder, the rope was adjusted around his neck and then the ladder was removed. The hands of the prisoner were tied so that he could not grasp the ladder. The white man was hanged first and the execution passed off all right, but the Indian, being a large, heavy man, broke the rope and fell to the ground. As soon as he recovered he rose to his feet with a smile on his face, and another rope was procured. Both ropes being used, he was hanged again and was strangled to death. With his last words he asked that his tribe should not go to war to avenge his death. The white man hanged should have been sent to an insane asylum, but there were none such then to send him to.

As long as St. Clair remained prothonotary of the courts in Westmoreland with James Bryson as his office deputy, the records were exceedingly well kept. Had they continued it would not have been well for the early history of the country, but St. Clair resigned the office and entered the Revolution in 1775, and after him came Michael Huffnagle. During his incumbency the records were not well kept, and many of them are lost. This may have been in part due to the exigencies of the times, for they were often secreted from marauding armies or bands of Indians. They were also repeatedly taken to other sections during these strenuous times. For the entire period of the Revolution the records are most meagre. After some two years of service as prothonotary, Huffnagle went to war also as captain in the Eighth Regiment and, strange to say, took the records with him, for he regarded them as private property. It is probable that he based his claim on the theory that with his own and not with the public money these journals, dockets, etc., had been purchased. Many demands were made of him for them, but he refused to deliver them up. Finally the matter was carried to Thomas Wharton, then president of the council, for the urgent needs of the Westmoreland people demanded their immediate restitution. President Wharton was compelled to lay the matter before General

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Washington in a letter urging its necessity and asking that he order Huffnagle to appear before the council and give a reason for their detention. Huffnagle then, to save his own good name with the general, delivered them to the proper authorities. The idea of an officer of a county retaining his records was not entirely uncommon in that age. The abuse grew and grew until 1804, when a law was passed making it obligatory under a heavy penalty for disobedience, for the outgoing officer to deliver all records to his successor.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Indians of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

Long before the advent of the white man in Western Pennsylvania, the Fork of the Ohio had been a favorite meeting place of the Indian race. They came here from the north by canoes on the Allegheny river; the tribes of the West came up the Ohio, and from the South they came by the Monongahela. Indian paths or trails, moreover, from all these sections brought them either directly to the Fork or to the waters of these rivers, by means of which their journey was more easily completed. They met here to hold councils of war and of peace; they met to form treaties between various tribes or to unite in great hunting and fishing expeditions. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they put forth their best efforts to retain this section, and after it was in part taken from them, to drive away or exterminate the encroaching white race.

The early annals of Pittsburg are so replete with references to the Indian that it becomes us now to look into their tribal history, to learn something of their leading characteristics, and their modes of life. All over western Pennsylvania have been found relics in abundance which prove beyond doubt that they once roamed over these hills in great numbers. But even without these, the beautiful nomenclature of our rivers, mountains, valleys, counties and towns prove their former presence in this community. Particularly is this noticeable in and around Pittsburg.

Archaeologists and philologists have alike for a century speculated in vain as to the origin of this strange and pathetic people. It is idle to pretend that we know more of their early history and origin than that they were here when Columbus came to America, and that their name was given them by him because of his well-known error in geography. Prior to 1750, Western Pennsylvania was practically inhabited by the Indian race alone. It was never densely populated by them as we understand density now, for with their mode of life no section was capable of sustaining more than an extremely limited number of inhabitants. As a race they lived very largely by hunting and fishing. Their women, it is true, cultivated small patches of corn, a cereal which has since borne their name, and many of them raised a few vegetables, and larger quantities of tobacco. To do this they cleared small tracts of land here and there,

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generally on the alluvial bottoms of large streams, many of which are yet pointed out as old Indian fields. They, however, knew nothing of fertilizing land, and when the soil was exhausted they abandoned their fields and removed to new sections. They knew something of the medicinal qualities of roots, herbs and flowers, which grew in the wildwood, and these they gathered and used in times of external injury, with a considerable degree of success. In place of vegetables and cereals, they subsisted largely on the meat of wild game and for this reason it required thousands of acres to support even a small tribe. The land was necessarily public land so far as the Indians were concerned. A tribe, it is true exercised a temporary ownership over a certain section, but this they readily abandoned if a locality more promising for the pursuit of wild game presented itself, or when firewood was well nigh exhausted. All Indians were prompt to help each other in distress. Some families were poor and improvident, while others were prosperous. Yet, while any member of the tribe had food, the indigent and shiftless did not suffer, and the results of a successful hunting expedition were shared with their less fortunate friends, if they stood in need of them.

Originally they made all their own implements of warfare and of the chase. Their bows and arrows were made of wood. The former were stiffened with the dried tendons of the deer or buffalo, and the latter were tipped at the points with flinty stones, known in modern times as arrow-heads. Their bowstrings were of rawhide, made from the skins of animals. They also made rude axes from stone, and with these and by the aid of fire, they were able to fell trees and to hollow out their huge trunks, thus converting them into canoes. However, when first known to the Pittsburg pioneers, they were provided with iron and steel implements, and, in part at least, with firearms. Some of these they had captured or stolen from the whites, others were furnished them by thoughtless and unprincipled traders in return for skins and furs. But the alliance formed between the French and Indians, and still later between the English and the Indians, had aided them still more, in the acquisition of scalping knives, tomahawks and guns, and also in teaching them how to use these weapons to the best advantage.

It must not be supposed, however, that the introduction of firearms among the Indians induced them to abandon the bow and arrow. The best firearm known or used then was a flintlock, which was discharged by a spark made by a flint in the hammer striking a projection on the gun barrel. This spark fell into the "pan," where a small amount of powder called "priming" was placed after the gun was loaded. When this was ignited by the spark it communicated its flame to the powder in the gun and the latter was instantly discharged. As may be readily imagined, the least rain or dampness would render the flint-lock useless, but not so with the bow and arrow. This the Indian always kept with him, and so skillful was he in its use that he rarely ever missed his mark when at short range. In the hands of an expert Indian it was more to be feared than a firearm, for the wound was more painful and the arrow was directed

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with scarcely less unerring certainty. Not infrequently has it been found that an arrow from the bow of a strong armed savage had penetrated and passed entirely through a large steer or buffalo. Furthermore, its discharge made no report, and the unwary pioneer or the herd of deer had little or no knowledge of the whereabouts of their hidden enemy. It was a weapon, indeed, peculiarly suited to an enemy whose strength lay largely in the stealthy manner in which he approached his foe. It was used by the Indians in all of our earlier wars with them. In General Arthur St. Clair's battle on the Wabash in 1791, it is on record that the arrow wounds were more galling and more feared by the American troops than the wounds from gunshots.

The Indians inhabiting the eastern part of the United States with whom the early settlers of Pittsburg and vicinity came most in contact, are usually designated as the Six Nations, viz.: The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. Each of these nations had a rude form of government, and their unwritten laws were well understood by the Indians and were binding even on the humblest members of the race. Francis Parkman says that they lived together by thousands with a harmony which civilized nations might envy. Each of these six nations was composed of smaller tribes of from two to five hundred members. These tribes were separated widely from each other, so that they could have unbounded miles of hunting territory. Each tribe had its chief, who exercised great power over all his subjects. On the death of the chief the office did not generally descend to his son but to his sister's son, or to the dead chief's brother. But if the rightful heir was a weakling or a coward, or was otherwise incapacitated for leadership, the tribe did not hesitate to discard him and select another. The son of a chief, while he could not inherit the position from his father, could earn it by deeds of courage. Captain John Smith discovered and made a note of these customs even in his day among the early tribes of Virginia.

The average Indian was tall and straight, with rough features, high cheek bones, Roman or aquiline nose, coarse, straight black hair, dark, penetrating eyes and beardless face. He had a swarthy complexion, much darker than the darkest of our race, and it had a tinge of brown or red in it which gave him the well-known name of red skin, though this was at best something of a misnomer. The Indian had more endurance and could run faster and jump farther than the average white man, for his entire life's training tended to fortify him in these feats of strength; while on the other nand, the heavy labor incident to pioneer life destroyed the white man's fleetness of foot, and rendered him less agile and less able to cope with his Indian enemy in such contests. In war, when equally opposed, the Indian was almost invincible. He never, of his own volition, fought in the open, but took advantage of every possible ambuscade. Familiar with all phases of forest life, he sought to match the superior numbers or strength of his enemy by a thorough concealment of his own whereabouts in battle. The military training of the English and American soldiers stood for but little when confronted by a foe who could fire and almost

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instantly disappear from view. Indeed, the serried columns of the drillmaster rather assisted the Indian in ambush, and only when his methods of warfare were learned and somewhat adopted, was the American soldier even comparatively successful in his contests with him. The Indian did not adopt this method through fear or cowardice, for when forced to fight at bay he proved himself not lacking in bravery by fighting with a desperation found only in infuriated wild beasts. His leading principle in warfare was self-preservation. He thought it foolhardy to unnecessarily expose himself in battle, as foolhardy as though the contest was between himself and a ferocious animal. His war parties only received the highest meed of praise when they returned not only with an abundance of scalps but without the loss of a single warrior. He employed every subterfuge and stratagem possible with him to entice the pioneer into range of his arrow. His people for centuries had hunted wild animals by stealth, and he adopted the same methods in ridding himself of the new and more dangerous enemy which, in countless numbers, came upon him from the East.

When first known to the white man they were not necessarily a savage race. They went to war among themselves, but were not particularly hostile to our people until they began to displace them and to interfere, as they thought, with their vested rights in the natural products of the wilderness. They thought it their duty to exterminate the white man, and the latter at length, thought it no greater crime to kill an Indian than a rattlesnake. If the Indian seldom spared the life of a wounded or conquered adversary, he on the other hand, asked no quarter when he himself was taken captive. It is quite probable that for obvious reasons, the early settler, in his combats with the Indians, met oftenest the larger and stronger specimens of the tribe. This led to the impression that they were as a race, much superior to our own. This is entirely erroneous. Our men compared well with them in size and strength, and, considering all circumstances, there was perhaps but little advantage on either side. Our women were, all things considered, equal to theirs in strength and greatly superior to them in form and physical beauty. The attractive Indian maiden of modern fiction is a poetical creation rather than one found in real life. The Indian woman was homely, and one of average comeliness was an exception, and this quality the race has preserved even to this day. But the Indian standards of aesthetics differed from ours, and to his eye, the maiden of his race, may have been richly dowered with personal loveliness and beauty.

Of the smaller tribes, the ones most commonly known to the early pioneers of Western Pennsylvania where the Delawares, Cornplanters, Munsies, Shawanees, Mingoes, Cherokees, Hurons, Miamis, Ojibwas, Pottowatamies, etc., and some of these are yet represented in the remnant tribes of the West. The raids made on Pittsburg and nearby communities, invariably originated with one or more of the tribes above mentioned. They were then scattered over the country west of the Susquehanna and north of the Ohio rivers, with a few stragglers farther south and east. The Cornplanters, Shawanees, Miamis,

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Munsies and Delawares were the ones which terrorized the early Pittsburgers most.

The Indians built towns, but not as places of permanent abode, for the reason, as we have intimated, that they were often compelled to wander from one locality to another in order to subsist at all. Their houses were called wigwams. The most temporary habitation which they constructed was circular in shape at the ground, and the skeletons of them were made of poles which standing on their ends, were made to converge until they were nearly together at the top, thus presenting a conical form, with a small opening at the apex for the emission of smoke. These converging poles were thoroughly covered with the skins of animals or with the bark of trees to protect the inmates from the cold and rain. The wigwam, being pointed at the top, made it much less liable to be overturned by a storm. It was usual in this section, for each family to have a separate wigwam, though sometimes several families lived in the same habitation. Many of their houses were built of poles not unlike the early log houses of the white man. Not infrequently they were long and narrow, even as long as a hundred feet or more, and each one served for many families. There were always openings at the top for the escape of smoke and they were invariably filled with soot. Living almost constantly in smoke, many of the Indians had inflamed eyes in winter time, and a resultant blindness in old age was not infrequent. Around the collection of wigwams or huts, they often constructed rude fortifications, made by digging trenches and surmounting the ground thrown from them with logs, stones, bark, etc. In these crude habitations they cooked, ate and slept in winter time. Their beds were composed of twigs and leaves of trees, covered with the skins of animals. Their best constructed wigwams or huts were so flimsy that they decayed and were gone a few years after they were abandoned.

The Indian has been widely represented as of a silent and morose disposition, and this, says Washington Irving, is in some degree, erroneous. When alone in helpless captivity among the whites, whose language he did not understand and whose motives he distrusted, he was invariably taciturn, but certainly not more so than the white man would have been under like circumstances. Parkman describes them as continuously visiting, chatting, joking and bantering each other with short witticism. When among themselves in their smoky wigwams or around their blazing campfires, they were exceedingly loquacious and mirthful. Deeds of valor, feats of strength and agility, narrow escapes from captivity and death when on the war path, the successes or failures of the last hunting expedition and amusing incidents at the expense of the white man constituted very largely the younger Indians' conversation, while the older members of the race regaled the youthful warriors with the oft-repeated heroic tales of incidents long gone by.

They had a marriage ceremony which was generally celebrated with songs and dances, and their marital relations were comparatively well kept, though a divorce was obtainable on the arbitrary caprice of either party. The relation-

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ship of father, grandfather, cousin, nephew, etc., was clearly defined among them, and no Indian youth was allowed to marry a squaw of his own immediate tribe, because of the possible relationship which might exist between them. They had also a crude form of religion. They believed in Manitou, a great spirit which ruled the heavens and earth, and with whom both good and bad Indians should live and hunt after death. They believed, however, in distinction between the final home of a good, brave warrior on the one hand and that of the cowardly, lazy Indian on the other. In keeping with this belief, they thought that animals would in the next world be admitted on equal terms with Indians. They believed that the Great Spirit sometimes endowed minor spirits with special powers. This belief saved many a white man's life. If they once concluded that the prisoner had some special connection with the Great Spirit, his life was safe. Their system of worship was with song and dance, and every great undertaking, such as going on an extended hunt or on the war path, was begun with some ceremony of this kind. A similar ceremony ended the expedition, the first to please the Great Spirit, to induce him to favor their cause, and the second to in a measure express their gratitude for favors granted. But those who have investigated the subject of religion among the primitive Indians believe that they had no conception of a Supreme Being until they came in contact with civilized white men. The first missionaries among them were Jesuit priests, who found no word in their language to express our idea of a Supreme Being, and the prevailing belief among those who have investigated it is that the idea of the primitive red man worshipping a Great Spirit, before he was taught to do so by the advent of Christianity from Europe, originated and had existence only in the brain of sentimental writers and in the idle dreams of poets. Morally they did not compare with our race by any means, and should not be expected to do so, for we have had the advantage of centuries of civilization and education. But if we compare them with our own race, when, as a race we had reached the stage in which we found the Indian, the only fair comparison, they undoubtedly equal us. If the reader of these pages is astonished at this statement, on recalling the cruel manner in which the Indian dealt with his supposed white enemy when in helpless captivity, let him remember that it is but a few generations since the ablest and best of the English speaking people were tortured on the rack, confined in dungeons, mutilated, and burned at the stake by the decree of the highest tribunal in English civilization, and that, even in Massachusetts innocent men and women were burned for witchcraft. And those barbarities were committed, not by unlettered savages, living in wigwams, but by a people who were making history, writing poetry and building cities and palaces which stand to this day and command the admiration of the world.

A leading characteristic of the Indian was his inability to forgive or forget an injury done him by the white race, yet, on the other hand, he has been credited with being equally mindful of favors shown him. With his understanding of the early settlers' encroachment upon his territory, he was as

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Ishmael, who thought that every man's hand was against him. The pioneer was slowly but surely working his exclusion, and his vindictive wrath was indiscriminately meted out against all pale faces. Too often it fell with great severity on the innocent and unoffending and on the guilty alike. While he had also may other bad traits, those who labored long among them as missionaries, or who were long held captive by them, generally saw much good in them and became greatly attached to them. They were not all originally the treacherous race they have lately been reputed to be. Few men of our later history have fought the Indians more valiantly or more successfully than General William Henry Harrison, yet he, in after years, bore this testimony concerning them: "A long and intimate knowledge of the Delaware tribe, in peace and in war, as enemies and as friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impressions of their character for bravery, generosity and fidelity to their engagements." It is fair in this connection to add, however, that the Delawares were more nearly a friendly tribe than any other.

It was undoubtedly the white race who taught them or induced them to adopt some of their worst habits. When first known to our race they knew nothing of intoxicants, not even of the simplest form of fermentation or distillation. They smoked tobacco and taught the habit to Sir Walter Raleigh, who perhaps introduced it in England, but this was their nearest approach to a stimulant or a narcotic. Our people soon taught them the use of liquor, and most bitterly did both races suffer from it. They were apt students, taking to rum apparently almost intuitively, and it seemed to arouse only the baser principles of their nature. They would part with their finest furs to secure a taste of rum, and this exhorbitant appetite in the end perhaps did more than anything else to rob them of their vigor and reason, and finally of all the lands they possessed.

The white race in Western Pennsylvania practically came first in contact with the Indians in purchasing furs and skins from them. They were naturally children of the wilderness, and excelled in hunting wild animals. As a result the Indian towns abounded with the skins of the buffalo, bear, deer, wolf, beaver, otter, mink, fox, raccoon, etc. They shot these animals with bows and arrows or with firearms. They speared fish, or caught them with rude hooks made of bone, or drove them into ponds screened with small rods. They also fished with rude nets, made from the twisted fiber of wild hemp. Animals and fish and all game birds were then extremely plentiful. The life the Indian led had developed his senses of sight, hearing and smell to a degree which amazed even the shrewdest woodsmen among the early settlers. He knew the habits of all wild animals, and could detect their slightest movements in the forests, movements invisible to the eye of one unaccustomed to the woods. With these qualities he easily surpassed the average white man in procuring skins and furs and wild game. He was by nature suited to this style of life. It was not by any means, a life of ease or comfort, but was mostly attended with great hardships and privations. Only when the weather was pleasant and

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when wild berries, fruits and nuts were plentiful and when the forest abounded with game, was his life one of even comparative ease. They were often forced to live on the roots, buds and bark of trees, and at such times cannibalism was not unknown among them.

The Indian did not recognize any special difference between an animal and a human being, be he red or white. When killing an animal he frequently performed incantations over its body to appease its spirit so that it or the spirit of surviving animals would not become hostile to him or his people. He killed animals only for their skins or flesh, or in self-defense in ridding himself of dangerous beasts. The wanton destruction of wild animals, so common with the white race a few years ago, was unknown to him. The average Indian killed a white man as readily as an animal, for the former he regarded as his mortal enemy. Except in battle, he very rarely killed an Indian. Murder among Indians was so rare that the race had scarcely a well defined public punishment for it. The murderer and his friends were forced to give presents, sometimes of considerable value, to the representatives of the Indian who had been killed. Where presents were refused by the dead man's family, the murderer was given over to them as a slave, and he was made to hunt and fish for them and to assist in their support. The presents consisted of corn, skins, guns, objects of adornment, etc. The murder of a woman because of her helplessness, demanded more presents from the murderer than that of a man. Her life was, moreover, more necessary, for the increase of the Indian race than that of a man, hence a greater number of presents was required in atonement. Stealing was much more common among them and was punished by allowing the injured party not only to retake the goods stolen, but to take from the thief all the goods he possessed. For treason or betraying his tribe in any way, the offender was put to death, the chief of the tribe usually appointing an Indian to stealthily shoot him.

They had dogs in this section but no other domestic animals. They did not have horses until they secured them from the pioneers, and very few were used here. This was probably because they were inhabiting a mountainous wilderness unsuited originally for horseback riding. The much vaunted Indian feats of horsemanship were confined almost entirely to the boundless prairies of the West. Their long journeys were performed on foot or in canoes. They had trails or paths through the dense forests and over mountain chains on which they journeyed, conforming in many instances to our modern highways. They traveled a great deal by water. Though they made canoes by hollowing out logs, they were cumbersome at best, and a canoe made of birch bark was perhaps the favorite one in Indian navigation. They had learned to calk the cracks or joints with the exudations of the pine tree and make them entirely water-proof. They also made canoes from the skins of animals, and as late as 1832, Irving refers in his "Tour of the Prairies," to crossing swollen streams in buffalo-skin canoes. In these frail barks they floated up and down on the limpid waters of these three rivers, dreaming not that better methods of naviga-

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tion near at hand, would soon appear to force them from their hunting grounds, and, in the end, practically work the extermination of the whole Indian race.

Though the Indians were naturally a strong, athletic people, capable of great endurance and inured to all manner of hardships, they did not increase rapidly in numbers. Their poorly constructed habitations, the necessary unsanitary condition of such huts, and their nomadic habits, superinduced a great mortality among their children and, perhaps only the stronger ones survived. This, with their habitual outdoor life, accounted in a great measure, for the unusual strength and vitality of the Indian warrior. Living as they have been described, they were almost necessarily filthy in their habits, and as a result, were greatly subjected to infectious diseases, such as fever and smallpox. When these diseases broke out, they were extremely destructive to the race, for they had but little knowledge of how to treat them successfully. They believed that all sickness was the result of an evil spirit which pervaded the sick man, and the Indian doctors sought by signs, magic and hideous noises to drive the demon from his patient. The result of such treatment on the longevity of the Indian race may be readily imagined.

We have referred to the Indian women who cultivated small fields of corn and vegetables. Upon them devolved all the hard labor performed by the tribe. This included also the skinning of wild animals and carrying heavy burdens of skins, dried meat, etc., when they were making long journeys. Their squaws were at best, little better than beasts of burden. Their hard lives shriveled them and made them appear older than their years. They were hideous, neglected and despised in their latter years, and as a result, became more fierce, cruel and vindictive than were the men of their tribe. In explanation of the custom of compelling them to perform hard labor, it may be said that such duties were invariably performed by women in all nations of the world when in that stage of civilization. Their Indian household duties, as may be readily imagined from the style of their wigwams, were necessarily very few. The warrior, whether hunting wild animals or on the war path, needed agility, a steady nerve, and great strength above all things else, and these would all have been impaired by hard labor or by carrying heavy burdens. The Indian boy was taught from childhood to run, jump, swim, fish, shoot and fight, but not to work. He was taught to go hungry, and to endure all manner of hardships and pain without complaint, preparing him in that way, for what he might expect in after life. With such training it is not to be wondered at that he scorned and laughed at the wails of agony of his victim who felt the flames creeping around his quivering flesh, while he himself endured such pain in silence and with a fortitude worthy at least of the proverbial stoicism of the Grecian philosopher. Leading a lonely life in the forest, the Indian became a close observer of the phenomenon of nature. He had studied the heavens for signs of rain and clear weather, and so mastered them that his forecasting was almost unerring. Long before he knew the white man, he had discovered that there were four seasons which regularly followed each other each year, and he had discovered further that

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these four periods were measured by thirteen moons. By moons he accurately counted his own age and the ages of his children, and kept account of the noted events in his monotonous life. All this was kept in his mind purely, for the race had no method of writing or of physically preserving a record of events. Resultant upon this, we have no account or history of the Indians as kept by themselves. We can form a fair estimate of the Indian character only by remembering that the heart-rending tales of his inhumanities have been written almost solely by his enemies. His lips were sealed as to his side of the difficulties, for he could neither speak nor write his defense in a language which we could understand. Their traditions, customs and laws were preserved in memory and transmitted orally, and they consequently perished almost entirely with the ill-fated race. Stone implements, battle axes, tomahawks, pipes, arrow and spearheads have survived the ravages of time, and are almost the only tangible evidences left by the Indian of his long dominion in Pennsylvania. Few nations of modern times would be willing to be judged by a history of them written entirely by their enemies.

A strong trait in the Indian character was his love of bright colors and ornamentation. He painted his face and body, wore ornaments in his ears and nose, and dressed his hair with bright feathers and his rude, deer hide garments with fringe. It has been supposed that this originated with him as a means of protection, for, when in a dense wilderness, clothed only by the skins of animals, without some bright colors or ornamentation, he might easily have been the victim of an arrow intended for a supposed wild animal. But so long did they thus array themselves that it became a passion with them, from which they have never been able to divest themselves. A youth of the present day Indian race may be educated away from his people, yet upon his first opportunity he will most likely again resume the garb of his tribe, and is generally discontented with any other than the Indian life. The secretary of the interior some years ago, through the Indian agency, sent dark clothes to a western tribe, which after the fashion of that day, were lined with red and white barred material. Visiting them shortly afterward he noticed that they had uniformly turned their garments wrong side out, so that they might display the bright colored linings. Less than any other members of the human family, do they seem able to discard their hereditary customs. As a result, it has been found almost impossible to civilize them or to induce them to engage in the habits and callings of our enlightened age.

The early settlers in America found the Indian in undisputed possession of a land of singular beauty and of great fertility and natural wealth. To dispossess him of his hunting grounds, was to incur his undying hatred and wrath. To suffer him to remain, precluded the possibility of our present civilization, for the interests of the two races were directly opposite to each other. The Indian could subsist only in an unbounded wilderness; the white man's sole ambition was to conquer the forest, to tame and improve the wild lands, and make them contribute to his welfare. It was the Indian's misfortune that he

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was contented to lead only a nomadic and uncivilized life; that he, in his make-up was entirely void of ambition, progress and industry, and that he could not or would not improve the country which he inhabited. The white man, on the other hand, was contented only with improvement, and was most happy when living on the products of his own labor. The same peculiarly unfortunate situation confronted the early settler around Pittsburg as well as elsewhere. Had the Indian not been dispossessed, the Ohio Valley would to this day have been covered with its primeval forest and inhabited mainly by Indians and wild animals. It was inevitable, therefore, that for our present civilization, the Indian should be gradually driven back. Before the aggressive white man, filled with industry and ambition, the indolent Indian slowly followed the setting sun, until his course has been almost a direct retreat from the Atlantic ocean to the Rocky mountains. And with this westward march he was gradually blighted until his once powerful race has now almost perished from the earth.

The most humane methods in dealing with the Indians in dispossessing them of their lands may not always, indeed may not generally, have been adopted by the first settlers. General Jeffrey Amherst suggested to Colonel Henry Bouquet to try to inoculate the Indians around Fort Pitt with smallpox by means of blankets, as the brave Captain Ecuyer had tried to do before. Bouquet, whom every one reveres, replied that he would do so, and that he regretted only that he could not adopt the Spanish method of hunting them with English dogs. In this connection, before censuring them, it should be remembered that they were a sturdy, industrious people, not lacking in intellect nor in the cardinal virtues of charity, affection and honor, and that they were surrounded by obstacles which cannot be appreciated by our present generation. They doubtless dealt with the Indians as they thought the exigencies of the time demanded. On the question as to whose dominion, that of the Indian or the white man in the western hemisphere, was fraught with the greatest benefit to the human family, there can certainly be no two opinions.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Beginning of the Revolution—The Hannastown Resolutions—The New Constitution.

Pittsburg has a most remarkable and most interesting history in the Revolution. The town was in reality but a small collection of log houses with no municipal existence save as a part of Pitt township. It had a growing desire among its citizens to become the county seat of Westmoreland county, for it was the metropolis of western Pennsylvania. Because of its location and because of Fort Pitt, which was governed by the government during the war, it became the Revolutionary storm-center of the West, and as such will be considered in these pages. Even if we desired to do so, we could not separate its Revolutionary history from that of the surrounding country, for they are so interlinked and interdependent on each other, that the story, to be made intelligent to the reader, must to a great extent include the history of both.

The people of southwestern Pennsylvania may well feel proud of their record in the Revolution. Though Westmoreland county had been opened for settlement but six years, and had been erected less than three years before the war began; though they were almost entirely a community of farmers and struggling pioneers with but two small towns, neither of which had a population of 300, yet the county of Westmoreland has the proud distinction, as the records show, of having furnished more men for various branches of the Revolutionary army than the city of Philadelphia. True, they were not all under the direct command of Washington, but they were an integral part of the forces which, in the end, brought about the glorious victory at Yorktown. That Philadelphia had many Quakers who would not fight, and many Tories who were against us, must not lessen the glory which attaches to the Revolutionary history of Pittsburg and its associated communities.

The people of the western section of Pennsylvania did not enter the Revolution with the idea of obtaining their freedom, nor had they given the question of civil liberty or the oppression of the British Parliament much attention. They were well employed in clearing away the original forests, in defending themselves against Connolly and his militia and in the longer continued contest with the Indians. A few of the leading men were in constant correspondence with the Philadelphia patriots, and these became leaders of the

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entire population. The Boston Port Bill had been passed, to go into effect on June 1, 1774. Its effect was, in brief, to close the port of Boston to all commerce; it forbade town meetings except at the pleasure of the governor; placed the appointment of the governor, the council, and of sheriffs in the Crown, and gave the appointed sheriffs the power of electing juries.

On May 13th the town of Boston resolved, "That if the other colonies would unite with them to stop all importations with Great Britain and the West Indies until the Act should be repealed it would prove the salvation of the colonies." The day that the act went into effect, June 1, 1774, was observed throughout the colonies as a fast day. In the meantime a committee of correspondence for the city of Philadelphia had been formed and now sent out a circular to the prominent representatives of the different counties which, among other things, set forth as follows: "The governor declining to call a meeting of the Assembly, renders it necessary to take the sentiments of the inhabitants; and for that purpose it is agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the city and the counties at the State House on the 15th instant, Wednesday, July, 1774." The circular was sent by Charles Thompson, clerk of the first Continental Congress. On this suggestion meetings were held in most of the counties and were particularly well attended where the Scotch-Irish predominated among the pioneers, as they did at Pittsburg and in this vicinity. Deputies to attend this meeting in Philadelphia were chosen from every district in the province. On July 11th a "very respectable body of people" met at the old log court house in Hannastown and elected Robert Hanna and James Cavett as delegates to represent Westmoreland county in the convention at Philadelphia. The committee met as was arranged on the 15th and the representatives from Westmoreland county could not reach there in time for its opening session. However, their minutes show that they were present and they probably did participate in its later meetings, for it remained in session until July 21st. Cavett was a frontiersman who had also been a justice and a county commissioner, while Hanna was a shrewd Irishman, a justice and a hotel keeper, yet they were associated in the convention with Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin and joined in the instructions to the Assembly and in the general resolutions. They also signed their names to the scholarly paper which came from the able pen of John Dickinson, a philosophical composition on the abstract nature of liberty and privileges, and on the king's prerogatives, which is enlightened with the learning of Burlamaqui and Montesquieu and Blackstone. If they were incompetent to pass on the learned opinion of Queen Elizabeth's chief justice, they were, at all events, men of good sense, loyalty and judgment, and such men were demanded above all others by those times. Our representatives were of course men without culture and perhaps the more learned would have handled these questions with better grace. It was not particularly a revolutionary convention, for it declared allegiance to King George, though it denounced the arbitrary acts of the British parliament and in severe terms inveighed against the Boston Port Bill and the annulment of the Massachusetts charter. It also suggested a colonial congress

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and pledged the State of Pennsylvania to at once stop all communication with Great Britain, for such a proceeding was thought necessary to force the parliament to repeal these obnoxious measures. About this time, 1774, a committee of correspondence was organized in Westmoreland county which continued to exert considerable influence until it was succeeded by the revolutionary association when the war properly began. The records of the committee of correspondence in Westmoreland county are not to be found, but they undoubtedly did render considerable service.

The reader has seen that the Virginians and the adherents of the Penns around Pittsburg were almost in arms against each other, but when the war clouds of the Revolution came they united at once and there were few who were not loyal to the American cause. Even the most pronounced of the Virginians, those who were soldiers in Dunmore's army, enlisted in the cause. In 1774 Valentine Crawford, a brother of Judge Crawford, while a member of Dunmore's army, wrote a letter to Washington from Wheeling, saying the frontiersmen all hoped for an early peace with the Indians; "in order that we may be able to assist you in relieving the poor distressed Bostonians. If the report here is true that General Gage has bombarded the City of Boston this is a most alarming circumstance and calls on every friend of the liberty of his country to exert himself at this time in its cause." While Dunmore's soldiers were marching homeward on November 5th they held a meeting and passed a resolution binding themselves to put forth "every power within us for the defense of American liberty and for the support of our just rights and privileges." In 1775 it became clear, to the leaders of the county at least, that a war between the colonies and England would be inevitable, and Connolly undertook to organize the leading men of his command in Pittsburg and vicinity into a company to sustain the cause of the king as against the colonists. These were men of English blood and were devoted followers of Connolly in his unlawful proceedings, yet he met with no success whatever in forming this organization. They were favorable to Virginia and oppesed to the Penns, but they were equally hostile to the oppressive measures of the British parliament and the Crown. The news of the battle of Lexington travelled west slowly and reached Pittsburg early in May. The hardy Scotch and the Irish on the rude frontier laid aside their legal quarrels and united at once in defense of their rights as American citizens as against England. There were then two committees of correspondence, one in Westmoreland county proper and one in West Augusta county, the significance of which has been explained in a previous chapter. These committees called meetings of the early settlers at once and expressed their minds as to the new turn in public affairs. These meetings were called at Pittsburg and at Hannastown and were held on May 16-17, 1775. The same day the Virginia court opened in Pittsburg, and the attendance was therefore unusually large in this place. They appointed a committee of twenty-eight men representing various sections of Westmoreland and the Virginia district, and many of these men were then, or later became, well known in the pioneer history of this section. Among

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these were George Croghan, who was an uncle of Connolly and had rendered such eminent service in the Indian troubles; Edward Ward, who had been censured somewhat for surrendering the fort he was building at the Fork in 1754; John Cannon, who afterward became an army officer and founded Cannonsburg; John Gibson, who interpreted Logan's defense of his race in Ohio; Edward Cook, who sat on the bench and filled many important positions in our history; John McCullough, a fearless pioneer, William Crawford, before that a justice of the county, and a loyal soldier, and Samuel Semple, the father-in-law of Connolly, and one of the leading men of his day. This committee met and drafted stirring resolutions approving the acts of the Bostonians in opposing "the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme." They also arranged for the organization of committees to be ready to oppose English oppression at the first call from the Colonies. On the next day, the other committee held "a general meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland county" in the temporary log court house at Hannastown and adopted resolutions which made the committee famous for all time and was in many respects one of the most glorious meetings ever held in western Pennsylvania, even up to our present day of great events. True they met in a log cabin—met as pioneers, and many of them were doubtless clothed in homespun garments or hunting suits of buckskin; met in the shade of the "forest primeval," on the western border of civilization. But nevertheless, let the reader suggest a meeting in modern times and compare its proceedings with those of the Hannastown meeting and its patriotic resolutions, and it will fade into utter insignificance. There is but one document in American letters which can be compared with the Hannastown resolutions and that is the Declaration of Independence itself which was not then in existence except in the mind of Thomas Jefferson. It must always be remembered that the Hannastown convention made and adopted its resolutions more than a year before the Declaration of Independence was signed. The Hannastown resolutions embrace the substance of the Magna Charta as wrested from King John at Runnymede in 1215, and nearly every principle enunciated in them was afterward repeated in the great Declaration of July 4, 1776. Take the two documents together and we find sentences in either which may be substituted in the other and read without detection except upon the closest scrutiny. Nay more. Had the principle clauses of the Hannastown resolutions been adopted in Philadelphia as part of the Declaration of July 4, 1776, the statesmen of the day could scarcely have noticed the substitution. It is as positive as any state paper we have in the English language not excepting the best writings of Alexander Hamilton. It defines as clearly the causes of complaint and points out the remedy for our evils with a precision as unerring as any paper ever printed either in Europe or America. The resolutions were as follows:

Resolved, unanimously, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to be in rebellion; and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have endeavored to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever be-

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fore existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing their lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the means of subsistence.

Resolved, unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will, should it meet with success in the Massachusetts Bay, be extended to other parts of America; it is, therefore, become the indispensable duty of every American, of very man who has any public virtue or love of his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us, we will be ready to oppose it with out lives, and our fortunes, and, the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland county.

Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful king, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the while British Empire; we declare to the world that we do not mean by this Association to deviate from loyalty which we hold it to be our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which purpose we do agree and associate together.

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportion as shall be thought necessary.

2nd. We will with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercises and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed, either for the companies or the regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3rd. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power, resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that many be formed for the defense of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrates in carrying the same in execution.

5th. That when the British Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance, or when some general plan of union or reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this, our association, shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain in full force; and to the observation of it we

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bind ourselves by everything dear and sacred amongst men. No licensed murder; no famine introduced by law.

Resolved, That on Wednesday, the 24th instant, the township meet to accede to the said association and choose their officers.

These resolutions, with the proceedings, are found in the American Archives, Fourth Series, Volume 2, page 615. The reader cannot but ask who wrote them. Some eastern writers have claimed that they were not written and adopted a year before the Declaration of Independence, but were probably gotten up many years afterwards. It was difficult for them to think that here in the western wilderness were men who were intellectually equal to the task of preparing them thus early in the great struggle against England. The genuineness of their date is not difficult to demonstrate. Arthur St. Clair, in a letter to Governor Penn, writing of the meeting, the resolutions, etc., said: "I got a clause added to it by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by." This undoubtedly refers to the latter part of the fourth clause of the resolution. Further, in a letter to Joseph Shippen, Jr., written from Ligonier the day after the meeting, in referring to the arming of the citizens of the county, St. Clair wrote: "Yesterday we had a county meeting and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline and have formed associations which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity of such proceedings. I doubt their utility and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished." Both of these letters agree exactly with the text of the resolutions and we take it therefore that those who doubted their genuineness were not aware of the existence of St. Clair's correspondence. On the other hand it has been claimed that St. Clair was the sole author of the resolutions. This claim is not borne out, indeed it is almost disproved, by his letters above quoted. Had he been their sole author he would scarcely have written "I got a clause added," etc., and in the second letter if he "doubted their utility," etc., he would not have written those parts. But from their general style, from the strong English, interspersed with English law terms, it has long been known that they were prepared by a thoroughly educated man and one of high literary attainments, and likely by some one who had been educated in Great Britain. Such a man, in every particular, was Arthur St. Clair, and he was present in the convention also, as is indicated by his letters. He is generally regarded as a soldier purely, but was in reality one of the best educated men in the Revolution. No one can read his writings without admitting that he was a master of English letters. He had had the benefit of a college education, was descended from a long line of ancestors, illustrious alike for deeds of noble daring and for their intellectual and social standing. In America he had associated with our most polished people. To those who will look into his modest life, the fact that he never claimed their authorship will be no evidence that he was not their autnor. It is generally believed that he was, in the main, their author and it is known that he was one of the leading spirits

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in the convention. Yet there was one clause in them which he did not introduce and one which could not have been in the original draft.

Carrying out the suggestions of these resolutions, meetings were held all over the county on May 24, and the military companies were formed as suggested in them. On May 25 St. Clair wrote to Governor Penn as follows: "We have nothing but musters and committees all over the County and everything seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror." How accurately the acute minded young Scotchman forecasted the future; bound to England by ties of kindred and imbued with the idea of the Britons that the English armies were invincible in war, he hesitated to begin the battle, but when he learned that a contest could not be avoided, he willingly gave the best years of his life and his fortune to the cause of the colonies.

The regiment, the necessity of which was suggested by the resolutions, was almost at once organized at Hannastown, and was the first in the county

THE RATTLESNAKE FLAG.

at the breaking out of the Revolution. It was commanded by John Proctor, of whom we have already written. The regiment adopted a flag for its own use before the colonies had conceived the idea of a general flag for all of the American troops. This flag has been preserved and is one of the most noted and highly valued mementoes of the past. It is made of crimson silk, and has, in its upper left hand corner, the coat-of-arms of Great Britain, for

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it will be remembered that we were yet professedly loyal subjects of His Majesty, George the Third. On its folds is a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles, indicative of the number of colonies united in the contest. Underneath the snake are the words "Don't tread on me." In the half circle are the letters J. P. I. B. W. C. P., which are the initials of the words "John Proctor's First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania." The flag is in possession of Elizabeth Craig of New Alexandria, to whom it came by descent from her ancestor, John Proctor. It is properly one of the most valuable heritages of the past and should be preserved in a fire-proof museum, so that it might inspire patriotism in generations yet unborn.

The Continental Congress in May, 1775, resolved to raise an army and appointed Washington to command the forces of the colonies. The number to be enlisted from Pennsylvania was forty-three hundred. The assembly recommended the commissioners of the various counties to provide arms and accoutrements, each county for its own soldiers. They also directed the officers of the military associations to select minute men, each county as many as they had arms for, to be ready to march on the short notice their name indicated. A committee of safety was appointed whose duty it was to assist in carrying these measures into effect. William Thompson, who had been elected the first assemblyman from Westmoreland county on its formation, was a member of this committee from the county. The committee of safety proposed and prepared articles for the government of the associators, which, prior to this, had been a voluntary body. But a resolution of the assembly required all able-bodied men to belong to the military organization and thus it came about that the associators became the militia at the opening of the Revolution. One of the duties of the assessors of the townships was to furnish the names of all men in their district of a military age who were capable of bearing arms. The commissioners also levied a tax of two and one-half pounds on all who had not joined the associators; this tax was in addition to the regular tax. The assembly passed articles for the government of the military body and provided, among other things, that if an associator called into service should leave a family not able to maintain themselves, the justices of the peace with the overseers of the poor should look after their maintenance. Toward the close of the year further demands were made on the state for four battalions, one of which was placed under command of Colonel Arthur St. Clair.

The Continental Congress in May, 1776, awoke to the fact that so far all public officers had taken the usual oath to support the government under the Crown of Great Britain, though they were really fighting and preparing to fight against the authority of the Crown. This question between the proprietary interest, which was represented principally by the members of the assembly who were loyal to the Crown, and the opponents, who were then called Whigs, was a very bitter one. The latter finally called a convention which was composed of committeemen from each county, who met in Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia

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on June 18, 1776. This convention resolved that the time had arrived to call a provincial convention, the object of which was to form a new government in the interest of the people only. The delegates from Westmoreland county to the provincial convention were Edward Cook and James Perry. They resolved that a convention of the province should be called for the purpose of forming a new state government, etc. A committee was appointed to determine the number of members of the convention. On this committee each county had two members except Westmoreland, which had but one, and Edward Cook was the one appointed. This committee then adopted rules regulating the qualifications of voters who should elect the members of the convention and indicated that a voter must have been assessed and paid tax for three years in order to vote for these delegates, whereupon it was discovered that this would disfranchise Westmoreland county, for they were not required to pay provincial tax for three years after the formation of the county. A resolution was therefore offered by which this disqualification was removed. For the purposes of this special election the county was divided into two districts. All those south of the Youghiogheny were to vote at Spark's rort, on the river; and all others were to vote at Hannastown. In this convention Westmoreland was entitled to eight delegates, and those selected were: James Barr, Edward Cook, James Smith, John Moore, James Perry, John Carmichael, John McClelland and Christopher Lobingier. Before the convention met on July 15, congress had passed the Declaration of Independence and had declared the colonies free and independent states. The members of the convention took the oath and began at once to devise measures for the adoption of a constitution, assuming the supreme power of the state. These delegates, it will be remembered, were scarcely elected for that purpose, and they perhaps went beyond the scope of their authority. But the people ratified what they did and when it was called in question, principally by the old assembly which mostly represented the proprietaries, they were soon silenced by a popular clamor, for now the bells were ringing, and the old had given place to the new. The convention appointed a committee of safety for the new government, approved the Declaration of Independence and appointed new justices who, before beginning their new duties, were to take the oath renouncing the king's authority and pledge allegiance to the state. They also declared Pennsylvania a free and independent state, put forth a bill of rights, formed a constitution and provided a plan of government for the commonwealth. The constitution was adopted September 28, 1776, and went into effect at once. The legislature had in June made provision for the enrollment for all persons fit for military duty. The test oath was a severe one and was supposed to be necessary to restrain the tories, by which name those loyal to the Proprietaries or the Crown of England were now designated. It was provided that all white male inhabitants of the state above the age of eighteen, except in the counties of Bedford and Westmoreland, should before the first day of July, 1777, and in the excepted counties before the first day of August, take the oath and subscribe to it before a justice of the peace, and severe penalties were

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imposed on those who neglected or refused to take it. The test oath was as follows: "I do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and subscribers, and that I will faithfully bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be injurious to the freedom and independence thereof as declared by congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one Justice of the Peace of said state, all treason or treacherous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be found against this or any of the United States of America."

The eight men who represented Westmoreland in the constitutional convention were the leading men of western Pennsylvania and united with those from other sections gave us a new state government. Some reference to their lives and characters may be in keeping with these narratives. Thomas Barr was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1749, and settled in Derry township of Westmoreland county, in 1770. He very early became a leader in the organization of companies to defend the border settlements against the Indians and performed many such services in the Revolution. After serving as a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, he was appointed a justice of the peace, serving until 1787, when he became a member of the general assembly and remained in office until 1789. He opposed in every way the calling of a state convention, the object of which was to change the organic law of the state in 1789. Nevertheless the convention was called and a new constitution known as the constitution of 1790 was adopted. Under this constitution he was associate judge of Westmoreland county. When Armstrong county was organized in 1800 he fell within the limits of the new county. He died May 11, 1824.

Edward Cook was born in 1738 of English parents who settled in the Cumberland Valley. In 1772 he came to Westmoreland and took up lands on the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers. In 1776 he built a stone house on his land which is still standing and in good preservation. He was a storekeeper, farmer and distiller and owned slaves which came under the gradual abolition law of 1782. He was a member of the committee of conference which met in Carpenter's Hall, June 18, 1776, and of the convention of July 15. In 1777 he was appointed by the council of Pennsylvania to meet similarly appointed delegates from other states, in New Haven, Connecticut, to try to regulate the prices of all commodities produced in new states. They met November 22, 1777. In 1781 he commanded a battalion for frontier defense and was county lieutenant from 1782 to 1783. Later he was a justice in both Westmoreland and Washington counties and under the new constitution was associate judge in Fayette county. He was largely instrumental in ending the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794. He died in 1808 and his wife died in 1837, aged ninety-four. Both died in the stone house which they had built in 1776.

James Perry lived at the mouth of Turtle creek, close to the cabin built by the trader and Indian fighter, John Frazer. He was a member of the provin-

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cial convention which met in Carpenter's Hall on June 28, 1776, and of the convention of July 15, 1776. Shortly after this he removed to Kentucky and all trace of him was lost.

John McClelland was born in Lancaster county in 1734 and after coming to Westmoreland county lived in that part of it which fell within Fayette county on its organization in 1783. He represented Westmoreland county in the convention of July 15, 1776, and also represented it in the General Assembly in 1778. He was a captain of the First Battalion of the Westmoreland militia at the beginning of the Revolution and was also prominent in the Whiskey Insurrection.

Christopher Lobingier was a son of Christopher Lobingier, of Wittenberg, Germany, and was born in Lancaster, now Dauphin county, in 1740, shortly after his parents came to America. In 1772 he removed to Mount Pleasant township, Westmoreland county, living near the present village of Laurelville. He served on the Revolutionary Committee of Correspondence and was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, and was also a member of the General Assembly under the constitution of 1790, being in the lower house from 1791 to 1793. He died on July 4, 1798.

John Carmichael was a native of Cumberland county and was born about 1757. Shortly before the Revolution he settled in Westmoreland county in the part which afterward fell into Fayette county, living near Red Stone creek. He was the owner of a mill and distillery and in addition to being a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, he was a member of the Assembly in 1777. He died in 1796.

John Moore was a son of William Moore and was born in Lancaster county in 1738. His father died when he was a child and his mother in company with her brothers, removed to Pennsylvania in 1757. He was engaged in agriculture and house building until the beginning of the Revolution. He was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776, and was appointed a justice of the peace for Westmoreland county in 1777, serving until 1785, when he was made president judge of the courts, but the constitution of 1790 provided that the judges should be men learned in the law, and though Moore was a man of fine ability and indeed of high literary attainments, he was not a lawyer and consequently was retired from the bench. In 1792 he was elected to the state senate representing the counties of Allegheny and Westmoreland. He died in 1812 and is buried at Congruity, eight miles north of Greensburg.

Colonel James Smith has often been referred to in this work and was a very important man in our early history. He was born in Cumberland county perhaps in that part that is now Bedford county, in 1737. In 1755, as has been said, he was making roads near Bedford and was captured by the Indians and taken a prisoner to Fort Duquesne. He escaped from the Indians in 1760 and went to Franklin county. His natural ability and his knowledge of the Indians, gained while a captive, made him valuable to Bouquet in his Ohio expedition in 1764, wherein he served as an ensign. Later he was lieutenant of the militia in

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Western Pennsylvania. In 1769 he purchased lands along Jacob's creek and on the Youghiogheny river. In 1774 he assisted St. Clair in organizing the rangers to protect the frontier from Dunmore's invasions and from the Indians. He was a member of the Hannastown convention of May 17, 1775, which adopted the justly celebrated resolutions. He was also an associator in the early militia and was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776. Still later he was a member of the Assembly in 1776-77. There he was known as an authority on all Indian affairs and his knowledge of border warfare was of great value. While the Assembly was in session in 1775 he was granted a leave of absence to conduct a scouting party through New Jersey. He remained with Washington's division of the army and in 1778 was made a colonel and was sent to Western Pennsylvania, where he performed valuable services in the almost continuous warfare against the Indians. In 1788 he removed to Kentucky where he was also a member of the state legislature. About 1812 he wrote his truly renowned "Treatise on the Mode and Manner of Indian Warfare," from which we have frequently quoted in this narrative. He died in Washington county, Kentucky, in 1812.

By the new form of government the executive power of the state was vested in a president and council called the Supreme Executive Council. This council consisted of twelve men who were elected by the people, and Westmoreland county was allowed one member. John Proctor, to whom we have referred, was the first Westmoreland councilor and retained the office from March 10, 1778, to November 18 of the same year, when he was succeeded by Thomas Scott, who lived in Washington county, and who was afterwards the first member of congress from that county under the federal constitution. Scott was councilor until November 13, 1780, three years, which was as long as the law allowed him to remain continuously.

The military laws were made more efficient than before. An officer called the County Lieutenant, was created who was chief military officer of the county and had many powers both civil and military. He distributed the arms and clothing to the associators and paid to the council the amount due as assessments for the army. He could call out the militia and order it to any point in times of danger and could hold courts martial and his authority was limited only by the council itself, but it was in abeyance while a regular army officer of the state or nation was in command over his district. Archibald Lochry, who lived near St. Vincent's Monastery, was the first county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, and began his duties on March 12, 1777. They were very arduous for aside from having no precedents to guide him, he served at a most critical time. He displayed great energy and won the highest respect of both the army and the people. He directed many small expeditions against the Indians and headed several large ones himself, and at all times guarded the cabins of the settlers to the fullest extent of his limited forces. He remained in office until his death and was succeeded by Edward Cook, who took the office January 5, 1782. Cook did not remain in office very long, for when Fayette

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county was formed his residence fell within its territory. His successor was Charles Campbell, who lived in Indiana county when it was Armstrong township in Westmoreland county. Judging from his correspondence he had but little education but he stood guard over the frontier, even if he could not spell, write or compose well.

Pennsylvania was thoroughly committed to the cause of the colonies and no county bore herself with better grace nor with more pronounced sentiments in the beginning when advanced ground was necessary, than Westmoreland. Its local history, so far as the Revolution is concerned, is so closely blended with the general history of the war that it will be impossible to specialize. The seat of war was in the East and the natural barrier of mountains separated us from it. Early in the war recruits from the West were sent east to protect the larger cities from the invading armies of England, but after that the West was generally supposed to be doing her full duty if she took care of herself. This was a much more difficult undertaking than the reader may at first imagine. One of the first movements of the British was to establish a department at Detroit. They still had great power over the Indians, a continuance of the alliance secured from them largely through Sir William Johnson. Nevertheless the new state and congress both tried to effect an alliance with the Indians, for they surmised through Connolly's plots that the British government would take such advantages if possible. In 1775 congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and Patrick Henry to hold a conference with the Pennsylvania Indians at Fort Pitt. This was called for October and was attended by the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanees, and Wyandots, but the attendance was small. Guyasuta spoke for the western tribes and White Eyes spoke for the Delaware tribe, which he declared to be friendly to the Americans and independent of the English alliance. There was but little harmony in the conference. The Indians were not annoying to the settlers in 1775, but the British secured their assistance by greater presents and by their more promising display of military forces. In May, 1776, accordingly, in a council at Fort Niagara, the Indians voted almost unanimously to join hands with the English army. They began their depredations on the border which kept our western armies busy almost continuously during the Revolution. Even before this the settlers around Pittsburg noticed that the Indians were daily growing more insolent and mischievous, and in February, 1776, the Pittsburg people sent a memorial to congress complaining of the Indian encroachments and depredations. A company of riflemen was enlisted and placed under Captain Van Swearingen whose duty it was to guard the Ohio river. In October, John Gibson was selected as Indian agent at Pittsburg, but was soon succeeded by Richard Butler. In 1776 congress took upon itself to deal with the Indians and sent George Morgan to Pittsburg as Indian agent. He was a man of high culture and wealth from Princeton, New Jersey, and through his having been in business in Philadelphia had had much dealings with the Indians in this section and in the West generally. He came to Pittsburg and immediately sent agents to treat with the

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western Indians, sending William Wilson, Peter Long, Simon Girty and Joseph Nicholson. Girty was then supposed to be loyal to the cause of the colonies. Wilson's mission was the most important. He and Nicholson tried to effect a conference with the Indians in Pittsburg for August or September. They rode on horseback through the Indian country and were kindly received by Cornstalk and other chiefs, but found that the tribes were already preparing for a council with the British at Detroit, which they said they must attend first. Among the Mingoes were the most evilly disposed Indians of the west and while these agents were in their country, a plot was discovered by Cornstalk to seize and perhaps murder them. Upon Cornstalk's advice they fled by night and were protected by an old Indian chief or king named Newcomer, who probably saved their lives. Afterward Wilson went to Sandusky, being escorted by Kilbuck and two young warriors, and by White Eyes. Nicholson had in the meantime returned to Pittsburg. Before reaching Sandusky, Wilson learned that the chief of the tribes had gone to Detroit and he determined to venture a visit to the British post to see him. He found the Wyandots assembled on the Detroit river and that most of the Indian chiefs received him in a friendly manner. On September 2nd he addressed them and delivered Morgan's message inviting them to the conference in Pittsburg. But the Wyandots betrayed Wilson's presence to the British authorities, the commander of which was then Colonel Henry Hamilton. Wilson went before the commander, but did not deny his mission to Detroit and the commander, while he treated him coldly, seemed to respect his character as an ambassador and gave him a pass through the Indian country to iPttsburg. He returned to Pittsburg greatly discouraged by the outlook and reported that the Wyandots and many other western tribes were likely to go on the war path at any time. Hamilton, of course, did all he could to prevent the Indians from going to Fort Pitt to council with the "rebels," as he called them. But nevertheless four tribes attended, being represented by their chiefs. They were the Delawares, the Wyandots, the Ottawas and the Shawanees. They were not, of course, by any means extensively represented and perhaps, except the Delawares, these tribes were mostly with the English. Costly presents were given them by the commissioners who thought that by this means they could avert an Indian war. A war was, however, inevitable, though at the close of the Pittsburg treaty, George Morgan wrote to congress that "the war cloud which threatened to break over this part of the country appears to be now entirely dissipated," yet even while he was writing, bands of Indians were committing depredations on the Ohio river, and a few months later all of the tribes represented in this treaty, except the Delawares, were strongly allied with the English. These overtures with the Indians will satisfy the reader that everything was done in that direction that was possible. By a lavish distribution of presents, money, whiskey and arms, all of which the Indians desired greatly, the British retained the alliance almost continuously throughout the war. It was made more injurious by the standing reward for scalps which they always paid, and by the further influence of renegade whites

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who were steadfast in their loyalty to the English and to the Indians if to nothing else. The colonial armies were poor and could not afford to purchase an Indian alliance by giving them expensive presents. But even if the continental congress had been able to secure the aid of the savage by a lavish display of wealth, it could not have been made as potent as it was with the English. The pioneer of America had been brought up from youth to regard the savage as his greatest foe and such was the hatred of the western people toward the Indian that no thorough alliance between them and the savages was possible.

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CHAPTER X.

The Revolution Continued—The Various Regiments, Companies, Etc.—Their Work, Privations, Etc.

On October 12, 1775, the continental congress passed a resolution requesting the council or committee of safety of Pennsylvania to raise a battalion for the United States services. The captains were recommended by the Assembly on October 25th and commissioned by congress on the 27th. In the meantime Captain John Nelson had enlisted a company of independent riflemen composed mainly of Westmorelanders and had offered their services to congress. By a resolution they were received at once. It was composed of one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals and seventy privates. It was ordered to New York March 13, 1776, and was intended for service in Canada. By order of General Benedict Arnold it was attached to Colonel DeHais' battalion then in Canada. When his battalion left Ticonderoga on November 17 it was attached to the Fourth Battalion under Colonel Anthony Wayne and on the 24th of March it was attached to the Fifth Pennsylvania, then under the command of Colonel Francis Johnston. They served in Canada under St. Clair and with other Westmorelanders their services will be properly considered later on. Some of them remained with the Fifth Regiment and fought under the celebrated Richard Butler, also a Pittsburger, as colonel. They were eventually in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point and Yorktown.

The Second Pennsylvania Battalion was raised in pursuance of a resolution of congress dated December 9, 1775, calling for four battalions from the colony of Pennsylvania. The men were enlisted for one year. It was associated with the Fourth Battalion under Colonel Wayne and with the Sixth under Colonel William Irvine, and its general history in that part of the service will be considered with others. On the 2nd of January, 1776, congress requested the council of safety to recommend Colonels St. Clair and Wayne as field officers and the day following they were so commissioned. On January 4th the lieutenant-colonels and majors were chosen and a resolution was passed which provided that one company from each battalion be made up of expert riflemen. St. Clair had en-

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tered the service some months previous and had been assigned the duty of organizing the raw troops of Pennsylvania, being selected for this duty because of his military training in the French and Indian War. He was now ordered to take part in the expedition to Canada. He had with him two companies from Westmoreland and among them were many of his old neighbors and friends. One of the companies was commanded by William Butler, who had been for years assisting in the general defence against the Indians in and around Pittsburg. He was a close personal friend of St. Clair's, serving almost side by side with him during the Revolution, and in the end died bravely while second in command to St. Clair, in the disastrous battle with the western Indians on November 4, 1791. The other company was under the command of Stephen Bayard, who afterward became lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which we shall see later on was almost distinctively a Westmoreland regiment. On February 16, 1776, the secret committee of congress was ordered to furnish St. Clair's battalion with arms and he was instructed to march his companies to Canada as soon as they could be made ready for service. On March 13 Lieutenant-Colonel Allen arrived in New York and a part of the battalion was marked for Albany. There he received orders to direct the other companies of the battalion to proceed to New York, where headquarters would be provided for them. On May 6 Colonel Wood passed Deschambault in Canada, and was within three miles of Quebec, when he met General Thomas with his army returning from Quebec. The expedition in that part of Canada had excited great expectations on the part of the colonies, for they had hoped to add the Canadians to their weak forces. But it was a sad disappointment, for it resulted in a complete failure. This was not due in any way to the army but rather to the people of Quebec or of Canada themselves. The march the army made was one of the most daring and energetic marches ever made through the American wilderness. They went to the heart of the civilized parts of Canada. They captured Quebec but the authorities failed to respond. They expected the people to rise up as the other colonies had done and assert their independence of the English crown, but instead of doing this Canadians were not anxious to be "libertated," and instead of turning on the British troops they allied themselves with them and treated the Colonial army as invaders. Under such circumstances the patriot army could not hold what it captured, and they therefore began a retreat toward the Sorel river. On the death of the brave young Montgomery, who commanded the Canadian forces, Thomas succeeded him in command of the expedition and reached Trois Rivers, with about eight hundred men, leaving the post in command of Colonel Maxwell. He continued on the Sorel, which is the outlet of Lake Champlain and flows into the St. Lawrence river, and issued orders for Maxwell to abandon Trois Rivers. This was done and the rear of the army reached the Sorel on May 24, 1776. Adamson and St. Clair went to Montreal and then to the Sorel on May 16. In the meantime the British pursued them with a much larger army. On June 2 Adamson sent St. Clair toward the Sorel with about

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600 men to attack the camp of Colonel McLean, who, with about eight hundred British and Canadians, was encamped at Trois Rivers. General Sullivan reached the Sorel on June 4, where he learned that Adamson had died, whereupon he assumed command. On June 6, Sullivan ordered Thomas to take Irvine's and Wayne's battalions and also the companies of St. Clair's battalion which yet remained at the Sorel, and with these to join St. Clair at Nicolete, where he was to command the army and unless he found the British much stronger than he expected, he was to attack them after crossing the river at the best possible place. He was advised, however, not to make the attack unless he had every prospect of success, for a defeat at that time would have been ruinous to the whole army and to the country. The attack was made and was entirely successful. In this battle St. Clair distinguished himself and the danger, the toil and the glory of the battle were all shared by the Westmoreland soldiers who were with him and Butler. The night foray has been regarded and treated by all who have written of the expedition as its most brilliant episode. But a larger British force was gradually pressing back the invading army. Their army was much superior in numbers to the American army and was composed of regulars, Canadians and Indians, all under the command of General Burgoyne, while our forces were now under Sullivan. No campaign in the Revolution had in it more personal heroism and glory nor more hardships encountered and triumphed over, than this one, in which the army, after taking the capitol of the British provinces, was compelled by superior forces to retreat with their bayonets towards the enemy, though a dark wilderness covered with snow and through the swamps of southern Canada and northern New York. The rear of the army with its baggage and supplies reached St. Johns on June 18 and at once embarked and went up the Sorel river. Late in the evening of the 18th, the head of Burgoyne's column reached St. Johns and General Phillips' forces reached there the following morning. On the same day the commands of De Hass, Wayne, St. Clair and Irvine had orders from Isle Aux Noix to encamp on the east side of the Island. This place proved to be a very unhealthy encampment for them. Many of the soldiers were taken sick and died. Women were brought from Ticonderoga, one for each company, to nurse the sick. On June 27 the entire army took vessels at the Isle La Motte for Crown Point, which they reached July 1, 1776. Sullivan was there superseded in command by General Horatio Gates, and in a council of war which the new general held, it was determined to remove the army to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on July 10. Gates divided the army into brigades; four Pennsylvania battalions formed the Fourth brigade, of which St. Clair was made commander. This brigade numbered four hundred and eighty-five in all, one hundred and sixty-five of whom were sick. The season was too far advanced for the British to make any further progress, and after threatening Ticonderoga they went into winter quarters. In November, Gates left Wayne in command of Ticonderoga and proceeded with the larger part of his army to join Washington in the south. The soldiers of three of the Pennsylvania battalions had

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enlisted for one year and their term of service would expire on January 5, 1776, but they agreed to remain until they were relieved by other troops. The hard march of the army had almost exhausted it, as may be seen by a letter from Wayne to the Committee of Safety written on December 4: "The wretched condition the battalions are now in for want of almost every necessary, except flour and bad beef, is shocking to humanity, and beggars all description. We have neither beds or bedding for our sick to lay on or under, other than their own clothing, no medicine or regimen suitable for them; the dead and dying lying mingled together in our hospital or rather house of carnage, is not an uncommon sight. They are objects truly worthy of your notice." On January 24, 1777, the Second Battalion left Ticonderoga with Wayne for their homes. Many of the privates of the Second re-enlisted in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. While these companies were at Ticonderoga the Declaration of Independence reached them and was read for the first time to the army as it was drawn up in line on July 17. It was received and welcomed by their hearty cheers. Lieutenant-Colonel Allen left the service when he heard of its import but later, be it said to his credit, he entered the struggle again.

The Third Pennsylvania Regiment was formed on the basis of St. Clair's Second Battalion and in it there were the two original companies, namely, those of Captain Butler and Captain Bayard. It was recruited in December, 1776, and in January and February following, entering the service in March. Little is known of this regiment except what may be gleaned from a few letters concerning it, for the records of the regiment have in some way been lost. Colonel Joseph Wood, who commanded it, was wounded in Canada and on this account resigned. Captain Butler was made Lieutenant-Colonel of Morgan's Rifle Regiment and his command fell on Captain James Christie.

Colonel Thomas Craig succeeded in the command of the regiment and filled the position till January, 1783. It was common in the Revolution to transfer both companies and officers to other organizations because of the demands of the times. Most of Captain Butler's men re-enlisted under Captain James Christie in the Third Pennsylvania. A memorial of the Third and Ninth Pennsylvania regiments printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, reports the corps as barefooted and naked and in want of every convenience, and that their general condition was miserable beyond expression. Five or six soldiers were frequently forced to shelter themselves from the inclement weather by a piece of an old tent and there seemed to be an average of seven men to one blanket. Half of them, because of these privations, were unfit for duty. They had lost their blankets in actions they had had with the enemy. In company with the Sixth and Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiments they were attached to a division made up mostly of Jersey troops and were commanded by officers who did not belong to Pennsylvania. Many of the soldiers who enlisted early and who survived the hardships, re-enlisted in the Continental service and served until the close of the war. Others came home only to enlist again for frontier defense against the Indians. These were enlisted in the militia for short campaigns in and

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around Pittsburg, or served by joining the "Rangers." The Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment and the Pennsylvania Regiment of Musketry were enlisted by the Pennsylvania legislature for the sole defense of our own state. On March 4, 1776, a committee was appointed to estimate the expense of supporting 1500 men in this capacity for a year. On the report of the committee they resolved to enlist 1500 men and officers to serve from January 1, 1778, but they reserved the privilege of discharging them at any time by paying them one month's pay in advance of the amount due. It was also determined that 1000 of these should be riflemen, divided into two battalions of 500 each, and that the other 500 should be musketmen. Each battalion of riflemen was to have one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains and eighteen lieutenants, and to consist of six companies. The musketmen were to be divided into eight companies. Samuel Miles was made colonel of the Rifle companies, and Samuel Atlee was made colonel of the battalion of musketmen. Nearly all of the riflemen were enlisted in about six weeks and were sent to Marcus Hook to strengthen Washington's army which then held New York and Long Island. To the Rifle Regiment belonged the company of Captain Joseph Erwin, which had been raised in Westmoreland county, and had done some of the best fighting of any of the young frontiersmen in the army. They enlisted for two years and joined the regiment at Marcus Hook. Erwin was appointed captain on March 9, 1776. The company served in this regiment till it was transferred to the Thirteenth Pennsylvania, from which it was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania. On July 2, 1776, the Rifle Regiment to which they belonged was ordered up to Philadelphia, and on July 4, one battalion under Broadhead was sent to Bordentown, New Jersey, and later the whole regiment was marched to Trenton, thence to Amboy, where they joined General Mercer's division. Colonel Atlee's battalion reached Amboy on July 21, and later both Miles' and Atlee's forces were moved to New York. There they entered the brigade of Lord Sterling, and when the British landed on Long Island, which was accompanied with great military display, Miles and his riflemen were ordered to watch their movements. Located at Flatbush near the Highlands, he watched them until they were removed and their places filled by Hessians. On August 26, was fought the battle of Long Island which almost exterminated the American army. The Continental army went down before the united armies of Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis and Von Heisler, then the most thoroughly equipped army in the world. The English army, with great superiority of numbers, almost surrounded the ragged, ill fed militia under Washington, Sterling, Putnam and Sullivan, and thought they had won a great victory over these poor, ill fed, undrilled and ragged American patriots. During this engagement Colonel Miles' riflemen, including the Westmoreland forces under Erwin, reinforced by Colonel Willis' Connecticut troops and Lutz's battalion of Pennsylvania Flying Camp were opposed to the whole body of the British army. It had surrounded them in a contracting circle, and through it they literally cut their way out and, though they added greatly to their glory, their loss was

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very heavy. Colonel Miles, in his report of the management, speaks particularly of the bravery of Brodhead's troops. At one point under a heavy fire they pushed their way across a mill dam, and though by drowning and by being shot their loss was very great, those who followed were not prevented from rushing rapidly to the other side, where they drove the Hessians away from the banks at the point of the bayonet. The battle as fought by the Pennsylvania militia is thus described by Colonel Miles: "The main body of the enemy under the immediate command of General Howe, lay about two miles to my left, and General Grant with another body of British troops lay about four miles to my left. There were several small bodies of Americans dispersed to my right, but not a man to my left, although the main body of the enemy lay to my left. This was the situation on the 26th of August. About one o'clock at night General Grant on the rear and General Howe on my left began their march and by daylight Grant had got within a mile of our intrenchments and General Howe had got into the Jamaica road about two miles from our lines. * * * Finding that the enemy had possession of the ground between us and our lines, and that it was impossible to cut our way through as a body, I directed the men to make the best of their way as well as they could; some few got in safe, but there were 159 taken prisoners. I was myself entirely cut off from our lines and therefore endeavored to conceal myself with a few men who would not leave me. I hoped to remain until night, when I intended to try to get to Hell Gate and cross the Sound; but about three o'clock in the afternoon was discovered by a party of Hessians and obliged to surrender. This ended the career of the day." In the battle of August 26 the Rifle Regiment and Musketry battalions were so broken up that Washington united the remnants in one regiment under the command of Colonel Broadhead, who had been lieutenant-colonel of the Riflemen. On Thursday, September 19, the three battalions were united, and shortly after this many of them deserted, taking their arms with them. They had not been paid nor had they clothes, blankets or provisions, nor had they any prospect of securing them for the approaching fall and winter. The serious losses of their field officers was given as another cause of their desertion. Many of the deserters afterwards entered the service and did good work, and some who were marked as deserters were long afterward borne on the pension roll.

By a return of the army made on September 27, 1776, the three battalions were in General Mifflin's brigade and were stationed at Mount Washington. A new arrangement was made of these battalions in October, by which two were to be attached to the Continental Army and serve during the war, while the other was to be retained in the service of the state until January 1, 1778, unless sooner discharged. The last was to consist of 1,000 men who were to be sent home as soon as the condition of affairs in the East would admit of it, for the purpose of Pennsylvania was to keep twelve complete battalions in the Continental Army. The regiment sent home was afterward known as the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot. Captain Erwin's command was united with other companies,

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many of whom eventually followed the fortunes of the Continental Army and served in the campaigns of 1777. The Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot was therefore founded on the remains of Miles' and Atlee's battalions. Most of Captain Erwin's company, with Lieutenant James Carnahan promoted to captain, was connected with this regiment until the campaign of 1777 ended with the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown, after which they went into the memorable winter quarters of Valley Forge. Erwin, in the meantime, became a captain in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. On May 6, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council sent a memorial to congress which was therefore on June 10, 1777, turned over to the Congressional establishment. Thus Colonel Bull was promoted and Colonel Walter Stuart succeeded him in its command and was with it in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine. In November it was annexed to the Pennsylvania Line and was under Stuart until January, 1778.

The Second Pennsylvania Regiment saw service from October, 1776, to November, 1783. There were many Westmoreland soldiers in this regiment in the latter part of the war and perhaps none in the first part of it. They were transferred from other organizations and many of them were killed in the closing battles of the war. The list is imperfect, but it nevertheless contains the names of many who passed their last days here and were well known around Pittsburg two or three generations ago. They were under General Wayne and General Greene in the South, participating in the engagements of the Carolinas at Guilford Court House, and finally were at Yorktown. It is unfortunate that there is no list of the regiment, it having been destroyed at the burning of the National Capitol by the British in 1814.

The Eighth Pennsylvania was by far the most noted of western Pennsylvania regiments in the Revolution. The reader has seen that the western border was in constant turmoil occasioned by the Indians who then inhabited Ohio. Actuated by the British they were continuously invading the territory as far east as Laurel Hill. In April, 1776, congress appointed Colonel George Morgan as Indian agent for this territory and he at once established headquarters at Pittsburg. With considerable ability in such matters, he and a committee which was also appointed by congress, concluded after an investigation, that a general Indian war with the colonists was inevitable, owing mainly to the influence of the British under the command of Governor Hamilton, who had great power over all of the tribes, but particularly over the Shawanees and Delawares. This committee, in view of the impending war with the natives, recommended that all the militia that the country could furnish be garrisoned at Fort Pitt, and that the old line of forts built long before by the French and afterward held by the English, be at once rebuilt and occupied. The Eighth Pennsylvania was therefore raised by authority of a resolution of congress dated July 15, 1776. This resolution designated it purely for the defense of the western border. It consisted of seven companies from Westmoreland county and one from Bedford county; two other companies were afterward

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added to it. Aeneas Mackay was recommended by the Pennsylvania commission on July 20 as colonel, while George Wilson was made lieutenant-colonel, and Richard Butler was made major. The committees in the communities where the companies were raised, were instructed to select the company officers upon which congress on September 14, commissioned them. Congress also elected Rev. David McClure as chaplain and Ephraim Douglas as quartermaster. The regiment was promptly mustered at Pittsburg and remained on duty on the frontier during the summer and fall of 1776, but late in the year Washington's army had been greatly diminished by the disastrous campaigns and by the loss of Fort Washington. The army had also been strengthened by the arrival of new troops from England. The result was that the general cry went forward to move all troops that could be spared, to Washington's division at once. Accordingly, on November 23, 1776, congress directed the Board of War to order the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment to march with all possible expedition by the most direct route to Brunswick, New Jersey, and further to join Washington's army wherever the exigencies of the war might then have forced him to go. Colonel Mackay received these orders at Kittanning, where a portion of his regiment was at all times stationed. On December 6, 1776, he reported to the president of the Board of War as follows:

Sir: I last night received your order from the Honorable the Board of War, in consequence of which I have this day issued the necessary orders, and shall march with all possible dispatch to the place directed.

I have ordered a general rendezvous on the 15th instant, at a proper place, and from thence shall proceed as ordered. As I would not choose that the battalion under every disadvantage when at Brunswick, being now in need of everything, I shall be obliged to make Philadelphia my route in order to be supplied.

The day book of this regiment under date of December 6 has this entry: "This day received intelligence for the battalion to march to Amboy." George Wilson, the lieutenant-colonel, was a Scotch-Irishman of strong parts and of patriotic sentiments though somewhat illiterate, as may be seen from the following letter, which is given verbatim:

Ketanian, Decr. 5th, 1776.

Dr. Colonall: Last Evening we Recd Marching orders, Which I must say is not Disagreeable to me under ye Sircumstances of ye times, for when I entered into ye Service I Judged that if a necesity appeared to call us Below, it would be Don, therefore it Dont come on me By Surprise; But as Both ye officers and men understood they Were Raised for ye Defence of ye Western frontiers, and their famellys and substance to be left in so Defenceless a situation in their abstence, Seems to Give Sensable trouble, altho I Hope We Will Get over it. By leaving sum of ower trifeling Officers Behind who Pirtend to Have more Witt than seven men that can Render a Reason. We are all ill Provided for a March at this season, But there is nothing hard under sum Sircumstances. We Hope Provision Will be made for us Below, Blankets, Campe Kittles, tents arms, Regementals, etc., that we may not cut a Dispisable figure, But may be Enabled to answer ye expectation of ower Countre.

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I Have Warmley Recomended to ye officers to lay aside all Personall Resentments at this time, for that it Would be construed By ye Worald that they made use of that Sircumstance to Hide themselves under from ye cause & ye countrie, and I Hope it Will have a Good Effect at this time. We have ishued ye Necesery orders, and appointed ye owt Parties to Randezvous at Hanows Town, ye 15th instant, and to March Emeditly from there. We have Recommended it to ye Militia to Station One Hundred Men at this post until further orders.

I Hope to have ye Plesure of Seeing you Soon, as we mean to take Philadelphia in ower Rout. In ye mean time, I am, With Esteem, your Harty Well-wisher and Hble Sert. G. WILSON.

The officers at once made preparations for the long march and the soldiers, be it said to their credit, went with but little complaint, which, considering the fact that they were leaving their homes unprotected and going into a service for which they had not been enlisted, and going without proper clothing, was more than should have been expected. On January 6, 1777, they began their ever memorable march over the snow covered mountains of Pennsylvania and across the Delaware into New Jersey. The march was the most difficult one made by any Pennsylvania troops during the Revolutionary War and from it they suffered more than they did from any contest with the enemy. Some of them died on the way, and at Trenton their brave Colonel Mackay died, whilst a few days afterward at Quibbletown, New Jersey, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson died, each succumbing to the privations of the severe winter march. Many of the troops were then afflicted with fever and with a putrid sore throat. In the "Life of Timothy Pickering" is the following reference to the noble regiment:

March 1, 1777, Saturday.

Dr. Putnam brought me a billet, of which the following is a copy:

"Dear Sir,—Our Battalion is so unfortunate as not to have a Doctor, and, in my opinion, dying for want of medicine. I beg you will come down to-morrow morning and visit the sick of my company, for that favor you shall have sufficient satisfaction from your humble servant, James Pigott, Capt. of 8 Batt. of Pa., Quibletown, feb. 28, 1777."

I desired the Dr. by all means to visit them. They were raised about the Ohio, and had travelled near five hundred miles, as one of the soldiers who came for the Dr. informed me, for 150 miles over mountains, never entering a house, but building fires and encamping in the snow. Considerable numbers unused to such hardships have since died. The Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel among the dead. The Dr. informed me he found them quartered in cold shattered houses, etc.

On the death of the colonel and the lieutenant-colonel, Daniel Brodhead was made colonel and Richard Butler became lieutenant-colonel, while Stephen Bayard was made major. On the formation of the American Rifles command, Butler was made lieutenant-colonel and James Ross, of the First Pennsylvania, was made lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth in his stead. The companies of the Eighth were enlisted between the 9th of August and the 16th of December, and at that time numbered 630. Thirty-four troops were afterward enlisted, making

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a total of 684. The strength of the regiment by companies was on June 9, 1777, indicated by the following returns:

	Sergts.	Rank and File.
Capt. David Kilgore	3	55
Capt. Samuel Miller	4	82
Capt. Van Swearingen	3	71
Capt. James Pigott	4	55
Capt. Wendel Ourry	4	54
Capt. Andrew Mann	4	58
Capt. James Montgomery	2	57
Capt. Michael Huffnagle	4	70
Capt. Lieut. John Finley	2	77
Capt. Lieut. Basil Prather	3	69
	33	648

From the original total 36 were deducted as prisoners, 14 missing, 51 dead, 15 discharged, and 126 deserted. One lieutenant deserted and a second lieutenant was cashiered, an ensign was dismissed and the quartermaster, Ephraim Douglas, was taken by the enemy. The reader may be amazed at the large number who deserted. The term "desertion" was not so harsh a one in the days of the Revolutionary War as it is with us in our modern armies. As noted on the old rolls it goes for very little, for many of them returned afterward and rendered good service in the patriotic cause. Many of those who were marked "deserters" in the Revolution were afterward carried on the pension list. It was a common occurrence in the Great War for the half-clad, half-fed and unpaid soldiers to take an unceremonious leave, perhaps to go home to plant their spring crops, and later to return to duty. Washington, with his broadmindedness, readily saw the difference between a genuine deserter and one who went home to lend temporary assistance to his needy wife and children. The return of the regiment dated November 1st, 1777, shows the strength as follows: 1 colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 paymaster, 1 surgeon, 1 sergeant-major, 1 quartermaster sergeant, 1 drum major, 29 sergeants, 9 drums and fifes, 112 rank and file fit for duty, 28 sick present, 77 sick absent, 139 on other commands, total 351. Prisoners, 59. Captain Van Swearingen, Lieutenant Basil Prather and Lieutenant John Hardin were in command with Colonel Morgan. The vacancies at that time were, in the office of lieutenant-colonel, one, four vacant captaincies, two lieutenancies, eight ensigns, a chaplain, and a surgeon's mate. Lieutenant-Colonel Ross resigned after the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. The regiment after its long, severe march, suffered greatest at Bound Brook, where Major-General Benjamin Lincoln with 500 men was attacked by Cornwallis. Part of the regiment sustained the noted charge of the British Grenadiers at Paoli, and they were nearly all in the battles of Ash Swamp, Brandywine and Germantown. Like all regiments in the Revolution, it was many times broken up and separated, its officers and men being transferred to other regiments, as the exigencies of the war demanded. Some thus participated with Morgan at Saratoga and many of them were with Wayne at

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the storming of Stony Point, but they nearly all came together again at Valley Forge. The suffering of this most noted camp of the Revolutionary Army has been so much written of that we shall not repeat it here.

On March 15, 1778, the regiment was ordered to return to Pittsburg, but many of them had in the meantime, re-enlisted for the term of the war and were assigned to other commands.

The homeward march of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment from Valley Forge was but little less difficult than their march eastward, for it came in the hot months of July and August and was attended with many other privations. They left Valley Forge and marched to Lancaster, thence to Carlisle. Before leaving they were supplied with uniforms, those of the officers being of the regulation blue, while the troops were attired in hunting shirts, broad-brimmed cocked hats, and leggins. They had taken rifles with them to the East but on the suggestion of General Wayne were provided with muskets with bayonets. The sharp-shooters, however, retained their rifles. In the meantime the Iroquois Indians from the North came down on the west branch of the Susquehanna and killed and captured about thirty settlers. This caused great suffering and those who could, went with their horses and cattle to Carlisle and Lancaster. This was followed by the Wyoming Massacre, so beautifully commemorated with considerable poetic license, in the poem of Thomas Campbell, entitled "Gertrude of Wyoming." About 400 British and Tories and 700 Iroquois Indians from New York invaded the settlement and in a few days almost exterminated its inhabitants. Brodhead was then at Carlisle with the Eighth Regiment and was ordered at once to the North to chastise the Indians, drive them from our state and encourage the settlers to return to their homes. Part of the regiment had already advanced westward, their object being to secure food and provisions for the main army to follow. Brodhead left the heavy baggage at Carlisle and about 340 of his ablest soldiers hurried north to Sunbury, where in Fort Augusta, one hundred volunteers were awaiting them. But the main body of the British and the Indians had gone away and little else was left for Brodhead to do than clear the country of small bands of savages who yet remained. By guarding the country by means of detachments, he also encouraged the settlers to return to their farms. The advance of his forces had prevented the Indians from destroying all of the crops. On July 24 he wrote: "Great numbers of the inhabitants returned upon my approach and are now collected in large bodies, reaping their harvests." The only encounter of his forces was sustained by Captain Finley's company. They were near the house of Colonel James Porter, who had built a stockade about ten miles southeast of the present town of Bellefonte in Centre county. A small body of them were attacked by savages and driven to the stockade, two of the company being killed. They killed one Indian. The Eighth Pennsylvania was finally relieved in July by the Eleventh and Brodhead reached Carlisle on August 6. Here they rested a week and then marched westward toward Fort Pitt. Among the soldiers who had preceded the Eighth westward was Captain Samuel Miller, who lived near Greensburg.

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He was in the recruiting service and was also collecting provisions and forage at Hannastown for the coming regiment. On July 7, 1778, while he and nine soldiers were guarding a load of grain on its way to the Fort they were attacked by a band of Indians and all save two were killed. The Eighth Regiment was so far exhausted that they consumed two weeks in marching from Carlisle to Bedford and two weeks more between Bedford and Pittsburg, making only seven or eight miles per day. They found their homeward march something of an ovation after passing Bedford. All along the brave and warworn veterans were welcomed with the best the country could afford. Nearly three hundred of the fearless young frontiersmen who had so willingly marched East to assist Washington in his dire necessity, had gone there never to return. By the wayside on the westward march sat the careworn widow, the orphan and the aged parent, seeking in vain for those most dear to them.

Colonel Aeneas Mackay came to America in the commissary department of the Eighteenth Foot, Royal Irish Regiment, and very soon after that located at Pittsburg. He was appointed a justice of the Westmoreland courts when the county was formed in 1773 and was prominent in resisting the encroachments of Dunmore's or Connolly's soldiers. The reader will recall the urgent manner in which he advocated that Pittsburg be made the county seat. Later he was engaged in border defense and as such was made a colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. A notice of his death was printed in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of February 18, 1777, which was as follows: "On Saturday last, died of putrid fever at Trenton, New Jersey, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, Aeneas Mackay, Esq., colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Pennsylvania Continental Forces, and yesterday his remains were interred with the honors of war in the First Presbyterian Burying Ground in this city. In him his country has lost a faithful servant and good officer, his widow an uncommonly tender and affectionate husband, his children an indulgent father, and the world an honest man."

In 1781 when General William Irvine was put in command of Fort Pitt, he reformed the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment into two companies and designated them as a detachment from the Pennsylvania Lines. They were placed under the command of Colonel Stephen Bayard. In the meantime the regiment had been kept up from year to year by recruits enlisted largely in and around Pittsburg. Both before and after it was reformed the regiment had been constantly engaged in doing frontier duty, and so continued until the close of the Revolution.

Some of the punishments inflicted on the soldiers of the Eighth Regiment and of other regiments which were stationed at Fort Pitt, notably the Ninth and Thirteenth Virginia regiments, parts of which were here in 1779, 1780 and 1781, may interest the modern reader. In each of them were soldiers who would not conform to the military discipline and court martials were accordingly numerous. Of the Eighth Regiment, Isaac Aiken was charged with theft, and being found guilty, was sentenced to fifty lashes. James Maxwell, who refused to do his

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duty, was sentenced to ride astride of a wooden horse for ten minutes, with a musket tied to each foot. Edward Wilkie, who was found guilty of many offences, was sentenced to 100 lashes, and to be drummed out of the regiment as a common vagabond, with orders not to appear again on plea of instant death. Thomas Kelley was sentenced to 500 lashes, and, in order to ameliorate his punishment, or perhaps to insure his surviving it, a surgeon was detailed to attend the execution of it.

Many depredations were inflicted around Pittsburg in the early years of the Revolution and indeed, during the entire war, but in 1777 they became much more numerous. It would be impossible to give these in detail, but any one foray made by the Indians on the western frontier is more or less representative of all of them. The capture of Andrew McFarland by the Mingoes became one of the most noted episodes of border history. He had come from County Tyrone in Ireland and settled in Philadelphia about 1764, shortly after which he came to Pittsburg, where he and his brother were engaged in the fur trade with the natives. During the contest with Virginia over this territory he was appointed a justice by Governor Penn and had taken an active part in asserting the right of Pennsylvania to the region around the Fork of the Ohio. It will be remembered that he was taken to Staunton as a prisoner by Connolly, and that to avoid a serious disturbance around Pittsburg he and his brother moved their store to Kittanning. There were but five or six families there then. Joseph Speer and the McFarlands soon had a good trade with the Indians from the upper Allegheny Valley. The Eighth Regiment was enlisted for home defense but when taken East left the Western border unprotected. The dangers around Kittanning multiplied and McFarland wrote for a company to protect them, but the limited militia force forbade them sending troops there. Most of the settlers of Kittanning removed to safer places. Colonel Mackay had a post there and had considerable supplies and military stores, but these were left almost without a guard when the Eighth regiment was called East. Samuel Moorehead, who lived nearby, formed a small company of rangers for frontier protection, and McFarland acted as lieutenant. There are many traditions concerning McFarland's capture, but they are unfounded, and, moreover, they conflict with well-known facts and serve only to prove how unreliable that sort of testimony must always be regarded. Stories handed down by tradition for a few generations can rarely ever be corroborated by contemporary documents, though the traditions are often much more romantic and interesting than the real happenings. From letters written at the time, it is quite certain that the British in Canada who were preparing to send Indians and soldiers to Western Pennsylvania, were anxious first to know the strength of the armament at Pittsburg, and accordingly sent out a small squad of spies to learn the situation and report to them. Four Indians, two Chippewas and two Iroquois, were sent down the Allegheny from Niagara. Part of the way they were accompanied by two British soldiers who gave out at Franklin, and there, while resting, awaited the return of the Indians. On the 14th of February, 1777, they appeared on the

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opposite side of the Allegheny from Kittanning and called for assistance in crossing the river. McFarland was accustomed to this, for the Indians with furs for sale, had frequently come to trade at his store in that way. He accordingly crossed the river in a canoe. Upon landing he was at once taken a prisoner and hurried off to Niagara. The tradition that his wife, who was a Miss Lewis from Virginia, to whose somewhat romantic marriage we have referred in former pages, saw this capture in speechless horror, is doubtless true, for the capture was made in full view of their log cabin across the river. The long journey through the deep snow to Niagara was made with great difficulty. From Niagara he was taken to Quebec, but he refused to give the British the desired information. James McFarland, his brother, was at that time a captain in the First Pennsylvania under Washington, and through his efforts Andrew was exchanged in 1780, whereupon he at once joined his wife and child in Staunton, Virginia, and all three of them returned to their old home at Pittsburg. McFarland's capture, however, did great good in one sense, for at once the settlers united with the Ranger company for self-defense, and as far as possible guarded the river front.

A more important and more dangerous episode of the western border of 1777 is known as the Gun Powder Expedition, which was managed by George Gibson. Nearly all the powder used in the West was made in the East and had to be carried on pack horses perhaps from Wilmington, Delaware, to Pittsburg, where it was high in price and was generally paid for by furs and skins. But the Indian incursions in this region were ruinous to the fur trade, for why should the Indians trap and hunt when in the employ of the British Army and bountifully supplied with blankets, firearms, ammunition and whiskey! Powder was therefore unusually scare in all the western settlements. Moreover the soldiers in the East were consuming fully the output of the factories, and but little could be spared from the army, to supply which seemed to be of greater importance. Here it was necessary for each settler to keep powder on hand at all times and when his supply ran down, he invariably resorted to Fort Pitt to have it replenished. The Ranger method of defense was adopted over the whole frontier. They went rapidly to the relief of any stricken community and generally made the Indians glad to seek the cover of the wilderness. But they were almost powerless without powder. For several weeks in 1777 the fort itself was almost ineffectual for the want of powder. It was then that Captain George Gibson, assisted by Lieutenant William Linn, executed a most daring project which greatly relieved the situation. Gibson had been brought up in Lancaster and in early manhood had come to Pittsburg to deal in furs. He had, before going West, been to sea in two or three voyages and had also traveled much among the Indian tribes of the West. He was the father of the most eminent of Pennsylvania jurists, Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. Linn had come from Maryland and had survived the slaughter of Braddock's army and had also been in Dunmore's War. They had raised a company in and about Pittsburg and entered the Revolution as a part of the Virginia regiment.

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Each of them therefore had an abundance of zeal for the cause. They were now sent to the Monongahela Valley for home defense, and were deputized by Virginia to journey to New Orleans for powder. Fifteen hardy young pioneers accompanied them. They built flat boats at Pittsburg and started down the Ohio on July 19, 1776, when the news of the Declaration of Independence had just reached them and had added to the zeal of all western pioneers. The Ohio was lined with Shawanees, Wabash and Miami Indians, who were then trying to exterminate the settlements of Kentucky as well as of Ohio. And the western British posts were to be considered also, for should the Detroit forces learn of the expedition there would be no hope of a successful return. All of the company under Gibson and Linn were dressed in the homespun garments of that day, but as a matter of caution, carried rifles, tomahawks and knives. No one then in Pittsburg knew of their destination, for the town, as well as all of the West, was filled with Tories and spies. Strong, active and daring young men were selected and the story was given out that they were going down the river as traders. They passed down the Ohio without event worthy of special notice. They met parties of settlers going to Fort Pitt to escape from the Indians in Ohio and Kentucky. Many savages were seen, but the apparent trading party was not molested, and by passing the English fort at Natchez in the night time, they reached New Orleans in about five weeks. Louisana was then governed by the Spaniards. Gibson had letters of credit to Oliver Pollock, formerly of Philadelphia, and to other merchants of New Orleans who were friendly to us. Through their influence with the Spaniards the powder was secured. Spain did not like England then, though they were not at war with each other. The English spies and merchants were in New Orleans and soon discovered the presence of this party. Complaint was made to the Spanish officers and Gibson was arrested and put in prison, but it being a Spanish prison he was very kindly treated. The Spaniards were not slow to help us if in doing so they could quietly injure their old traditional enemy. Pollock purchased 12,000 pounds of powder for $1,800 and secreted it in his store-house. Then one-fourth of it was put in boxes and marked as various kinds of merchandise and sent quietly by a sailing vessel by the Gulf of Mexico and the ocean to Philadelphia. The Spanish authorities kindly allowed Gibson to escape from prison the same night and he came with that shipment of powder to Philadelphia. To have sent it all by sea to Philadelphia would have necessitated the transportation of the greater part of it to Western Pennsylvania and Virginia on pack horses. Nine thousand pounds were turned over to Lieutenant Linn. It was placed in casks and smuggled in the night to the barges which were tied up in a concealed cove above New Orleans. Lieutenant Linn also hired twenty or more additional boatmen, for the force which brought his empty barges down could not take the laden ones back, and the object was to return as rapidly as possible so as to avoid danger. He set out September 22, 1776. The best he could do was to force his barges slowly up the river. At the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville it was necessary to unload the casks and carry them to the head of

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the Falls, whilst the barges were dragged up with heavy ropes. On their way the river was frozen up and forced them to await the return of the warm spring weather. They finally reached Fort Henry, where Wheeling now stands, on May 2, 1777, where their valuable cargo was turned over to David Shepherd, county lieutenant of Ohio county, Virginia. In the meantime Gibson had reached Philadelphia and reported that Linn was returning by the river. Orders were sent at once to Fort Pitt to raise 100 men to go down the Ohio to meet the barges and protect them, for this was considered by far the most dangerous part of the journey. But the Fort Pitt authorities miscalculated the time that Linn would likely reach the Northern Ohio river and they were only ready to start when word came that he had reached Wheeling. Shepherd, by a strong guard, conveyed the powder to Pittsburg, where Colonel Crawford stored it in the powder magazine of old Fort Pitt. All honor was due to Linn and his brave men. Though Virginia and Pennsylvania had but recently been at war with each other, Virginia acted nobly in this matter. The powder was purchased and paid for by Virginia but her representative, Colonel Crawford, regarded it as "for the use of the Continent." Parts of it were given to the Rangers in and around Fort Pitt and to soldiers near Pittsburg who were then ready to be mustered into the Continental service. The stock lasted until 1778 and supplied Colonel George Rogers Clark for his famous expedition to Illinois. Both Gibson and Linn were promoted and to each of them was granted extra pay for his services. Linn, after other services in the Revolution, settled near Louisville, Kentucky, where he was killed by the Indians while going to attend court on November 5, 1781. He was scalped and his body was found the day following. Gibson, as lieutenant-colonel, was with St. Clair's army in his campaign against the Indians and received a wound in the battle on November 4, 1791, from which he died a few days after, during the retreat to Cincinnati.

Those who understood well the methods of the British in the Revolution saw that they were trying to subdue the frontier by urging Indians on to most brutal outrages. Congress therefore offered to take charge of Fort Pitt and garrison it at public expense. We have referred to Captain John Neville occupying the fort. He was on June 1, 1777, relieved by Brigadier General Edward Hand, who had so deported himself in the Continental army that Washington selected him as the most efficient officer to defend the western border. Hand learned, like Braddock, that to successfully fight the Indians required a different style of warfare from battling with the trained soldiers of civilized countries. He was born in Ireland and was an educated physician. He came to America as assistant surgeon in the Eighteenth Royal Irish Regiment of Foot when 23 years old, in 1767. Stationed for a time at Fort Pitt, he resigned from the army and practiced medicine at Lancaster. When the news of Lexington and Concord thrilled the western people, he assisted in raising troops and was a lieutenant-colonel in Thompson's battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen, afterward the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Line. He was also a colonel and did good work at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton, and in 1777 was made a

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brigadier-general. Then he was sent to Pittsburg to defend the western border and relieved Neville, as we have said. He brought no forces here but took charge of the two companies of the Thirteenth Virginia which had been raised in this community. He carried authorities from Washington to call on the militia for such assistance as he might need in any project in which he engaged.

The chief object of those in command of the American army throughout the Revolution was to avoid the English and keep from meeting their superior forces and numbers in open battle. Hand had had experience only in that style of warfare. Here the Indian could not be seen, yet his arrows and bullets came from every bush, while he evaded the enemy with a skill scarcely approximated by the most skillful rangers under Washington. It was the custom of the savage to hunt the settler in small bands, often of eight or ten; to go to a peaceable community by night and murder as many citizens as they could, steal what they needed, burn their property and be gone by morning, either to infest another localities many miles distant or to skulk away to their homes in the trackless forest. They left no trail save the ruins they wrought, and shrewd indeed was the white soldier who could trace them to their wigwams. Murders were numerous around Pittsburg at all times, but they were extremely so in 1777, after Hand arrived. Many parties were sent out by Colonel Hamilton, of Detroit, sending out two or three British with fifteen or twenty Indians in each party. He reported to Quebec in 1777 that he had sent out fifteen parties, consisting of about thirty white men and about 290 Indians, the parties averaging about 21 men each. They were mostly Wyandottes, Miamis and Shawanees from Ohio. Pittsburg was also invaded by many parties from the Seneca tribes in western New York. Hamilton at all times offered protection to the settlers if they would follow to his post or join the force of the English at any place. Indeed such proclamations were often found in communities marked by the desolating hand of the savage. Hand concluded to invade the Indian country with his forces, destroy their towns and provisions and drive them further west. The Ohio tribes were less nomadic than most of the Indians, for they had towns, huts, cornfields and raised many vegetables, which were stored away for their winter use. To destroy these compelled them to hunt for a living and by thus going further west, they had less time to devote to the border settlements. Hand accordingly attempted to collect the militia from Westmoreland and Bedford counties and from the western part of Virginia, intending to go down the Ohio to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. In this project he was sustained by the government of both states and by congress. He expected an army of 2,000 men, but he forgot in his calculations, that every community had been drained to supply the eastern army and that the few who were left, were needed badly at home to defend their firesides and those they loved most dearly. Colonel Archibald Lochrey gathered up about 100 men, who marched to Fort Pitt and thence to Wheeling, but finding no army there, they abandoned the expedition after waiting a week, and returned to Fort Pitt. A few small squads had come in and a larger body of militia had met at Fort Randolph, but after

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waiting for two or three weeks all returned to their homes. Raids from the Indians were of common occurrence all this time in western Pennsylvania and the communities as far east as Bedford were overrun by them. Eleven men were killed near Fort Palmer in the Ligonier Valley, and two days later four children were killed within sight of the fort. Four men were killed and a woman captured near Fort Ligonier, while the stockade fort near Blairsville was attacked. Captain James Smith, the noted Indian fighter and author, in the meantime organized a party of Rangers that pursued them and killed five of their number near Kittanning. When the snow fell the Indian raids ceased for a time, for the wary red man would not venture into a settlement when his footprints could be easily tracked in the snow.

During the winter Hand learned that the British forces of Detroit had built a fort on the Cuyahoga, where Cleveland now stands, and had collected there a large quantity of supplies to be used by the Indians in the following spring. This he concluded to capture and destroy. He called for mounted men supplied with provisions for a short campaign and offered to furnish arms and ammunition for those from Fort Pitt. All goods captured, he said, were to be sold and the proceeds divided equally among the victors. About February 15, 500 horsemen were at Fort Pitt ready for the march. Colonel Crawford was in command of the Youghiogheny forces and with this most formidable band, General Hand expected to accomplish great results. He went down the Ohio and thence by the Beaver river and the Mahoning river toward Cuyahoga. The rain melted the snow and travel became very difficult. All streams were swollen and their passage in many place was impossible. When these multiplied hindrances had almost forced him to abandon the expedition, he found Indian tracks on some higher ground. This revived the drooping spirit of his men and a party followed the tracks and came upon a few huts of the Delawares. An attack was made but they found only one old man, a few deserted squaws and some small children; all of these escaped except three. The old man and one squaw were shot and the other squaw was captured. Word was received that ten miles further on a squad of Indians could be found, but the strong forces sent out found only four squaws and a boy, all of whom, save one squaw, were indiscreetly put to death by the border soldiers. One of his men was wounded and one drowned. The rains continued and prevented him from going further west, so he returned with his forces to Fort Pitt and brought with him the two squaws. No real frontiersman or Indian fighter could otherwise than deride such an expedition, and it was ever afterward called the "Squaw Campaign." As we may imagine, Hand was disgusted with Indian warfare and left Fort Pitt by resignation. He became adjutant-general of the United States Army and was more successful in other lines of warfare. He was a member of congress in 1798. Though an efficient officer in the regular service, he had failed absolutely as an Indian fighter. He died at Lancaster in September, 1802.

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CHAPTER XI.

The Revolution Continued—Morgan's Rifles—Difficulties Around Fort Pitt.

The name of Daniel Morgan will not soon be forgotten by the American people. As the commander of "Morgan's Rifles," and as the hero of Cowpens his name will shine with star-brightened splendor as long as the American people revere true courage and patriotism. Reference has been made to his participation in the Braddock Expedition, but it is not generally known how closely his name is linked with Pittsburg and with the Eighth Regiment. Virginia long ago erected a monument to his memory and the service of "Morgan's Rifles" is almost if not quite as familiar as any story of the Revolutionary annals. The part which Pennsylvania took in the rifle regiment, and especially the soldiers of the Eighth Regiment, is often forgotten by us from the fact that Morgan himself was a Virginian. The glory which the justly renowned Rifles won in the North, should be almost equally divided between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and not given entirely to the former state. The regiment was usually designated as "Morgan's Rifles," or sometimes as "Morgan's Partisan Corps," for this was its official name. It was a rifle corps organized by General Washington himself, of which Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, was made colonel; Richard Butler, of Pittsburg, a colonle of the Ninth Pennsylvania, was lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Joseph Morris, of New Jersey, was major. The officers were all well known to Washington and he evinced his marvellous judgment of men in selecting them. The entire corps was made up of the ablest sharp-shooters of the Continental Army, having in mind, of course, the physical strength, the soldierly deportment and the necessary agility of the marksmen as well. It was indeed a great honor among the soldiers of the Revolution to be chosen for this service. Their duty was to fight somewhat independently, to keep themselves concealed, to climb trees and in these positions to pick off officers and others at long range, who were important in the command of the enemy. Their mission was at all times dangerous. The Fifth company of Morgan's Rifles was commanded by Capt. Van Swearingen, of the Eighth Pennsylvania. The Third company was commanded by Capt. James Knox, who won distinction under Wayne in storming Stony Point. From General James Wilkinson's "Memoirs" we take the following return of Morgan's Corps: Among the Rifles, according to the

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"Memoirs," Pennsylvania is credited with furnishing 193; Virginia 163, and Maryland 65. There were 508 in all and the others were probably selected from other states. They have been most highly spoken of by all authorities and must ever be remembered as among the best soldiers of the Continental Army. Of their services at Stillwater, which is another name for Saratoga, Bancroft has written these words:

"In concurrence with the advice of Arnold, Gates ordered out Morgan's Riflemen and the light infantry. They put a picket to flight at a quarter past one, but retired before the division of Burgoyne. Leading his force unmolested through the woods, and securing his right by thickets and ravines, Morgan next fell unexpectedly upon the left of the British centre division. To support him, Gates, at two o'clock, sent out three New Hampshire battalions, of which that of Scammel met the enemy in front, that of Cilley took them in flank. In a warm engagement Morgan had his horse shot under him, and with his riflemen captured a cannon, but could not carry it off."

General Henry Lee, in his "Memoirs of the Revolution in the Southern States," speaks of Colonel Richard Butler as the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounter.

First Lieutenant Basil Prather and Second Lieutenant John Hardin, with parts of their commands, were also with Morgan and did splendid service in a series of severe encounters which resulted in the ignominious surrender of Burgoyne's army. Their commands under Morgan consisted of picket men from the companies of the Eighth Regiment.

Van Swearingen was undoubtedly the most noted captain of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. On September 9, 1777, he and a company consisting of one lieutenant and twenty privates, were captured by an unexpected charge of the enemy which scattered Morgan's soldiers right and left. He was turned over to the Indians, who were part of the British forces in the campaign, but was rescued by John Fraser's horsemen, who took him before the general as a prisoner. Fraser questioned him closely concerning the size and strength of the Continental Army, but could elicit no information from him save that it was commanded by General Gates and General Arnold. Fraser then threatened that he would hang him unless he gave the desired information, but this drew nothing from Van Swearingen but the calm reply, "You may if you please." Fraser then rode off a short distance to a part of the field close by which called for a moment's attention, leaving Van Swearingen in charge of Sergeant Dunbar, who, in company with Lieutenant Auburey, ordered him to be guarded among the other prisoners, but directed that the guards should not ill treat him. But almost immediately when General Fraser rode away, he came in full view of Morgan himself, who directed one of his sharp-shooters, Timothy Murphy, to take a steady aim at him. The result was that he was shot dead ere yet his threat to hang Van Swearingen had scarcely died on his lips. This circumstance probably saved Van Swearingen's life. A short time after this, when Burgoyne's army had been captured and sent to Virginia, Dunbar and Auburey

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were with them and Van Swearingen made special efforts and succeeded in having them exchanged because of their kindness to him when he had been a prisoner. Van Swearingen was of immense build, brave, determined and patriotic, and like Washington, had the gift of continuance, even though the cause seemed at times almost hopeless. At Valley Forge he encouraged his disconsolate associates by both money and kind words of cheer. After he returned from the war he settled in Washington county and became its first sheriff in 1781. His daughter was married to Captain Samuel Brady, the daring scout, who was equally noted in Pittsburg's early history.

Lieutenant John Hardin, of the Eighth Pennsylvania and of Morgan's Rifles, returned to Westmoreland at the close of the war and from Pittsburg removed to Kentucky, where his name is now revered as General John Hardin. When he was a lieutenant of the Eighth Regiment he shot an Indian who was carrying letters of importance from the main body of the English army to the commander of Fort Ticonderoga. He took part in the battles with the Indians as fought by Harmar and by General St. Clair in 1791.

All through the western border during the Revolution were found adherents to King George, and Pittsburg, being a metropolis, was particularly a headquarters for them. Many of them had formerly been in the English service. Some were conscientious members of the Church of England and had the Englishman's proverbial reverence for the Sovereign. Others were actuated by mercenary motives, for it must always be borne in mind that the wealth was with the British army and the poverty with the Colonial army. The apparent weakness of our cause as compared with that of the Englishman's acknowledged strength, discouraged many otherwise honest pioneers to despair of success, and in addition to this, the gold of the English made the way to the enemy an alluring one. Many in and around Pittsburg were discouraged and disgusted with General Hand's successive fiascoes in Indian fighting. In the winter of 1777 and 1778, the English army had possession of Philadelphia; the Continental Congress had been driven west and finally sat in the little country hamlet of York, Pennsylvania, while the meanly clad and half-fed remnant of Washington's army which had survived Brandywine and Germantown, was languishing at Valley Forge. Hamilton, the bold and daring English governor at Detroit, had agents continuously circulating throughout the border settlements, offering tempting awards in gold to those who would join his forces. Most of the Tories of Pittsburg and vicinity had their secret headquarters at the house of Alexander McKee, which stood on the banks of the Ohio, where the town of McKees Rocks is now built. McKee was the leader of the Indians and Tories around Pittsburg and exerted a wide influence all over western Pennsylvania. He had been a justice in Westmoreland county and later an Indian trader. For many years before the Revolution he had been the agent of the king in the Indian affairs at Pittsburg. This gave him a wide acquaintance among the tribes and among the Shawanees he had a wife and family of half-breed children. For public services Colonel Bouquet had given him 1,400 acres of land

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at the mouth of Chartiers creek, where he lived much of the time when he was not in Pittsburg. Early in 1776 he was discovered to be in correspondence with the British and upon his apprehension was put on his parole not to give aid to the enemy and not to leave Pittsburg without the permission of the Revolutionary Committee. In 1778 General Hand suspected him of having renewed his disloyal correspondence with the English, and accordingly ordered him to go to York, Pennsylvania, where the Continental Congress was then in session, and where he would submit himself to their examination or trial. This command was not complied with promptly by him because of his pretended illness, but as this excuse could not last always, he resolved to go to Detroit and ally himself with the British Army. Matthew Elliott was a man much younger that McKee, and who, understanding the Shawanees' language, had been employed by the Fort Pitt authorities to carry messages of peace to the western Indian tribes. Being captured at Detroit he was finally released and returned to Pittsburg by way of Quebec, New York and Philadelphia. All of these places were then held by the British, and Elliott was greatly impressed with the apparent strength of the English army as compared with the Colonial armies as he saw them. He was convinced that the Colonies could not succeed, and on his return associated himself with McKee and other Tories. Through Elliott, perhaps, McKee was made to believe that he would be secretly killed if he ventured to the East as he had been ordered to do, and this in some degree induced him to join the English army. The Tories who intended to follow his example, met at McKee's house on March 28, 1778. They were Alexander McKee, Robert Surphlit, his cousin, Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott, and a man named Higgins. Girty was born in Pennsylvania and had been captured by the Seneca Indians when a youth, where he learned their language and thus secured employment at Fort Pitt as an interpreter and messenger. He is supposed to have been faithful to the cause until but a few days before his flight. He was with Hand in the Squaw Campaign, and no particular reason can be assigned for his treachery unless it was a promise of position with the English or perhaps a direct payment of money. News of their meeting and intended flight reached General Hand in Pittsburg on Saturday evening. He accordingly ordered a company of soldiers to go to McKee's house Sunday morning to arrest them, but his troops reached there too late, as the Tories had left in the night. They made their way through Ohio and urged the Indians along the way to make war on the settlers. When Governor Hamilton heard of their flight he sent an agent, Edward Hazle, to meet and bring them safely through the Indian country to Detroit. They were at once commissioned in the British service. For almost a score of years Girty, Elliott and McKee were relentless in their warfare on their own race. They left behind them in Pittsburg a number of Tories mostly among the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, part of which was then guarding at Fort Pitt. They had formed a plot to blow up the fort with powder and they meant to escape down the river in boats. In some way this "Gun Powder Plot" became known, but barely in time to prevent the explosion. Ser-

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geant Alexander Ballantine and eighteen or twenty of the conspirators escaped in a boat belonging to the Fort on April 20. Soldiers were at once sent out in pursuit of them and it was very nearly an equally matched race between them down the Ohio river. They were finally overtaken at the mouth of the Muskingum. Eight of them jumped from the boat and were lost in the wilderness. Others were killed in the conflict while the remainder were brought back to Pittsburg and tried by a court martial, of which Colonel, formerly Justice, William Crawford,was president. The testimony taken developed that the leaders were Ballantine, William Bentley and Elizer Davis. Upon conviction two of them were shot and one of them was hanged. Two others were sentenced to one hundred lashes on the bare back and the whipping took place on the parade ground in front of the Fort. This trial was perhaps the last official act of General Hand before he left for the East. It put an end for a time to all treachery and conspiracy within the Fort.

Powder again became scarce in 1778 for the store brought here by Linn was about exhausted, particularly after Clark had supplied his army with it. The Virginia government therefore ordered a second expedition to New Orleans in quest of this most necessary article. The powder this time was purchased by correspondence with Oliver Pollock, and was sent by the Spaniards to St. Louis, where they had a small outpost even as early as 1768. Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, appointed David Rogers of Red Stone, now Brownsville, a man of high standing, as a frontiersman, to conduct the expedition. He had been a justice in the Virginia courts, was a member of the Revolutionary Committee, and combined with his knowledge of the law a thorough understanding of the Indian race. He brought together about forty men for the work, all being hardy young woodsmen, most of whom had seen military service. Among them was Basil Brown, a son of Thomas Brown, who founded Brownsville. They built flat boats at Pittsburg and Fort Pitt in June, 1778. With them left two other boats carrying settlers to Kentucky. It seemed that Rogers was not informed of the transportation of the powder from New Orleans to St. Louis, and his company lost much time in going down the Mississippi for it. He went up the Arkansas river a short distance to a Spanish fort where he learned that the powder had been sent to the fort at St. Louis. From there six of his command journeyed in a lighter boat to New Orleans where he procured the proper papers authorizing him to lift the powder. After procuring these they set out for the Arkansas river by an overland route because of the danger in passing the British fort at Natchez. After many days of travel over swamps and forests, they reached their boats and set out at once for St. Louis. At that time it was a small place of less than 1000 people, composed mostly of the roughest element of the West. The fort was under the command of Don Francisco de Leyba with one hundred soldiers. The sale and transfer of the powder had been made clandestinely and with the heavily laden boats the slow journey up the Ohio river was made in the summer and fall of 1779. For hundreds and hundreds of miles both sides of the river were covered with a dense

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forest which had scarcely been penetrated except by Indians or wild animals. In October they approached the locality where Cincinnati now stands, where they saw a few Indians about a mile distant, who were crossing the river in canoes. Rogers thought his crafts had not been seen, for the Indians acted apparently as though they were merely following the daily routine of their nomadic lives. Thinking that they were on their way to attack some settlement, Rogers decided to capture them and destroy their habitation. The boats were moored in the mouth of the Licking river and the crews repaired to the ground where now the town of Newport, Kentucky, stands. Confident of victory, they probably pushed through the wilderness without due caution and were soon surrounded by Indians, for the few they saw on the river were only scouts who served as decoys to entrap the company. The savages in the woods were headed by Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, formerly of Pittsburg, who led a party of about one hundred Indians. The Americans, so cleverly entrapped, were fired on from all sides and many of them fell dead at once. Those who fled through the woods were mostly run down, killed and scalped. The thick underbrush enabled thirteen of them to get away, though most of them were wounded and all of them endured all manner of privation before they reached the settlement. Captain Rogers was shot in the abdomen, but aided by John Knotts, was concealed in a friendly ravine until nightfall. The savages soon made way with the spoils of their victory and crossed the river to the Ohio side. Knotts cared for Rogers as best he could until the day following when he was delirious and near his end, whereupon Knotts, after effectually screening him, made his way home. Robert Benham, a commissary, was shot through both legs but concealed himself in the branches of a fallen tree. He had kept his rifle with him but was afraid to fire lest the report attract the Indians in the neighborhood. Finally, when pressed by hunger, he shot a raccoon. The report of his gun attracted Basil Brown who was likewise concealed nearby. Brown had been wounded in the right arm and in the left shoulder, and was unable to use his arms but could walk without difficulty. By uniting their forces they had two good legs and two good arms. Brown moved the raccoon with his feet to Benham, who built a fire and roasted the meat and fed his companion and himself. Benham put a folded hat between Brown's teeth and by wading into the river managed to fill it with water and to carry it to his thirsty companion. Brown chased rabbits, squirrels and wild turkeys within reach of Benham's carefully aimed rifle. In the meantime Brown spent all his spare time on the river, anxiously waiting for a boat to pass up or down, and on the 19th day after the disaster descried a flat boat moving down the river, the crew of which was attracted by his cries and took the wounded prisoners to Louisville. Both recovered and lived for many years. Brown died in Brownsville in 1835, aged 75 years, while Benham removed to Kentucky and purchased lands where the disaster had occurred, thus becoming a pioneer of Newport.

The Delaware Indians were always more friendly to the white race than any other tribe. During the time of the Revolution they lived on the Tus-

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caroras and Muskingum rivers in Ohio. They bore the same name and were the same tribe that a century before had inhabited the eastern part of the state, and had met and treatied with William Penn under the elm trees at Philadelphia. They had been driven west by the encroaching white man. It was the idea of congress and of General McIntosh that this tribe should be allied with the American army and that they should then attack and overthrow the English forces at Detroit which were so annoying to the western Pennsylvania frontier. The East could not then and has never since appreciated the difficulty of such a march. It was necessarily through three hundred miles of wilderness inhabited by savages, nearly all of whom were deadly against the colonists. The unsettled country could not give the army any support and the entire supplies must therefore be taken from Fort Pitt. General Hand, and many others beside McIntosh, had entertained the same project but the difficulties always proved too great to be overcome. The part of the project which contemplated the alliance with the Delawares, is an interesting chapter in Pittsburg's history. White Eyes was chief and sachem of the Delaware tribe. He was a very strong character and ranks high among the more noted American Indians. It is believed he hoped his tribe would become civilized and for that reason became interested in the success of the American cause. In June, 1778, congress ordered that a treaty with the Delawares be held at Fort Pitt on July 23. Virginia named General Andrew Lewis, who had defeated Cornstalk and his troops at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War, and his brother Thomas, their commissioners to attend the treaty. Pennsylvania did not appoint any one in particular, and the treaty was postponed until September. In the meantime the Delawares, being friendly, came here to attend the treaty and when Brodhead reached Pittsburg he found many wigwams of chiefs and warriors on the rivers around the fort. On September 12 the conference began and was held in one of the buildings within the fort. Colonel George Morgan was then Indian agent at Fort Pitt and a letter book kept by him or his secretary affords a good idea of the proceedings. The Delaware tribe alone was represented in the treaty; though invitations to other tribes to unite had been sent to the west, none of them came. All other tribes were allied with the English and for many months had coaxed and threatened the Delaware tribe, endeavoring to induce them to join the English also. White Eyes realized the danger of thus bringing upon his tribe the wrath of all the western Indians and of the British post at Detroit as well. The representatives of the Delawares who acted chiefly in the conference were White Eyes, Kilbuck and Captain Pipe. They appeared with all the paint, feathers and glitter of their race, and Pipe was particularly celebrated for the brilliancy of his adornment. They were attended by a band of Indian warriors, all attired in the brightest colors and in gaudy blankets. General McIntosh, his colonels and staff officers, not to be entirely outdone in brilliancy, wore their best and brightest uniforms. Soldiers in hunting shirts and with arms walked back and forth before the barracks, offsetting in some degree the show of warriors who attended their chiefs. By the terms of the treaty the United States

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entered into an alliance with the Indians, the treaty including a mutual defense if necessary, and it also recognized the independence of the Delaware tribe as a nation and guaranteed their territory to them forever. The treaty furthermore provided for the admission of the Delaware nation into the American union as a state, but this last agreement was not to be binding until it was first approved by congress. Lewis told the Indians of their intention to take Detroit and asked permission to cross their territory and to receive assistance from them. It will be remembered that their country included the region west of the Allegheny river, north of the Ohio river and extending as far west as the Hocking and Sandusky rivers, and must be crossed directly in a campaign against Detroit. They asked for time to consider this proposition and a few days after, agreed that this should be put in the treaty, but asked that a place of safety be built for their families if their warriors joined the expedition of the American army against Hamilton's forces. White Eyes spoke most eloquently and with little of the usually tiresome Indian verbiage, speaking with great force and clearness. He said, "As many of my warriors as can possibly be spared will join you and go with you." He requested that Colonel John Gibson be appointed Indian agent, and requested further that a schoolmaster to teach their children be sent to his tribe. The marvelous wisdom displayed on the part of the unlearned savage was entirely disregarded by congress. The Indians also agreed to sell corn and meat to the armies on their way to Detroit and furnish Indian guides. The treaty was signed and the conference ended on September 17, 1778. The treaty bore the signing marks of the Indians and the signatures of the Lewises, McIntosh, Brodhead, Crawford, John Campbell, John Stephenson, John Gibson, Arthur Graham, Benjamin Miles, Joseph L. and John Finley. Then presents were given to the Indians and with great joy they went to their western home to prepare for the war against the British at Detroit.

McIntosh prepared at once to march against Detroit by calling out the militia from the western counties. Westmoreland county failed to respond, for its people were drained to the last extent already, but the three Virginia counties in Pennsylvania furnished about 800 men, who met at Pittsburg. The work of getting provisions for the army was a great undertaking. Added to the 800 troops were 500 from Fort Pitt, mostly from the Eighth Regiment and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, both then at this place. They built a road on the south bank of the Ohio river to Beaver river, where they built a fort commanding the Ohio on the west bank of the Beaver. The site is in the present town of Beaver above the station of the Cleveland & Pittsburg railroad. It was named Fort McIntosh and was built after the style of the forts of that day, of heavy logs with earth for filling. On it were mounted six-pound cannon. Stores could be taken that far west on boats, but further on the march to Detroit, all supplies must be taken overland. The Delaware Indians were impatient at the delay of four weeks in building Fort McIntosh, a stronghold which could be of no use whatever, they thought, in the capture of Detroit. After much search a drove of lean cattle was procured and on November 3 the

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army marched westward with their weak stock, weak horses and heavy supplies. They could only march six or seven miles per day. In Ohio, White Eyes, whose company of warriors had joined them, was treacherously killed, perhaps by a Virginia militiaman, but the manner and circumstance surrounding his assassination has never been fully known or understood. His death dismayed the Indian followers, as well it might, and most of them left the army for their homes. Winter was approaching and the general was compelled to think of abandoning his expedition. He built the fort as had been promised in the treaty for the protection of the Indians and hoped that from it in the spring he could the better reach Detroit. It was near the present town of Bolivar, Ohio, and he named it Fort Laurens after Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, president of the continental congress. He could not get supplies to support his army in that country. The weather was growing cold and he was compelled to return to the Ohio with most of his forces, leaving 150 men of the Thirteenth Virginia under Colonel John Gibson to guard Fort Laurens during the cold, bleak ensuing winter. Colonel Brodhead with a stronger force, was left at Fort McIntosh on his return, and the general and his main army came rapidly to Fort Pitt. The Wyandottes, Miamis and Mingoes were enranged at the erection of Fort Laurens, almost in the heart of their territory. A band of Indians prevented them from hunting in the woods surrounding the fort and they had scarcely provisions enough to last them half of the winter. McIntosh sent Captain John Clark, of the Eighth Pennsylvania, with fifteen men and a train of pack horses and provisions consisting of flour and meat to relieve them. Clark and his convoy left about January 15 and reached the fort on January 21. He set out on his homeward march on January 23 and was attacked by Simon Girty and a band of Mingoes who killed two, wounded four and captured one of his men. Captain Clark was chased back to Fort Laurens but soon resumed his journey and came through to the Ohio without difficulty. Girty carried his prisoners to Detroit and then returned to Fort Laurens with a larger force. By February 15 two hundred Miami and Mingoe Indians surrounded the fort. They were headed by Girty and by Captain Henry Bird. Gibson wrote to McIntosh an account of his surroundings and ended his letter by saying: "You may depend upon my defending the fort to the last extremity." The garrison had cut fire wood for winter use and piled it in the forest less than a mile away from the fort. On February 23 a wagon was sent out with a guard of eighteen soldiers to haul in a part of it. As they passed a small mound or hillock, a band of Indians sprang upon them and killed and scalped all but two, whom they took as prisoners. They then laid siege to the fort. They camped at night in the dreary woods and in daytime they ventured near enough to taunt the soldiers by waving the scalps of their slain comrades. The food of the garrison was cut down to a quarter of a pound of flour and a quarter of a pound of meat per man each day. Gibson sent out a messenger who eluded the vigilance of the savages and reached Fort McIntosh on March 3. But it was nearly two weeks before the general could arrange for men to relieve

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the starving garrison, and in the meantime their situation grew desperate. The Indians increased so that one day they apparently had 850 warriors around the fort, though, as was afterwards learned, in reality they had only about two hundred, who were marched around a hill and who showed themselves four or five times over to those who were counting from the garrison. The Indians through Captain Bird, then asked the garrison to surrender, thinking that this show of numbers would induce them to capitulate. They offered a safe passage home to all the soldiers, but the garrison refused their overtures. Then they promised to go away if the garrison would give them a barrel of flour and a barrel of meat. The Indians thought the garrison was almost starving and could neither hold out much longer nor comply with their demands for the provisions. Gibson took the correct view of the matter, and although he had but little left, he willingly sent out the two barrels to give the Indians the impression that he had an abundance of stores and provisions. The snow was deep all around the fort and the savages were almost without food themselves. They feasted on the two barrels and the day following left for their homes. On March 23 the garrison was relieved by three hundred regulars and two hundred militia, escorting a train of pack horses with plenty of provisions, sent by Colonel Brodhead from Fort McIntosh. The starving soldiers were so overjoyed by the appearance of this relief corps that they fired guns, which frightened the horses into a stampede and much of their provisions and many of the pack horses were lost. Colonel Gibson and his starving soldiers returned to Fort Pitt, they being relieved by Major Vernon, of the Eighth Pennsylvania.

Before going to Fort Laurens, McIntosh wrote to Washington, asking to be recalled from frontier service for he had probably concluded that he was a failure in Indian warfare. Washington complied with his request and named Daniel Brodhead of the Eighth Pennsylvania, as his successor in command of Fort Pitt. McIntosh went at once to Philadelphia, while Brodhead removed from Fort McIntosh to Fort Pitt. In writing to McIntosh on February 20, General Washington said: "I wish matters had been more properly conducted under the command of General McIntosh. This gentleman was in a manner a stranger to me, but during the time of his residence in Valley Forge I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense, attention to duty and disposition to correct public abuses, qualifications much to be valued in a separate and distinct command. To these considerations were added (and not the least) his disinterested concern with respect to the disputes which had divided and distracted the inhabitants of that western world, and which would have rendered an officer from either Pennsylvania or Virginia improper, while no one could be spared from another state with so much convenience as McIntosh. He is now coming away and the section in command, Brodhead (as there will be no military operations of consequence to be conducted) will succeed him. But once for all it may not be amiss for me to conclude with this observation, that, with such means as are provided, I must labor."

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Brodhead believed that the building of Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens were useless errors. The soldiers in the latter fort suffered for want of food all spring, and in May Brodhead ordered most of them to return to Fort McIntosh to escape starvation. Major Vernon remained, however, with twenty-five men until August 1. The fort could not be supported properly so far away from the base of supplies, with their miserable means of transportation westward. Brodhead soon issued an order dismantling the fort and it rapidly fell into decay. Even yet its greenwalled embankment may be seen on the west side of the Tuscaroras river.

Brodhead was a man of much strength, though Washington seemed to regard him as fitted for the Pittsburg post only because there was no special military operation to be conducted. He proved to be the most successful commander at Fort Pitt during the Revolution. He had a thorough knowledge of the surroundings and had distinctive ideas of his own concerning the frontier defense which he proceeded to execute. McIntosh turned over to him about 720 men when he left Fort Pitt. Most of them were already in the fort, though some of them were at Fort McIntosh and other western frontier posts.

With the warm weather of spring came also Indians from the upper Allegheny river. There lived the Senecas and the Muncys, who came down the streams in canoes until the settlements were almost in sight, when they hid their barks in the forests, divided their forces into small bands and proceeded to kill and scalp settlers, capture their women and children and devastate the country generally. Almost invariably they were gone in one or two days, passing up the river before a concerted action could be made by the soldiers or settlers. No one can understand now the difficulties of guarding against this predatory Indian warfare. In the spring or early summer of 1779 the northern part of Westmoreland county was almost depopulated. Brodhead organized a number of bands of scouts who went out from Fort Pitt and made regularly laid out tours through the forests skirting the western settlements and thus did splendid work. The three principal bands were led respectively by Captain Van Swearingen and Lieutenants Samuel Brady and John Hardin, all of them keen frontiersmen and well schooled by service in the Eighth Regiment and in border warfare. It was in this work that Brady won his enduring fame as an Indian fighter. He hated the Indian with a bitterness and malignancy that is rarely found in the human breast. His brother James had been killed by the Indians near Williamsport in July, 1778, while working in a wheat field. Though shot, wounded with a spear and scalped, he lived for days in great agony before death relieved him. In April, 1779, his father, Captain John Brady, was shot dead while conveying supplies on the west branch of the Susquehanna. This was committed by three Iroquois Indians concealed in a thicket nearby. Brady can therefore scarcely be blamed for his lifelong hatred of the race. Brodhead kept scouts out all spring and was preparing for an expedition among the Senecas. His delay was entirely due to a lack of supplies which were brought over the mountains from the East. His soldiers in Fort Pitt were without meat,

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were ragged and without shoes. The scouts learned from the Indians to clothe themselves in deer skins and to make moccasins for their feet. Many of the scouts wore feathers, painted themselves like the savages did, so that they might more readily approach the enemy without being detected. They usually had with them a few friendly Delawares who were of great value because of their knowledge of the forest.

In the early summer Brodhead learned that a party of Indians from the Seneca tribe was preparing to come down the Allegheny. He investigated the rumor by sending three scouts up as far as Fort Venango, where the town of Franklin now stands. There the scouts were discovered and chased down the river by Indians in canoes. The race was a very exciting and a very nearly evenly matched one, the Indians only abandoning the pursuit when they reached the dangerous settlement near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river. But they did not return to their homes up the Allegheny until they had raided the country north and east of Fort Pitt and killed a woman and four children on the Big Sewickley. They took a number of prisoners and stole six horses and many other articles of value from the settlers. When this reached Fort Pitt two parties were sent out to intercept them. The authorities in the fort were not sure that they were the same party who had chased the scouts down the river, though they suspected it. Brady took twenty men, all painted and dressed like Indians, and went rapidly up the river, hoping to waylay them on their return to their homes. Late one evening they found the canoes of the marauders hidden at the mouth of a small creek flowing from the East into the Allegheny river. This was probably Red Bank, fifteen miles above Kittanning. The Indians had encamped on higher ground near the creek and were preparing supper. Near the canoes hobbled horses which they had stolen were cropping grass from the creek bottom. The stream was swollen and the scouts were compelled to go up two miles before they could cross, after which they came down the north bank of the creek until they were close to the Indian camp and there concealed themselves in the tall grass. Crawling like animals they came almost in touch with the Indians, who, with their prisoners, were sleeping around the embers of the camp fire. Brady and an Indian guide crawled close enough to locate the position of the captives, for by no chance shot of thrust in the dark must they be injured. One warrior was aroused from his slumbers. He arose and walked around the camp until he was within six feet of Brady, stretched himself several times and then resumed his sleeping position. Then the two scouts crawled back to their friends and prepared to attack them at the earliest dawn of morning. In doing this a number of scouts crawled to within a few feet of the sleeping camp and there lay quietly awaiting the rising sun. When day was breaking one Indian awoke the rest and all stood around the rekindled fire, laughing and chatting, when at a preconcerted signal they were fired on by the scouts from the grass and bushes nearby. The chief, whom Brodhead wrote to Washington was a notorious warrior of the Muncy Nation, fell dead. Two others were badly wounded and died in the forest nearby. Brady and his party

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recovered the captives unharmed, and brought them with the stolen horses, property and all the arms of the Indians, to Fort Pitt. Most of the Indians who annoyed the region around Fort Pitt during 1778 and 1779 came either from Ohio or from the headwaters of the Allegheny river, for Governor Hamilton, the troublesome Detroit commander, had been captured by General George Rogers Clark at Vincennes, Indiana, in February, 1779, and that seat of war was in some degree silenced. Moreover the Shawanees tribe in Ohio had been badly used up by troops from Kentucky in May, 1779. The Senecas on the Allegheny was the strongest of the Six Nations and its men were sagacious, courageous and cruel. Their chief leaders at this period were Cornplanter and Guyasuta. The Seneca wigwams in the Allegheny and Genesee valleys exhibited hundreds of scalps as the trophies of their incursions into western Pennsylvania. Colonel Brodhead, with the consent of Washington, led an army up the Allegheny in July, intending to intercept a similar army sent by Washington from the East and led by General John Sullivan. In four weeks after getting permission Brodhead was ready to march, though he had been preparing ever since he took charge of the fort. He, with carpenters sent from Philadelphia, had built sixty boats, some of which were only hollowed out poplar logs, but most were regular skiffs. A number of cattle and a train of pack horses was also ready to go. A stockade had been built by Colonel Stephen Bayard at Kittanning and called Fort Armstrong, after General John Armstrong, who had so effectually defeated the Indians there in 1756. Brodhead left Fort Pitt on August 11, 1779, with 605 men, and Fort Armstrong was to serve as sort of an advance post on the way north. Brodhead had with him some militia and some Delaware Indians, the latter being used as scouts and were commanded by Brady and Hardin. The troops marched along the east bank of the Allegheny while the provisions were taken up in boats. Almost incessant rains came down and the troops were thus subjected to many hardships. Like most pioneers they were greatly subjected to rheumatism. At the mouth of the Mahoning the supplies were put on horses and all moved slowly up the river. They followed the Indian trail from the Mahoning, going almost directly north. The path was narrow and very rough so that great caution was necessary at every step of their journey. Near the present station of Thompson, when Hardin was in advance with fifteen white scouts, he sighted seven canoes and containing about thirty Indians. The party was most likely headed by Guyasuta for Cornplanter was in the Genesee Valley in New York at that time contesting with Sullivan's army. The thirty Indians were probably on their way to invade our settlements. When they saw the troops they landed and at once made ready for a fight. To do this they threw aside nearly all of their clothing for it was their custom when fighting to be encumbered with as little as possible. Their eagerness to fight was proof that they had not seen the main army which was some distance in the rear. Both parties hid behind trees and rocks and the conflict began. But in a few minutes another party of scouts came up in the rear of the Indians and began firing. Brodhead, hear-

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ing the reports of the muskets, first put a guard around his train of supplies and then pushed on to relieve the advance forces, but reached the scene of action only in time to see the Indians make a flying retreat. They left without their canoes, some of them swimming the river to escape. Most of them disappeared at once in the underbrush which lined the river bank. Five Indians were lying dead on the ground and from the bloodmarked paths of retreat several others must have been fatally wounded. Eight guns, their canoes, nearly all of their clothes and blankets and extensive provisions were left behind and taken by Brodhead. But three of Brodhead's men were slightly wounded. From there the army marched to Conewago, leaving some stores at this place guarded by forty men, who hurriedly built a rude fortress. But the Indians had deserted the country and Brodhead's main army met with no contest. From Conewago they marched twenty miles, and near the Allegheny they discovered a number of Indian villages and great fields of corn, peas, squashes, melons, etc., which the Indians were cultivating. The settlement was about eight miles long, covering the rich alluvial bottom land on the banks of the river. The soldiers found all houses deserted but took much property which in their haste to depart at the approach of the army, the Indians had failed to carry with them. The Iroquois, long before this and perhaps before the advent of the Englishman in western Pennsylvania, had learned to build log huts after the style of the settlers. There were about 130 such houses and many of them were large enough for several families. The troops set to work at once to destroy them and to destroy also the growing corn, vegetables, etc. Brodhead wrote that 500 acres of corn, growing splendidly, were destroyed, and that not less than $3,000.00 worth of plunder was taken from the houses before they were burned. On their way home they passed French creek and near the mouth of the Conneaut creek found another deserted Indian town with about 35 large houses and these were also destroyed. From French creek the army came to Fort Pitt by the Venango path, which ran almost north and south through Butler county. They reached Fort Pitt on September 14, and did not in this campaign lose either men or horses. Brodhead in his reports foretold that the expedition would be a great benefit to the frontier of Pennsylvania and expressed his highest opinion of the conduct of the officers and soldiers on their march. "Their perseverance and zeal," wrote he, "during the whole campaign (through a country too inaccessible to be described) can scarcely be equalled in history." Congress passed a resolution of thanks to Colonel Brodhead, and Washington in his order of October 18 said: "The undivided perseverance and firmness which marked the conduct of Colonel Brodhead and that of all the officers and men of every description in this expedition, do them great honor, and their services entitle them to the thanks and to this testimonial of the general's acknowledgment." A campaign of this kind into the Indian country was at best very destructive to the natives, for they were forced to seek winter quarters further west and south, and many of them never returned. But the Brodhead campaign was followed by one of the severest winters in the history of the United

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States. It set in late in 1779 and lasted until March or April, 1780. The British drove wagons across the harbor between New York and Staten Island on the ice. Around Pittsburg the winter was equally severe. Snow fell early and accumulated until it was four feet deep and on the mountains it was much deeper. All communication with the East was cut off, and Fort Pitt suffered for every possible convenience. Scouting parties from Fort Pitt were not only impossible but were unnecessary, for the deep snow prevented the Indians from committing depredations. Many Delawares came to the fort early in the winter and were kept there until spring. The deep snow destroyed innumerable deer and game birds which could not get to the ground for food. The Indians suffered correspondingly and those whose crops and houses had been destroyed by Brodhead's troops suffered much worse than the others. Scores of them starved to death, which but increased the hatred and malice of the race for the pioneer settlers and the army. It reduced the Senecas to such an extent that even when spring came they could scarcely renew their depredations and the settlers around Fort Pitt for once were allowed to plant their spring crops in peace, so far as their worst enemies in the North were concerned. The western tribes had plenty of corn and a much less rigorous winter. Supplied with guns and ammunition by the British, the Wyandottes and Shawanees soon fell upon our settlements. A maple syrup boiling party in Beaver county was attacked by the Wyandottes, five men were killed and six children were carried away as captives on March 12, and still later they captured a boat that was going down the Ohio and killed three men, and twenty-one women and children were taken prisoners. Brodhead wrote on April 27 that between forty and fifty people had been killed or captured in the three Virginia counties at Pittsburg, though no harm has as yet been done north and east of Fort Pitt. He saw the importance of another expedition but could not get provisions to sustain an army more than a week in advance. The cost of transporting provisions from the East frequently exceeded their value, and pack horse trains were often robbed, even by the white men. The posts up the river were garrisoned by militia from the surrounding community, but in a very weak manner, for the settlers were compelled to subscribe money and provisions to sustain them. These raids had been going on for years with but slight loss of Indian lives. The eastern authorities did not and could not understand why the comparatively large armies in the West could neither protect the settlements nor slay the enemy. It took a century to teach the American people that they could not successfully fight the Indians and they only learned it when the race was well nigh exterminated. In May a few small bands of Senecas came down the Allegheny river and killed five settlers near Ligonier, two on the Braddock road at Turtle creek and two at Bushy Run, and also set fire to a mill and to other property. The settlers gathered at Fort Pitt and this reduced the supply of the already scanty rations. Fortunately it was a very dry summer and the river soon became too low for the Indians to journey back and forth in their canoes. The

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settlers were therefore practically free from the depredations from that source, for the remainder of the summer.

Brodhead had learned of an assemblage of Indians and British on the Sandusky river which was preparing to march east and attack Fort Pitt. He sent Lieutenant Samuel Brady with five white troopers attired and painted like Indians, and two Delawares as guides, on the long and dangerous scouting journey to ascertain the true circumstances. They travelled through the Wyandotte country by night and concealed themselves in thickets by day. They found hundreds of Indians collected near upper Sandusky with every indication that they were preparing for war. After observing their movements from their concealed positions for about two days, the scouts set out for Fort Pitt, with their supply of provisions so exhausted that they subsisted for a week on wild berries. As they neared the junction of the Mahoning and Shenango rivers, they had but two charges of powder left. Brady had one of these and approached within shooting distance of a deer, but when he pulled the trigger his gun "flashed in the pan," that is, failed to go off. As he was priming it again, for everything was very damp, his quick ear detected the approach of Indians. Concealing himself he saw an Indian on a horse and riding behind him was a captive woman, while the Indian held her child in his arms. Following them were six warriors on foot. Brady knew the woman to be Mrs. Jennie Stoops, from the Chartiers settlement in Pennsylvania. As the mounted Indian approached, the scout took aim and shot him through the head. He fell from his horse and dragged the woman and child with him. The six Indians disappeared at once and the scouts with the rescued woman and child pushed rapidly eastward. As they approached Fort McIntosh they met a band of settlers including Mrs. Stoops' husband, who were in pursuit of the Indian band and their captives, and the woman and child were thus returned to the husband and father. After thirty-two days' travel they reached Fort Pitt, where a false rumor of their capture had preceded them. So glad were the soldiers because of their return that much powder was consumed in celebrating it. Colonel Brodhead recommended Brady's promotion and on July 25 the council made him a captain, dating his commission from September, 1779.

Luxurious crops of corn and rye and wheat in the summer of 1780 followed the cold weather and deep snow of the previous winter, but the dry weather so reduced the streams that the mills, propelled then almost entirely by water power, could not be operated to grind the grain, and the garrison at Fort Pitt could not buy flour. But few of the settlers had cattle for sale, for the Indian raids had destroyed hundreds for them. Moreover the garrison had no money with which to purchase stock, though the soldiers hungered for fresh meat. Brodhead was compelled to purchase with due bills redeemable in continental currency, which in 1780 was almost worthless. On August 18, 1780, Brodhead wrote to the president of congress: "The troops have been without bread for several days and begin to murmur, but I expect to get a little grain chopped in a bad horse mill near this place and if possible prevent a mutiny until a further

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supply can be procured. I hear the pack horse men have left the service so that not a shilling have we to purchase with." The authorities in the East abandoned the idea of supplying Fort Pitt from that base by pack horse trains and attempted to supply it from the county of Westmoreland. William Amberson, of Pittsburg, was appointed commissary. But poor success attended his efforts, for on September 5 Brodhead wrote that the soldiers were alternately without bread and meat and that he was not possessed of two days' allowance in advance. He further wrote in the same letter that "unless something is speedily done these posts which are of the utmost importance, must be evacuated and the county will of course be deserted or, as some have hinted, join the enemy." A few days after this the ragged soldiers marched to the house of Brodhead and by their spokesman told him that they had had no bread for five days and were extremely reduced by hunger. The general told them as best he could what efforts he was putting forth to secure provisions, and the men went quietly back to their barracks. Very soon a small amount of flour and a few cattle arrived, but not enough to last any length of time. All this time the Indians were troublesome, but the army without provisions was powerless to protect the settlement. The commander was growing desperate and procured permission from the continental authorities to take such supplies as the army needed by force. Captain Brady with a few men was appointed to execute this work, but he was instructed to take only from the farmers who could spare and not to take from those who had suffered severely from the Indians. Brady was to place a fair value on all cattle and sheep taken and give a receipt for them, so that the true indebtedness might some day be paid by the government. But the farmers had received word of his mission in advance of his coming and had driven their cattle and sheep to secluded ravines and neighboring forests where they herded them. Brady found but little stock in the community that came within the limits of his authority. All his party procured was consumed at Fort Pitt as rapidly as it was sent in by them. In some sections they were met by angry farmers who were armed to resist the taking of their cattle and Brady, being instructed not to provoke violence, could not take animals from those who showed a determined resistance. Brady was a farmer himself and had a deep sympathy with the men who had struggled along against years of frontier privations and who wanted to protect their small herds so that larger ones might be produced. This duty, he said, was the most unpleasant one he was ever called upon to execute. Lieutenant Uriah Springer headed another party and after they had been out about two months with but little success they were recalled. Brodhead also tried to call on volunteers for an expedition against the Wyandottes, but in this he failed entirely. He had the power to draft men, but he could not do this on account of the dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania as to the ownership of the territory, and furthermore he did not want to incur the wrath of the people if it could be avoided. In reply to his call for an army to go against the Wyandottes the Delawares showed themselves as true to the Pittsburg treaty and came to the fort ready for the war path. Brodhead

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told them frankly that his garrison was too poor to support an expedition. These warriors had brought with them their squaws and their children and encamped around Fort Pitt. Very few of the early pioneers at that time distinguished between a good and a bad Indian, or rather they regarded them all as bad and the whole race as worthy only of instant death and extermination. Accordingly a large body of farmers, rangers and soldiers was raised at Hannastown and marched to Fort Pitt to attack the friendly Delawares encamped there. Brodhead hearing of it in time, placed a strong guard around them and this doubtless saved our history from a disgraceful massacre of really innocent and friendly Indians. But the resourceful colonel soon found use for these Indians. He sent them, accompanied with the best hunters and marksmen of the fort, to the Big Kanawha Valley in Virginia to hunt buffaloes during the winter and bring the meat up the river as soon as spring should open up. The garrison was by this time reduced to about three hundred men and required fewer supplies of meat and flour from the East to subsist them until spring.

Colonel Brodhead was always anxious to lead an army against the Wyandottes and Shawanees of Ohio, whom he though richly deserved the chastisement, and all the time depended on the help of the Delawares. This tribe obeyed the terms of the Pittsburg treaty more strictly than might have been expected till 1781, considering the unfortunate death of White Eyes. Kilbuck was elected in place of White Eyes and he was ever loyal to the American cause. But the tribe individually grew tired of being allied with the weak force of the colonists, for in truth Brodhead had nothing to give the Indians, while the British had everything to offer that was attractive to the savage mind. All other tribes as well as the British, sent agents to the Delaware Indians to urge them to join the league against the colonists' cause. Young warriors homeward bound from incursions in the East, delighted to flash the rich trophies of their trip in the eyes of the Delawares and this excited the ambitious youths of the tribe to emulate their example. In February, 1781, while Chief Kilbuck was at Pittsburg, the Delawares voted to enter the war against the settlers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. For this perfidy the chief never returned to his tribe. He and his family and a few other loyal Indians removed to Salem, Ohio, and notified Brodhead of the act of the Delawares. Brodhead now concluded to march an army to the Coshocton region to punish the Delawares for their bad faith. His force at Fort Pitt had been reduced to about 200, but from Virginia he received 134 volunteers or militia and with these he was able, on April 10, to raise an army of about 300 men, who marched to the Muskingum Valley. Bad weather prevented rapid marching. Kilbuck, a few of his warriors from Salem and five other Delawares went to join these troops and fight against their own race. The chief town at Coshocton was reached on April 20. Fifteen warriors were met who fought bravely but all were killed. Most of the volunteers were mounted on their own horses and showed no mercy to the Indians, though they did not harm the old men, the women or the children. They took much "peltry" and destroyed about forty head of cattle owned by

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the Indians. Brodhead knew that by a further journey of fifteen miles many more Indians could be destroyed, but the militia refused to go further, saying that they were worn out by bad weather and must return home. They were not under Brodhead's command or restraint, having volunteered for the service, and the colonel was powerless to order them. On their return they found near Newcomerstown about thirty Delaware Indians who had left their tribe and who supplied the troops with corn and meat to strengthen them on their march to the Ohio. At Wheeling they sold the furs which they had taken for almost a fabulous sum. (See Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. 9, page 161).

In "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars," etc., by Rev. Joseph Doddridge, the story of this campaign is told quite differently and reflects on the high character and soldierly deportment of Brodhead. The same narrative has been followed in "Craig's History of Pittsburg," and in "Howe's Historical Collection of Ohio." Doddridge was the original author on the subject but depended on his memory for his facts, repeating stories which ignorant pioneers had given him around the old-fashioned fireplaces of Ohio when he was a credulous boy. This version is from Brodhead's own account of the affair, which was not published when Doddridge wrote his imaginative story. It is moreover borne out by a letter from Simon Girty to the lieutenant-governor of Detroit and by other contemporary records which have been published recently.

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CHAPTER XII.

The Close of the Revolution.

A great deal has been said and written about General George Rogers Clark's expedition to the West. In 1778 he had practically secured the Illinois country for Virginia, a section which that colony had claimed before by virtue of her original charter. But after July 4, 1776, a right granted by an English monarch was seriously discounted and actual possession or possession gained by contest, gave a much stronger show of title. Clark was anxious to capture Detroit. This fort was an incubus which overhung the western settlements and was continuously sending forth savage emissaries. Clark's brilliant success in former expeditions had gained for him the approval of the government of Virginia. He was therefore given 140 soldiers with power to complete an army in the western settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He promptly sent agents to the vicinity of Pittsburg who bought provisions, cattle, etc., for his expedition. This encroachment aroused Brodhead, who not only had to subsist his army on the western products, but who had a laudable ambition to capture Detroit himself. Jealous of Clark's movements, he wrote: "I have hitherto been encouraged to flatter myself that I should sooner or later be enabled to reduce Detroit, but it seems the United States cannot furnish either troops or resources for the purpose, but the State of Virginia can." He was about to stop the collection of supplies when Washington wrote him to aid Clark all he could and give him Craig's Field Artillery and at least one company of infantry. Clark reached western Pennsylvania in the month of March and established headquarters at Colonel Crawford's place on the Youghiogheny river near Connellsville and also with Dorsey Pentecost at Chartiers creek. But the pioneers were divided as to their duty. Those who opposed the Penns and upheld Virginia in her claims of territory in this section favored Clark's expedition, while the others as a general rule opposed it. There were many who took this as a pretext for doing nothing for either party, claiming not without reason, that they had enough to do to plant their crops and defend their homes from the savages, whilst others of Penn's adherents adhered loyally to Clark with the hope that he could exterminate the obnoxious nest of British and Indians in the West. Clark meant to raise an army of 2,000 troops and go down the Ohio in

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boats and then march overland to Detroit, but he found that the western sections were still being raided by Indians from the Scioto, the Muskingum and the Sandusky rivers, and that an expedition to chastise these Indians was much more popular in Pennsylvania than one against Detroit. He accordingly, with great wisdom changed his plans, or at all events announced a change, saying that he would march against the Ohio savages first, but his ultimate purpose of reducing Detroit remained unchanged. Brodhead was not only slightly jealous of his expedition but was suspicious that he cared nothing for the depredations which the western Indians were committing so that he could conquer Detroit. Clark had written: "If our resources should not be such as to enable me to remain in the Indian country during the fair season, I am in hopes they will be sufficient to visit the Shawanee, Delaware and Sandusky towns. Defeating the enemy and laying those countries to waste would give great ease to the frontier of both states." These were indeed the words of an honest soldier and are entitled to credence. President Reed, of Pennsylvania, approved of the campaign and notwithstanding the claim contest between Virginia and Pennsylvania, advised that the friends of Pennsylvania join Clark's expedition, saying that they would thereby not only give no offense to his government but on the contrary their actions would be considered highly meritorious. Christopher Hays was at that time a member of the council of Pennsylvania from Westmoreland county and brought a letter to the above effect from President Reed to this section. Hays was himself opposed to Clark and did not deliver the letter dated May 15 until July 3, when it was too late to do any good. Hays, however, called a meeting of the officers of the militia of Westmoreland county to arrange for a more perfect frontier defense. They met on the Big Sewickley at Captain John McClelland's house and, undoubtedly contrary to Hays' expectations, decided by a majority vote to aid General Clark with all the power that in them lay. The meeting resolved to furnish 300 men for the expedition and appointed Colonel Archibald Lochry to enlist them either "by volunteer or by draft." A great opposition went up from this western section at once concerning the draft measure, for it was the first instance in western Pennsylvania that such drastic measures were proposed. Lochry and Clark, as the meeting of the officers had directed, consulted as to the manner then in vogue of drafting men in Virginia. A public meeting was called to convene at Crawford's on July 16. All who would were there to enlist and after that the remainder of the soldiers needed were to be secured by draft. July 16 was chosen because nearly every citizen in the community was a farmer and by that time, it was thought, they might have their harvest well out of the way before they were called on to shoulder their muskets in the western expedition. In the meantime Washington county had been erected (March 28, 1781), and the new county at once set up an additional rival power to Virginia. Its leading men were probably too much uplifted by their offices to be controlled by an authority that had no relation whatever with Virginia. The meeting called for on July 16 was poorly attended and proceedings

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were instituted at once to raise men by draft. They had really no legal authority in Pennsylvania for this, and the majority vote at the military meeting ordering it was not able to pass such a measure and make it legal. The Virginians hated the Pennsylvanians and the enforcement of the draft gave them the longed for opportunity to vent their wrath by many needless examples of personal insult and outlawry. The drafting party from Virginia were little less lawless than Connolly's soldiers had been. They seized and beat men, frightened women, broke into houses, impressed provisions, and caused almost a reign of terror in the land. A very pronounced man against these high-handed proceedings was Captain John Hardin, who resided at Red Stone. The reader will recall his loyal son John, of the Eighth Regiment, who afterwards became known as General Hardin, of Kentucky. With forty or fifty mounted men, Clark visited his place in person and at last threatened to hang him. Hardin had wisely secreted himself, but they secured one of his sons and held him a prisoner for several days. The troops broke open Hardin's mill and house, killed such of his live stock as they could use, and with their horses lived at his expense for three days. Clark gave out that Hardin's estate had justly been forfeited by treason and he cautiously gave the estate to Mrs. Hardin. An honest settler in Clark's camp denounced the draft as an illegal proceeding. He was put to jail at once, with the threat on Clark's part that he should be hanged in a short time, but this threat was not executed. It is likely that these foolish and unlawful acts on the part of Clark were in some degree excusable because of this unlooked-for opposition, and furthermore because he was drowning his troubles by the intemperate use of "Old Monongahela Rye," with which the community abounded. Gabriel Cox headed a body of ruffians who tried to arrest John Douglas, of the new county. Breaking open his house at midnight, they threatened his wife and children and even threatened the defenseless woman with the sword, but she would not tell where her husband was concealed. Colonel Marshall wrote to Philadelphia: "Cox and his party have taken and confined a considerable number of the inhabitants of this county; in a word, the instances of high treason against the state are too many to be enumerated." Thomas Scott wrote that Clark's conduct had been highly oppressive and abusive and that the particulars were both numerous and horrid. Christopher Hays and Scott both signed a letter saying: "The general's expedition has been wished well and volunteers to that service have been encouraged, but we have heartily reprobated the general standing over these two counties with an armed force, in order to dragoon the inhabitants into obedience to a draft under the laws of Virginia." These unwise proceedings caused the failure of Clark's expedition. It is probable, though, that had he been sustained, he could have overpowered the savages and captured Detroit, and thus saved the West from years and years of bitter suffering. Clark's army was concentrated at the mouth of Chartiers creek, where McKee's Rocks now stands, and from there marched to Wheeling where boats were built, for the upper part of the Ohio river was too shallow to navigate. He left Wheeling on August 8

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with about 400 men and the Craig battery of three field pieces. Disappointed in the size of the army and with little hope of success, he was too much of a soldier to abandon the project, and so wrote to Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia, as he was leaving.

In the meantime Colonel Archibald Lochry had gone on busily in raising the company he was instructed to enlist to join Clark's expedition, but met with great opposition. Jealousy was not confined to Brodhead. There was a general quarrel among the officers of the western posts, as is abundantly proved by complaining letters of Perry, Cook, Lochry, Marshall, Duncan and Hays. Brodhead and Duncan were accused of speculating with public money in buying farms and mill sites, while Lochry and Perry were accused of speculating in ammunition and whiskey, the latter article being then regarded as one of the necessaries of frontier life and extensively supplied to the soldiers. Great quantities of it were purchased by the commissary. All of these charges were probably unfounded. President Reed had also upbraided Lochry when writing to him in March, 1781, saying: "It is with much concern we hear that when troops are raised for your protection they are permitted to loiter away their time at saloons or straggling about the country." All this perhaps urged Lochry, who was a man of high character and convictions, to demonstrate that he was deeply interested in the welfare of the country.

A small company of thirty-eight men under Captain Stokely had been raised for services in the general army, though their assistance was needed here at all times, for the frontier settlements for miles east of Pittsburg were being almost daily overrun by Indians. Thirteen settlers were killed in the Hannastown region in April, two of whom were killed within a mile of the fort. Lochry therefore found it all the more difficult to enlist for a far off expedition. Captain Robert Orr had raised a company near Hannastown of about twenty men, and Captain William Campbell had a small company of men who were mounted. After waiting to finish their harvests these honest yeomanry, less than one hundred in all, were brought together and started on their march on August 3. They were poorly clad for a campaign, one report saying that Stokely's company was in a manner almost naked. As they journeyed westward others of their neighbors caught up with them, eager to join the expedition, so that Lochry's full force numbered one hundred and seven. Ensign William Cooper had been sent out by the president of the council with clothes and equipments for at least as many as belonged to Stokely's company, but he arrived too late, and though he hastened on to overtake them, it is doubtful whether they ever reached the troops. When Lochry's forces reached Wheeling, they found that Clark had gone on the same day, having left provisions and a boat, with instructions that Lochry should follow them and join the army twelve miles below. But they were detained four days at Wheeling in preparing boats and when they reached the place designated they found that Clark had left the day before, leaving a few men under Major Craycroft but no provisions or ammunition, both of which they stood greatly in need. Clark promised to

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await them at the mouth of the Little Kanawha river, but when Lochry reached there he found only a letter attached to a pole directing them to follow. Their provisions were about exhausted and forage through the new country was out of the question. Without a knowledge of the currents of the river he could, moreover, scarcely hope to overtake Clark. Lochry accordingly sent Captain Shannon in a boat with seven men, hoping that they could overtake him and return with some supplies for his company. Shannon carried letters to Clark but had not gone far till he and his men were taken by the Indians. Two days later Lochry sent out two men to hunt game but they were never heard of again. Clark had artillery with him and the Indians feared to attack his forces. They had also feared to attack Lochry, for these two forces were so close together that they supposed they were acting in conjunction. But the letters which Shannon carried for Clark gave them the true knowledge of the situation and of Lochry's weakness, and when he was captured they fell into the hands of the enemy. About this time nineteen of Clark's men deserted and in passing Lochry's company learned of his weakness, after which they went over to the enemy. The Indians therefore, with all this information, sent out in all directions and collected a large number of warriors a short distance below the mouth of the Miami which flows into the Ohio, where they watched and waited for Lochry's arrival. Close to that point is an island which, to this day, is called Lochry's Island. Upon this island they posted the prisoners captured with Shannon and promised to spare their lives only on condition that they would hail Lochry and his troops as they came down the river and induce them to land. Should they fail in this they were to be tomahawked at once. But Lochry and his troops, wearied with continued disappointment and misfortunes, landed on the Ohio shore about three miles above the island. The place of landing invited the tired and hungry troops by its natural beauties. It was at the mouth of a small creek since known as Lochry's creek, about ten miles below the mouth of the Miami river. The creek is the dividing line between Ohio and Dearborn counties, in the southeastern corner of Indiana. They landed about ten o'clock on the morning of August 24, 1781. They also landed their horses that they might graze and thus obtain sufficient strength to sustain them until they could reach Louisville, one hundred and twenty miles below.

On the way down the river Lochry's expedition had been closely watched by the Indians. A member of his company soon shot a buffalo, a fire was kindled and all of the soldiers save a few who were guarding the horses, were preparing a much needed meal. The Indians had runners out and the landing was scarcely effected till word was passed among the savages who lined the banks of the river. Near the landing place was an overhanging bluff covered by large trees. On this bluff the savages collected and into the midst of the soldiers sent a volley of rifle and musket balls. The men flew at once to their arms, but their ammunition was exhausted after the first or second fire. Many of them attempted to escape by boats, but the enemy soon closed in on them and made prisoners of all who had not been killed. At the same time canoes filled

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with Indians put off from the Kentucky shore where they also had been watching their movements. Lochry was not killed in the battle, but while sitting on a log a stealthy Shawanee came up behind him and sunk a tomahawk into his brain. He thus died while defending his country in the gloomy wilderness of a far off territory. The Indians then prepared to slaughter the prisoners, but a chief whom they obeyed came up at that time and stopped it. This was the noted Joseph Brant, war chief of the Mohawks, who lived to contest a still more bloody field on the head waters of the Wabash with the gallant General St. Clair in 1791. Forty-two of the soldiers were killed and sixty-four were taken prisoners. The attacking party was much larger than Lochry's and the prisoners and booty were divided according to the number of warriors engaged. The next morning the Indians set out for their homes with their prisoners, whom they kept until the close of the Revolution. Late in 1782 they were ransomed by the British officers who had command of the northern posts and were exchanged for prisoners whom the American army then held. The loss of Lochry's expedition was the heaviest sustained by the county of Westmoreland in any single action. None of them returned home until the spring of 1783, when they came by the way of Quebec, New York and Philadelphia. Very few who were captured lived to return home. After the men left Pittsburg nothing was heard of them for about twenty-two months. All this time their friends lived in hope but at length hope sunk in despair. Captain Orr wrote an account of the campaign which was published in the "Annals of the West," and, as it is entirely corroborated by official documents, it is entitled to a high degree of credence. Orr had his arm broken in the engagement by a ball and was sent to a hospital at Detroit. From there he returned home and was afterwards sheriff of Westmoreland county. Samuel Craig was a lieutenant in Orr's company and was taken by the Indians on their march northward. As they were crossing a river they threw Craig overboard, intending to drown him, but he was a splendid swimmer and repeatedly made his way to the canoe and with his hands on the sides, tried to climb into it. They beat him over the hands with the oars and pressed his head under the water as often as he came to the surface for breath. Finally, when he was about exhausted, an Indian claimed him for his own and took him into the boat. In his long captivity Craig suffered perhaps more than any other. Several times both he and his captors came near starving. He had a cheerful disposition and was a good singer and the Indians loved his songs. At one time they grew tired of their prisoners and took them all out and placed them in a row on a log. They then blackened their faces, which meant that they were to be killed. But just then Craig began to sing as loud and as well as he could. This so pleased the Indians that they spared his life, while all the others were put to death. Soon after this he was sold to a British officer for a gallon of whiskey. After his return he was married to a daughter of John Shields and lived on the Loyalhanna, near New Alexandria, where his descendants yet reside.

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Clark's expedition went down the river as far as Fort Nelson, opposite Louisville, but by desertion and sickness his force, but small even at the beginning, was entirely unable to go against the Indians, and much less against the British at Detroit. There he remained for several weeks, while his forces gradually wasted away, the troops returning by small parties to their homes in Pennsylvania and Virginia. The company sent out by Brodhead from Fort Pitt under Captain Isaac Craig, had not gone with Lochry and when they returned to Fort Pitt they could scarcely be made to believe that Lochry's troops had gone down the river at all, showing that Clark did not know that he was really to be supported by Lochry's men. These fine marksmen and rangers would have added greatly to Clark's expedition, but perhaps could not have changed the results, though had they been with Clark, the Lochry disaster would have been averted. Archibald Lochry was one of the strongest men in Westmoreland county in the Revolutionary days. He was of North Irish extraction but was born in the Octoraro settlement, for he was an ensign in the Second Battalion in the provincial service. Both he and his brother William were appointed justices in Bedford county at its organization and later, when Westmoreland county was organized, he was made a justice here, as the reader has seen. He took up a large tract of land in what is now Unity township, on the south side of the turnpike between Greensburg and Youngstown, near St. Xavier's convent. The land has since added great wealth to the county, for it is within the celebrated Connellsville coal belt. His correspondence is generally dated from that place, namely, "Twelve Mile Run," the name of a small stream on his land which flows into the Fourteen Mile Run, and is crossed by the Forbes road about twelve miles from Fort Ligonier. His services as county lieutenant, then a position of great importance though now unknown, made him very near, if not quite, the foremost man in Westmoreland county in the Revolutionary period. His name has been spelled differently from the spelling here. We take this from his will, which he signs "A. Lochry," and which is recorded in Will Book No. 1, at page 31 of the Westmoreland recorder's office. His ill-fated expedition, while it seemingly accomplished but little, was but one ot the many sacrifices made to work out our final peace and harmony on the western border. As long as Western Pennsylvania people revere the struggles and courage of their pioneer ancestry will the name of Archibald Lochry be held in high esteem.

It is altogether probable that Lochry and Hays were jealous of each other. Hays was a member of the council and wielded a great influence in Western Pennsylvania. Lochry as county lieutenant, had been somewhat tardy in rendering up an account of his large expenditures, and was loose in his military discipline, though no one doubted his honesty and patriotism. Through the influence of Hays and Scott, Edward Cook was nominated as county lieutenant to succeed Lochry. On August 15, while the latter was going down the Ohio on his sad expedition and before the cowardly blow of the Indian ended his life, Cook was elected in his stead. Cook's high character and standing among the

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pioneer element has been heretofore considered. He had been sub-lieutenant with Lochry for more than four years and was probably the ablest man for the position who was at that time eligible.

Brodhead also had had several quarrels with the men at Fort Pitt, not only with the militia officers but with the members of his own staff. Finally Alexander Fowler was appointed to audit the military accounts of the West. He was a Pittsburg merchant and publicly accused Brodhead of speculating with money which belonged to the army. General John Gibson was next in command and was more popular with the soldiers and officers of the fort than Brodhead. They accordingly asked him to resign and a court martial was ordered. Brodhead, knowing perhaps that he was innocent of all charges, refused to resign until Washington ordered him on September 6 to turn the command of Fort Pitt over to Gibson. On September 17 he obeyed the order and went to Philadelphia, where he was acquitted of all charges against him.

Gibson had but a temporary command, for General William Irvine was appointed on September 24, 1781. He was born in Ireland of Scotch-Irish parentage, and was graduated in the University of Dublin and educated as a physician. Before coming to America he had spent several years as a surgeon in the English army. Here he practiced medicine in Carlisle and was successful not only in his profession but in business as well. When the agitation of 1774 came, he was one of the leaders of his community and a member of the provincial convention. Assisting in the organization of the Minute Men, he became a leader of the patriot cause and in June, 1776, was appointed colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. This regiment marched through New York and took part with General St. Clair and others who invaded Canada. At the battle of Three Rivers, June 16, 1776, he was captured. In seven weeks he was released on a parole which compelled him to remain out of the service until May, 1778. After that he was a colonel in the Second Pennsylvania and commanded a brigade under General Wayne in New Jersey. He came to Pittsburg when forty years old and proved himself the most capable and accomplished officer of Fort Pitt during the Revolution, though he was not so successful as Brodhead had been, and moreover did not arrive until November 1, 1781, when the Revolutionary War was practically over, for Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington on October 19 previous. Irvine's first duty at Fort Pitt was to more thoroughly systematize the military service and try to conciliate the hostility which existed between the settlers and the militiamen.

The slaughter of the Moravian Indians can fortunately by no possible stretch of history, be attributed to the forces at Fort Pitt, but its evil results and general effects on the frontier are such as to prompt us to review it briefly. The reader should know, too, that the butchering was not all done by the savages. Rev. John Heckewelder was the leading missionary among the Sandusky Indians, many of whom had professed Christianity and were in the main living good lives. They took neither side between the English and the colonies though their preachers, Heckewelder and Zeisberger, were favorable to our

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cause. The Moravians numbered about one hundred families living in three villages on the Tuscaroras river. These villages were named Schoenbuṛn, Salem and Gnadenhuetten. The villages were composed of reasonably well built log cabins and around them were good gardens and large fields of corn. They had also horses, cattle and some rude implements of agriculture. The Indians occasionally, perhaps of necessity, entertained war parties of hostile Indians, and doubtless as often showed equal courtesy to the invading armies of the colonists. The Indian incursions of 1782 in Western Pennsylvania began early because of the early return of spring. On February 8 a young man named John Fink was killed near Buchanan's fort, on the Monongahela river. Two days later a body of Indians visited Robert Wallace's place, killed his live stock, destroyed his furniture, stole his household goods, and carried away his wife and three children, the father being away from home at that time. Shortly afterward a band captured John Carpenter, but he was rescued by his neighbors. Two of his captors were Wyandottes and the others told him they were Moravians. Sometime before this the Moravian Indians had been removed by the British authorities under De Peyster to the Sandusky river for the reason that they were supposed to be friendly to the colonists and their presence between the British posts and Fort Pitt was a menace to the English officers. Moving them with considerable hardships, they had been impoverished by the loss of household goods and had been compelled to leave their crops ungathered.

REV. JOHN HECKEWELDER

With the early spring of 1782 many of them came back to their uninhabited log huts to gather up their possessions and to secure at least a part of the corn they had been forced to leave. In the fall previous (1781) the frontiersmen had decided to raid the Moravian Indians, and under Colonel David Williamson, from seventy-five to one hundred men rode there to compel them to go further west. But this being after they had been removed by the British, Williamson and his officers found the villages almost deserted. The few who were gathering up corn were brought to Fort Pitt, where General Irvine treated them kindly and later sent them to their people on the Sandusky.

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But when the outrages of February, 1782, broke out about one hundred and fifty or sixty young men volunteered and were led west by Colonel Williamson. Over swollen streams they pushed their way towards the deserted Indian village of Gnadenhuetten. Not far from this place was found the naked and mutilated body of Mrs. Wallace, impailed on the sharpened trunk of a small tree, and nearby was the dead body of her innocent child. Robert Wallace, the husband and father, was with the party when they came upon this horrible spectacle. After burying the bodies of the unfortunate victims, the pioneers with feelings of hatred for the Indians which may be imagined, pushed onward, following the trail of the marauders. As they neared the town of Gnadenhuetten, scouts brought back word that it was full of Indians. The reader will understand what the impetuous members of this expedition could not, that the Indians in the town which many of the same volunteers had found deserted in November previous, were really the Moravian Indians, who were temporarily there to gather their corn, for they had passed the severe winter in their new homes. Some of them had been there for some time, for they had come in small parties, perhaps impelled to do so because of hunger. But they were not all Moravians, for there were perhaps eight or nine Wyandotte warriors among them. It was they, the Wyandottes mainly, who had raided western Pennsylvania so early in February, but they were undoubtedly accompanied by some few of the Moravian Indians whose savage instincts still remained and who were not true to the Moravian faith. Wliliamson approached the town as though he believed it was filled with savages by dividing his forces into three squads. But the Indians showed no resistance whatever, which should have opened the eyes of the company to the true situation. The colonel then told them that they must go to Fort Pitt and this seemed to please them, and at his suggestion they sent messengers to the other towns, telling them to come to Gnadenhuetten. One of the squad under Williamson's command had killed two Indians in a cornfield before they reached the town. Other Indians discovered later were not killed but were brought in alive. When the Salem Moravian Indians arrived there were about ninety-six in all. They were all disarmed and confined in the log church, in which they had doubtless often attended religious services held by their pious ministers, Heckewelder and Zeisberger. While the pioneers were examining the huts they found many household goods, apparently stolen from the settlers, and some of them were readily identified by Wallace as the property stolen from him but a few weeks previous. Moreover, one Indian woman was wearing a dress which belonged to Mrs. Wallace and was clearly identified by her heart-broken husband. This seemed proof positive to the volunteers and they were determined at once that they should be put to death. Some of the captains under Williamson favored the same manner of death to the Indians that was perpetrated on Mrs. Wallace and her child. All were brought before them and all denied their guilt. Unfortunately for the innocent, it was developed that some of them had recently been on the war path. A few of them had their hair trimmed and had yet traces of paint on their faces, all of which

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indicated their guilt. This testimony was probably sufficient evidence to prove the guilt of the Wyandottes, but in the judgment of the impetuous young men who had but recently seen the mutilated body of Mrs. Wallace and her child, and who did not believe in the Christianity of the savage race, it was sufficient to condemn the whole party to instant death. Colonel Williamson was not able to resist the general clamor for vengeance. He put the question as to whether the prisoners should be put to death or taken to Fort Pitt, and it is well authenticated that only eighteen of the volunteers voted for leniency. It was therefore, decided to kill the Indians the next morning, and accordingly, on March 8 they were brought two by two to a cooper shop and were beaten to death with mallets and hatchets. Some of them died praying, as they had been taught to do by the missionaries; others went to the block chanting savage war songs; two of them broke away but were shot down. After all the men were killed, the women and children were taken to another building and killed in a like manner. It is said that one noble white man after killing fourteen Indians, handed the mallet to a friend, saying that his arm was tired. About forty of the volunteers took part in the murder and they thus killed forty Indian men, twenty women and thirty-four children. All save two boys were put to death. One of these had hidden in a cellar and escaped, while the other survived the stroke of the mallet and the removal of his scalp, and both escaped to tell the story. Thus "By the mouths of two witnesses shall these things be established." It is not likely that those who stood by regarded this horrifying spectacle as a serious crime. It was to them the meting out of justice to fiends incarnate who had spent their lives in savage warfare and in murdering innocent men and women. It was, as a general rule, considered no worse by them to kill an Indian than to kill a dangerous wild beast or snake, and the children of the savages were regarded as but the offspring of beasts whose thirst for blood would develop with their years. All buildings of the towns, including the houses which held the bodies of the murdered Indians, were burned to ashes. All the Indian property, including eighty horses, was taken by the volunteers and brought to Pennsylvania.

It was but a short time, March 24, till a similar raid was made on Kilbuck Island at the mouth of the Allegheny river, for after Brodhead had destroyed Coshocton, Kilbuck and his friends, who were friendly to our cause, had settled on this island. Indians from Kilbuck's people frequently accompanied scouting parties of the fort and were of great service to them. Kilbuck was, moreover, a colonel in the United States service. These friendly Indians were guarded by troops from Fort Pitt, but the guards were surprised and several of the tribe, including Nanowland, a friendly scout who had so often accompanied Captain Brady, were killed. Kilbuck and most of his friends saved their lives only by escaping to Fort Pitt, where Gibson was in temporary command. The volunteers were greatly enraged at Gibson because he had defended the Indians. The people did not believe in the existence of a friendly Indian. The raiders were collected in and about Hannastown and included many of the most daring

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rangers of the community. They, of course, did not have any faith in the professed friendship of those they sought to kill.

Inquiry was made of General Irvine, but it was found that the people decidedly sustained Williamson's party in the slaughter of the Moravians and that a united populace would resist any measure of punishment instituted against them. An entertaining story entitled "Three Villages," by William Dean Howells is founded on this massacre, though it is not faithful to the true history of the affair. This terrible slaughter fell as a just vengeance on but few who were really guilty. Its greatest effect was to arouse all the savage tribes without exception, to fiercer hostility than ever against the colonists, and this fell not only upon the guilty alone in Western Pennsylvania but upon the defenseless pioneer wherever he was found. The crimes which followed were too many to enumerate. They brought about another expedition under Col. William Crawford, who had sat on the Westmoreland bench. General Irvine had been asked to command it, but he knew too well the difficulty of commanding volunteers. They were scarcely subject to military restraint and he, therefore, declined to lead the army. He did, however, aid the expedition in every way he could but was unable to spare any troops except a surgeon, John Knight, and Lieutenant John Rose, a Russian nobleman who served in the American army with singular ability and skill. The forces under Colonel Crawford were nearly all Scotch-Irish farmers from Washington county, who were mounted on their own horses. Colonel David Williamson was a candidate for the position of commander, but by the influence of General Irvine, was defeated by Colonel Crawford by five votes. The mounted troops met on the west bank of the Ohio river, about three miles below Steubenville, and started northwest on May 25. It was Crawford's hope that by rapid horseback marching he could surprise the Indians. On the contrary he was watched nearly all the way by stealthy spies of the enemy who, being able to run more rapidly than Crawford's army could march, almost daily reported his progress to the forces at Sandusky and Detroit. It took Crawford's mounted men ten days to make the journey, and the Indians could not have asked more time to prepare for his coming. He reached their headquarters on June 3, but found it deserted. The commander then learned that the Indians had had notice of his approach and advised a retirement, but the counsel of officers and the troops opposed it, and another day's march was determined on. Late in the afternoon they were fired on by a body of Indians and British. After a spirited fire, night closed down on them and temporarily ended the contest. The following day the battle was resumed with the opponents far apart, so that the fighting was done at long range. In the afternoon a Shawanee band of one hundred and forty Indians reinforced the Indians and British, and Crawford thought the enemy now far outnumbered his troops, but in reality they were about equally matched. The Pennsylvanians therefore concluded to steal a hasty retreat in the night. Fires were built to deceive the enemy, and the soldiers retreated rapidly late in the night. The Scotch volunteers unfortunately became panic-stricken by the darkness and fled in great con-

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fusion. Some had lost their horses in the battle and in their flight through the wilderness were easily run down and killed by the enemy. Among the troops were Crawford's son John, his nephew William Crawford, and his son-in-law William Harrison. Failing to find them among the troops, the colonel awaited their approach and finally came up with Dr. Knight and nine others who had lost their way in the darkness. After wandering about for two days all were taken prisoners by the Indians. The next day the troops retreated more orderly and even repulsed an attacking band of savages. Colonel Williamson had taken charge of the retreat, and on June 12 reached the Ohio with about three hundred men. Others came straggling in afterward until nearly all had returned, the missing soldiers in the end being perhaps less than fifty. Among those who were captured and killed were Crawford's son-in-law and a nephew. His son John returned to his home. All privates who were captured by the Indians were put to death at once, while the officers were saved for special torture. Crawford's cruel punishment and death has been written of a great deal and perhaps of all outrages committed by the Indians, is the one which will dwell longest in the memory of civilized people. He was tied to a tree and, amid fiendish yells of joy, the Indians, thinking they were avenging the death of the Moravians who had perished recently, put burning wood near him so as to prolong his torture. The squaws cut his ears and nose off, scalped him and placed burning coals on his bleeding head. While enduring this agony he saw Simon Girty, whom he knew well, among his tormentors and shouted to him, saying: "Shoot me, Simon, to end my misery." But Girty tauntingly replied, "I can't do it, for I have no gun," though he held his rifle in his hand. For three hours he endured this agony, when at last the brave but exhausted colonel sank into a most welcome death. Dr. Knight was made to witness it and felt that he was being saved but for a similar exhibition in another locality on the night following. When being taken there the next day he fortunately escaped and after twenty-two days' wandering reached Fort McIntosh and thence returned to his home.

Lachland McIntosh was born of Scotch-Irish parentage at Inverness, in 1725. His parents came to America with John Oglethorpe and found a home with his colony in Georgia. At the age of seventeen he entered the mercantile business in Charleston, South Carolina, which he relinquished to learn surveying and to serve later in the militia of Georgia. Though many of his people became Tories, he was from the first an enthusiastic American and was made a colonel in the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and in 1776 was a brigadier-general. Quarreling with Button Guinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, he was challenged to fight a duel, which resulted in the death of Guinnett.. McIntosh was tried for murder and was acquitted. Opposition in Georgia raised by this unfortunate affair, impelled him to leave the South. In 1778 he was attached to Washington's army at Valley Forge, and from there came to Fort Pitt.

Still another campaign against the Indians was arranged for, mainly by General Benjamin Lincoln, who had charge of the war department of the United

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States in 1782. This expedition was to be led by General Irvine from Fort Pitt, and was to be composed of twelve hundred soldiers. They were to be collected from western Pennsylvania and Virginia and to be reinforced by a detachment from Colonel Moses Hazen's regiments which were then stationed at Carlisle and Lancaster. Delay in the arrival of Hazen's troops caused a postponement of the expedition from August to October 8, and still another until late in October. On October 23, however, word came to Pittsburg of the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton as commander of the British forces in America. He was a man of both brain and conscience and was naturally horrified at the burning of Colonel Crawford and other prisoners, as well as at the union made between the savages and his own people in waging war in America. He gave orders at once to all British of the border to prevent, rather than instigate, any further deeds of violence on the part of the savages. His orders forbade the British posts of Detroit and Niagara from sending out parties of Indians against the frontier settlements. Thenceforth these posts were to act only on the defensive. This word was sent promptly to Fort Pitt on the 27th of September, and it recalled the proposed campaign of General Irvine. General Hazen received the word at once and abandoned his westward march, but the important message to Irvine was sent by a traveller who was journeying westward on private business, who lingered on the way and did not deliver the letter to Irvine. In the meantime Irvine sent Captain Samuel Brady east to meet Hazen and his forces, and hasten them to Fort Pitt. Brady was shrewd enough to find the bearer of the letter at a wayside inn on his way east, and thus the word of Carleton's appointment and the end of the troubles from the allied forces of the British and Indians reached Fort Pitt on October 23. This incident throws a light on the usual manner of conducting even the most important business in the Revolutionary days.

While Indian depredations did not end with the accession of Sir Guy Carleton, a stop was put to the inhuman warfare as carried on by the British with the Indian allies. How much more glorious would the English nation be had they always employed agents of the high character and humane principles of Sir Guy Carleton. Even after the Revolutionary War closed, the Indians had been so long and so thoroughly allied with the English that they could not realize that peace had been declared between the two countries, or that orders to stop their depredations against the pioneers had been issued by the British commander. The Pennsylvania council accordingly asked congress to take some action in the matter. When, in April, over forty people were wantonly put to death or taken in captivity by the Indians, for they doubtless thought they were carrying out the wishes of their English allies, the request was repeated and congress acted at once. The scheme adopted was to send a messenger among the Indians to inform them that the king had been compelled to make peace with the United States and that the British armies were to evacuate Detroit and Niagara, and that above all things, the United States desired to live in peace and harmony with the inhabitants of the forest. To perform this most

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delicate and dangerous mission, Major General Benjamin Lincoln, then secretary of war, selected Major Ephraim Douglas, of Pittsburg. He too was of Scotch-Irish parentage, though born in Carlisle in 1750, and was the son of Adam Douglas. When thirteen years of age he had watched a weak army under a strong commander move slowly westward from his home to relieve Fort Pitt, and doubtless shortly afterward was thrilled with the startling news of Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run. Shortly after that he came to Pittsburg to work as a carpenter, and still later engaged in the Indian fur trade with such men as Devereux Smith and Richard Butler as partners. In 1776 we have seen that he was appointed quartermaster of the historic Eighth Regiment. Captured with General Lincoln's forces at Bound Brook, New Jersey, on April 13, 1777, he was kept for two years as a prisoner in New York. When at length he was exchanged, he was made assistant commissary of the army at Fort Pitt. Douglas was a man of great strength, great energy and of absolute fearlessness. These rare qualities, added to his knowledge of the Indian country and his high character, commended him to the secretary of war for this important mission. He was accompanied on his journey by Captain George McCully, whom he knew well and who had also served in the Revolution. They took with them a guide who knew the western wilderness better then they. All were provided with good horses and with a white flag, known throughout all nations as the emblem of peace. They left Fort Pitt on June 7, 1783, and reached Sandusky on June 16. They first visited the principal towns of the Delawares, where they were kindly received by Captain Pipe, who was then chief sechem of that tribe. There they remained two weeks in conference with the captain and his associates. But no treaty could be effected with the tribe until they had first treatied with the Wyandottes and Shawanees, for the latter tribes, it will be remembered, had dominion over the Delawares, having once taken up the hatchet and forced the former into an open and unwilling war. Captain Pipe sent an agent, however, to the Shawanees towns, calling the chiefs to a consultation with the Delawares at Sandusky. The chief of the Wyandottes was away from home and it was soon learned that many of the Shawanees had been called to Detroit to meet the British commander. Captain Pipe entered into Douglas' plans most heartily and advised him to go to Detroit to meet the chiefs in the presence of the English, for he assured him that without the authority of the Wyandottes in the council which was to meet soon on the opposite side of the river from Detroit, no extended peace was possible. Douglas took his advice, and with Pipe and two other chiefs, set out for Detroit. In the meantime Douglas had greatly influenced the Indians with whom he came in contact and had induced in them an almost universal desire for more friendly relations with the American people. Hearing of their approach the commander, De Peyster, sent Matthew Elliott and three others to meet them and conduct them to the fort. Elliott had been a Pittsburg Tory and knew Douglas before the former had stolen away from Pittsburg in 1778. All were invited to attend the Indian

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council at Detroit. De Peyster treated them with extreme courtesy, but he would not allow Douglas to hold a council with the chiefs alone, maintaining that he had no authority from his government to do so. He objected also to Douglas' letter from the secretary of war, which stated that the king had been *compelled* to make peace with the colonies; for this, he said, might arouse a contempt in the Indian mind for the British, which would be injurious to both them and the English. Nor did he wish the Indians to know that the English had agreed to evacuate Detroit and Niagara. As a final arbiter of these matters he referred Douglas to General Allan Maclean, who was then commanding at Niagara. De Peyster gave Douglas very little assistance in his main object, that is, to effect a peace with the Indians. On July 6 the looked-for council was held near Detroit. Eleven tribes were present, being represented by Indians from nearly every section between the Scioto river and Lake Superior. De Peyster told them the object of Douglas' visit and of the peace with Great Britain and that he could no longer assist them in the war against the colonists. He told them that Douglas represented the American army, who desired peace with all Indians, and advised them to close their warfare with the United States. The chiefs were impressed with Douglas' mission and gave him many expressions of friendship. The conference undoubtedly was attended with great good. Douglas and his party then travelled northeastward through Ontario to Niagara. But there Maclean raised the same objection that De Peyster had offered. While he would not permit Douglas to address the Indians, yet through Colonel Butler he informed them of the desire of the United States for peace and harmony with all Indian tribes. While there Douglas had a long talk with Captain Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks, and tried to impress upon his savage mind the really kind disposition of the American people toward the Indians. Governor Maclean asked Douglas to go to Quebec to confer with the governor-general of Canada, but he did not comply with this request, feeling that he had accomplished all that was possible and that he should return to report to the authorities who had sent him. Maclean sent him through Oswego, and he returned by way of Albany to Princeton, New Jersey, where the government of the United States then had its headquarters and where he reported in person to General Lincoln. His entire mission was fraught with great good by practically closing up the general Indian outbreaks on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania.

But the close of the Revolution left the western district of Pennsylvania in a very impoverished condition, with many soldiers in the field and ranging parties performing almost daily duty, and with the militia constantly guarding the forts. Agricultural interests were sadly neglected and many homes which, prior to that had been supplied with abundance, were reduced to absolute want. There were scarcely men enough during the Revolution to gather the scanty crops. Sometimes they were not permitted to sow their ground in the spring, and sometimes those who sowed amid the dangers from the Indians lurking in the forest, were unable to reap their harvest. Often the husband and older sons went to the

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fields in the morning and never returned, or perhaps on their return found their loved ones had been captured or murdered. Men, women and children were taken as prisoners and carried away, and frequently nothing was heard of them for months or years, and often they were never heard of again. This apparently never-ending warfare had induced the authorities of the government to from time to time, increase the bounty on the scalps of Indians. A person who was scalped is generally supposed to have been killed, though we have many instances of those who survived the injury. The scalping itself did not necessarily kill the victim, for it consisted in the taking of the skin from the crown of the head—a piece about four inches in circumference. This operation was performed by the savages by taking a firm hold of the hair with the left hand and when the skin was tightly drawn from the skull bone, a sharp knife readily severed a circular piece from the head. Scalping was a custom prevalent among the Indians in warfare among themselves, when the Europeans first arrived in America, and was probably then only used to verify the number of the enemy they had slain. The great greed for scalps among the Indians was superinduced by the rewards offered by the British. Many honest pioneers regarded the Indian as the natural enemy of the white man and it soon became the general belief that the only solution to the Indian question was the utter extermination of the race. From an early date the proprietaries of Pennsylvania had offered a bounty for the scalps of Indian warriors. In 1756, says Craig in "Early Pittsburg," Governor Morris offered one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars for every male Indian above the age of twelve years, taken prisoner and delivered to the authorities. For the scalp of every male Indian over twelve years taken in war, one hundred and thirty Spanish dollars were offered; for every male or female prisoner under twelve years old, taken alive, they offered one hundred and thirty Spanish dollars; for the scalp of every Indian woman produced with the evidence of being killed, fifty dollars. These bounties were paid by the commanders of the forts in Western Pennsylvania upon the delivery of the prisoners or the scalps, with the proper proofs of the manner in which they were taken. The jail keepers at the county seats were also authorized to pay for them. In 1764 Governor Penn offered a reward of one hundred and fifty dollars for every male Indian prisoner over ten years old, and one hundred and thirty-four dollars for his scalp when killed. For every male or female under ten years of age, when captured, he offered one hundred and thirty dollars, and fifty dollars for the scalp when killed. In 1782 there was a standing reward of one hundred dollars for a dead Indian scalp, and one hundred and fifty dollars for the Indian if captured alive and brought to the garrison at Fort Pitt. The same offer was made for white men who were taken prisoners while aiding the Indians. Colonel Samuel Hunter, Colonel Jacob Stroud and others in this section were authorized to offer these rewards. It is somewhat startling to the modern reader to notice the manner in which prominent men of that age wrote of this apparently inhuman system of warfare and rewards. In a letter to President Reed, Colonel Hunter says that he had just organized a party to go scalp hunting, and that, though they do not make as much money out of a dead Indian

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as out of a living one, yet it was much less trouble and much more agreeable to the hunters to shoot him at once and scalp him afterwards than to be bothered carrying him along as a prisoner. Colonel Archibald Lochry, who has been so prominently mentioned in these pages, wrote from his home near Latrobe that there was no doubt but that the reward would insure a good end. In the same letter he asks for more ammunition to supply a party of scalp hunters. Colonel Hunter reported later of an unsuccessful return of his party so far as securing scalps was concerned, and in reply President Reed wrote him a consoling letter, advising him to be of good cheer, and expressed a hope that another hunting excursion would prove more successful. Many scalps were thus taken, and on one occasion thirteen, with the accompanying certificates, were sent to Fort Pitt at one time. The scalp hunting business reached its highest point in 1781-1782, if the colonial records are to be believed. It must not be forgotten by the reader that the Indians were all these years engaged in the same business and were paid much higher rates by the English for scalping men, women and children, and even innocent babes.

This method of warfare was perhaps questionable, but the reader must remember that the exigencies of the times prompted it. The bounty was rarely ever taken by well established settlers. But whether the theory was right or wrong, the authorities never offered a bounty on the scalps of friendly Indians. Perhaps the average settler did not discriminate between a friendly and a hostile Indian, but nevertheless the government itself was actuated by good intentions toward all but the hostile warrior. The well known treachery of the race was ever present in the mind of the white man. The modern saying that the only good Indian is a dead one, undoubtedly existed in the minds of the rangers long ago. George Wilkinson, in the "American Pioneer", says the scalp bounty law was brought in disrepute by killing friendly Indians to sell their scalps. There was no bounty during part of the Revolution on Indian prisoners and this led to the death of some. Moreover, a friendly Indian was much more easily scalped than a hostile one. At all events the abuse of the law, says the above writer, "brought the scalp bounty measure into disrepute," and it was rightfully repealed. It had been offered mainly to encourage settlers to sustain the soldiers in battle.

Stephen Bayard was born January 23, 1744, of an old family in Maryland. The first years of his life were spent as a Philadelphia merchant, and in the beginning of the Revolution he raised a company in Philadelphia and was made its captain. The company at once became part of St. Clair's expedition to Quebec. Later he served under Richard Butler of Pittsburg, in the Eighth Regiment, and when it returned from Valley Forge, Bayard came to Pittsburg with it. He was a colonel under Brodhead in his expedition against the Indians in Ohio and also in the expedition up the Allegheny river. In 1781 he commanded a regiment at Fort Pitt. After the Revolution, Bayard located at Pittsburg and became a wealthy citizen. He had taken up large tracts of land on the Monongahela river and on one of these founded a boat building town which he named after his wife Elizabeth, and the town yet bears her name. In the War of 1812

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President Madison offered him a major-general's commission, but he wisely declined it because of his age. He died in Pittsburg on December 13, 1815.

George Wilson, lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment, was a native of Augusta county, Virginia. He had been an officer in the French and Indian War and had settled in the West shortly after its close. He was appointed a justice for this western district, first of Bedford county and later of Westmoreland county, and held the position for many years. He will be remembered as one of the trustees appointed to locate the county seat of Westmoreland, and also as a leading spirit in Dunmore's War, during which he was one of the three justices arrested by Connolly. He died, like Colonel Mackay, from the effects of the long march of the Eighth Regiment to New Jersey.

The Butler family was purely a Westmoreland and Pittsburg family and was the most noted one hailing from the West during the Revolution. Their father was Thomas Butler, who had been born in Ireland, and three of his sons, namely, Richard, William and Thomas, were also born there. Richard, as will be remembered, was lieutenant-colonel of Morgan's Rifle Regiment. From his first connection with the regiment he drilled them at all seasonable hours and much of the glory gained by them in battle was due to the pains he took in preparing them for future actions. He was with General Wayne when he charged up Stony Point and was prominent at last when Cornwallis was compelled to surrender to Washington. In 1790 he was appointed a major-general but unfortunately, as we have said, was killed the following year, 1791, while fighting the Indians in Ohio in St. Clair's celebrated battle. His brother, Thomas Butler, was a law student in Philadelphia in 1776 when the Revolution was raising the patriotic spirit of that city. He enlisted as a private and rose to the rank of captain, serving until the close of the war. It was Thomas Butler whom General Washington publicly thanked at the battle of Brandywine. At the battle of Monmouth he defended a dangerous ravine while his brother Richard's regiment was retreating through it. For this he received the special thanks of General Wayne. He was also in the battle of the Wabash with St. Clair in 1791 as commander of a battalion. When St. Clair in that battle ordered a bayonet charge against the Indians, Thomas Butler was on horseback and had had his leg broken by a ball, yet in this painful condition he led the charge. He was removed from the field by a third brother, Edward. Thomas died on September 5, 1805. Percival, the fourth son, was born in Carlisle and entered the Revolution when eighteen years of age as a lieutenant. He was at Valley Forge, Monmouth and Yorktown, and was greatly trusted by the great commander. He moved to Kentucky in 1784 and was adjutant-general of that state in the War of 1812. Edward Butler was too young to enter the Revolution, but was a captain in St. Clair's army in 1791, and in 1794 was an adjutant-general in General Wayne's army in its successful expedition against the western Indians, showing that he had in a high degree the military spirit so noted in his family. The mother of the Butlers was a strong-minded, patriotic woman who was willing to part with her husband and sons and endure the hardships which their absence added to her life, if by so doing the cause of the colonies might be advanced.

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It was probably this spirit that led Washington at his own private table, surrounded by army officers, to propose a toast, "The Butlers and their five sons." Lafayette at one time passed an equally great compliment to the family by saying that when he had a particularly difficult order to execute he gave it into the hands of one of the Butlers.

At the surrender of Cornwallis, Baron Steuben had command of the trenches at the time that overtures of surrender was sent out by the British. While the terms of capitulation were being considered by Washington and his generals, Lafayette's division marched up to relieve Steuben, the time for such relief having arrived. But the baron did not want to be relieved then for he knew that the great surrender, the most momentous incident in the Revolution, would soon be at hand, and had a pardonable desire to share in the honor of hoisting the flag. This question was laid before Washington, who decided that neither Baron Steuben nor Lafayette should hoist it, but that the honor should be conferred on Ebenezer Denny, of Pittsburg. But when the ensign was about to raise it and plant it on the rampart, Steuben, perhaps forgetting himself in the excitement of the moment, hurried forward, took the flag and hoisted it himself. Richard Butler thought this an insult to the Pennsylvania or the Pittsburg troops, and therefore challenged the baron to a duel. Both these men had rendered great service to the colonial army and there was now too much glory among the American troops to allow two of its best and most faithful officers to engage in a deadly conflict. But, nevertheless, it required all the efforts of Washington, Hamilton and Rochambeau to prevent the duel.

At the risk of being tedious we have tried to portray the sufferings of the Pittsburg people during the Revolution in as graphic a manner as the meager records will admit of. The pioneers had more important duties to perform than to make notes of the events of the day. The reader must remember that there was no newspaper published then in Western Pennsylvania and that for information concerning that period, we must depend largely upon letters, army orders and upon tradition. But enough has come down to us to give some idea of the hardships to which they were subjected. Perhaps the people scarcely realized that the surrender of Cornwallis meant in reality the close of the long contest. At all events there was no special demonstration when the "glorious news" was received. General Irvine issued the following order which was doubtless received with less joy than its true import warranted:

"General Irvine has the pleasure to congratulate the troops upon the great and glorious news. Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command, surrendered as prisoners of war, on the 19th of October last to the allied armies of America and France, under the immediate command of His Excellency, General Washington. The prisoners amount to upwards of five thousand regular troops, nearly two thousand Tories and as many negroes, besides a number of merchants and other followers. Thirteen pieces of artillery will be fired on this day at ten o'clock in the fort, at which time the troops will be under arms, with their colors displayed. The commissaries will issue a gill of whiskey extraordinary to the non-commissioned officers and privates upon this joyful occasion. November 6th, 1781."

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CHAPTER XIII.

Major-General Arthur St. Clair.

The most illustrious name connected with the pioneer days of Western Pennsylvania is that of Major-General Arthur St. Clair. Though he belongs to the nation, rather than to any particular locality, there are nevertheless many reasons, some of them now almost forgotten, why Pittsburg people should be particularly interested in his life and character.

He was the prime mover in the project which first spread civil government over the unsettled West in 1773, by the formation of Westmoreland county; he was the first to see and advocate the importance of making Pittsburg a county seat; he stood first as the leader of the people in resisting the invading army of Dunmore, who claimed this territory for Virginia, and there is little truth in the records of that day, if it is not a grave doubt that, but for him, the cause would have been abandoned or lost by the pioneers, and the territory relinquished to the Old Dominion. It was he, moreover, who, in the Hannastown convention, inspired the first public declaration against the tyranny of Great Britain, and it was he who drilled the young men of this section and led them to the front in the beginning of the Revolution. Long after this, as governor of Ohio, he opened up and implanted the civil law in the great West under the Ordinance of 1787, a movement which more than any other, induced Pittsburg to first engage in manufacturing. These matters have each been discussed in their places in other chapters, and need not be more than mentioned here.

Arthur St. Clair was born in Scotland and came from one of the most noted British families. His people were of Norman birth and in the line of his ancestry, were dukes, earls, lords and knights, many of whom had battled for English and Scotch supremacy, and whose names have for centuries been embalmed in the poetic and legendary lore of English story. He was splendidly educated and at twenty-three was a student in London when the French and Indian war broke out. General James Wolfe was raising an army for service in Canada, then under the dominion of the French government. William Pitt had recently became prime minister, and under the enthusiasm which he created, young men from every calling in life abandoned their pursuits and enlisted in the services of the Crown. War was shaking both Europe and America and

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under the exciting sound of the bugle and the steady tread of grenadiers, St. Clair, like others, could not resist. With an ensigns's commission dated May 13, 1757, he sailed for America with Admiral Edward Boscawen's fleet. He was in the army of General Jeffrey Amherst, whose object was to capture the northern forts, and was in the division of the army commanded by General Wolfe. He began his military life therefore, in one of the most daring and romantic campaigns in American history. He was with the army the night they silently floated down the St. Lawrence, and heard Wolfe repeat the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard,* and heard him say he would rather be the author of that poem than to take Quebec.

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

He was among those who in the darkness clambered up the hitherto impassable Heights of Abraham and was near the brave young Englishman when he received his death wound and when the victorious shout recalled for a moment his departing spirit. He was in the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment, which had been organized by the Duke of Cumberland for services in the colonies, and with him to inspire him to deeds of glory, were such men as Lawrence, Monckton, Murray and Bouquet, names without whose heroism in battle the annals of the French and Indian War would be tame indeed.

When Quebec was taken it was garrisoned by the English and for a time St. Clair remained in the fortress. A part of the Sixtieth Regiment was then sent to Boston, which was then the leading city of the colonies after Philadelphia. While stationed there he was united in marriage with Phoebe Bayard, a relative of the Temples, the Winthrops and the Bowdoins, and who was, in every way, a woman of patrician birth. With her he received a legacy of 14,000 pounds, a princely fortune for those days. Shortly after this he resigned his commission in the English army and removed to western Pennsylvania, where he acted for some years as agent of the Penns. In 1767 he was made commander of Fort Ligonier by General Thomas Gage, who was then in command of the English armies in America. While thus engaged he took up large tracts of land for himself and soon became a man of affluence and prominence in the community.

His correspondence with the leading men of Philadelphia during the years of unrest which immediately preceded the Revolution shows clearly that though he had been an English army officer, he was in no danger of becoming a Tory. The impartial reader cannot but regard his espousal of the cause of the colonies as one of the boldest and most independent acts in his eventful life. The centuries of royal blood in his veins, his every tie of kindred, his services in the English army and his long and intimate associations with the Penns, all of whom, save one, were Tories, apparently bound him indissolubly to Great

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Britain. But these bonds were as gossamer threads to him when they conflicted with the rights of the oppressed colonies.

In 1775 the Indians in the Detroit region were much given to making raids on the East, and St. Clair was appointed to raise an army to move against them. He enlisted about five hundred young men in southwestern Pennsylvania, each of whom was to furnish his own horse, provisions, arms, etc. At the same time General Benedict Arnold, with a division of the Colonial army, was moving towards Quebec, and all interests centered there. St. Clair went to Philadelphia to urge his Detroit expedition before the continental congress. But instead of sending him and his army to Detroit, he was called into the Revolution, where it was thought his services would be of greater value. He was commissioned a colonel in the Colonial army and was assigned to duty around Philadelphia, where he recruited, drilled and provisioned volunteers. On entering the Revolution he wrote these fervent words: "I hold that no man has the right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must be yielded upon the altar of patriotism." Hardly did he imagine how great his sacrifice would be. His first duty in the actual field of war was to take a regiment of six companies to Quebec, where Arnold had been the victim of misfortune. He was familiar with the St. Lawrence region and suggested the fortification of Three Rivers to prevent additional British transports from reaching Quebec. To his surprise he was given command of this important point by General Sullivan. Though General Thompson afterwards reinforced St. Clair, all were driven back by superior numbers, and by an unlooked-for union between the Canadians and the English. With the assistance of the people of Canada, the army could easily have overpowered the British. But contrary to Washington's expectation, the people of Quebec and of Canada generally did not desire a union with the Colonies, and as a result the Colonial army retired from Canada though they retired with their colors flying. For these services St. Clair was made a brigadier-general and was called to Washington's army, then in its well managed retreat before General Howe across New Jersey. He was now for the first time under the eye and direct command of the great chief and fought with him under his direction at White Plains. He was with the army when they crossed the Delaware preparatory to their march on Trenton and had command in conjunction with General Sullivan, of the division of the army which took the river road, Washington and Greene leading the other division. He shared in no small degree, the victory over the Hessians, and no battle in the Revolution did as much to strengthen the cause of the colonies as this. It is claimed by all of St. Clair's biographers and even by St. Clair himself, that he suggested to Washington the movement which culminated in the victory at Princeton a few days later. He directed the details of the march and his brigade, composed of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, with two six-pounders, marched at the head of the advancing army. For St. Clair's part in these two battles, he was made a major-general on February 19th following, on the recommendation of Washington. It may

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also be mentioned in this connection that he was the only officer from Pennsylvania who became a major-general during the Revolution. Others were brevetted after the war closed, but to him alone came this honor during its continuance.

The outlook for the Colonial army in the summer of 1777 was a very gloomy one. Washington's army was unclothed, unfed and was almost ready to disband. This condition of affairs moved the British to greater efforts, hoping thereby to stamp out the rebellion at once. They set about to divide the colonies by a line of English strongholds going up the Hudson, thence by Lake George and Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence river. General Burgoyne's army was already in Canada and his purpose was to march south by the lakes and unite with General Clinton's army, which was to pass up the Hudson from New York. This, we need scarcely add, would have hopelessly divided the colonies and by stopping all communication between them, would probably have compelled their armies to disband. Ticonderoga was then in the possession of the Colonial Army and was situated between Lake Champlain and Lake George. While it was held by our army, Burgoyne's army coming south, could not unite with Clinton's army going north. St. Clair's success, particularly at Princeton, prompted Washington to send him to Ticonderoga to take command of and hold this important point. He was given about 2,200 men in all, a force that was entirely inadequate, but as St. Clair well knew, it was the best which Washington could do. The victories in the Revolution were won by taking desperate chances, and no one was more willing to make sacrifices with even a slight hope of success than St. Clair. Burgoyne's army came down to Lake Champaign and attacked Ticonderoga in June, 1777. Near by was a high, rocky promontory called Mount Defiance, which overlooked and practically commanded it. This was inaccessible to the Continental Army because of their weakness, and, moreover, St. Clair's army was too small to occupy and hold Ticonderoga and Mount Defiance both. Burgoyne found that he could not capture Ticonderoga without fortifying Mount Defiance. He therefore with ropes and tackle, hoisted cannon to its crest and placed on it sufficient arms and men to overcome Ticonderoga. The French, English and American armies had all regarded Mount Defiance as inaccessible. The top of the mountain now bristled with the enemy's arms. St. Clair and his officers saw at once that ten thousand men could not hold Ticonderoga and that he must either retreat or be captured. The army retreated the following night, going towards Hubbardstown and Castleton, thirty miles away. The British followed them and several small engagements ensued, in which St. Clair's army lost not less than a thousand men. But to follow St. Clair, Burgoyne was compelled to divide his army, and this division gave General Horatio Gates an opportunity which he seized and very soon forced Burgoyne to surrender his entire army at Saratoga. All the blame was, for a time, put on St. Clair. In reporting his retreat he wrote these words: "I know I could save my reputation by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world could not re-

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store, and which it cannot take away, the approbation of my own conscience." He did not further defend himself, but quietly asked for a court of inquiry. A very able one was finally granted, with Major-General Benjamin Lincoln as president. The court martial entirely exonerated St. Clair "of all and every charge against him with the highest honor." He was warmly congratulated by the leading men of the nation, but the letter from Lafayette was perhaps the most cherished of all. "I cannot tell you," wrote the eminent French general, "how much my heart was interested in anything that happened to you, and how I rejoiced, not that you were acquitted, but that your conduct was examined."

Let us look further into his reasons for retreating, for the facts brought out by the court martial speak very eloquently in favor of St. Clair. Burgoyne's army, when he met St. Clair, numbered 7,863, while St. Clair had less than 2,200, all of whom were ill-fed and but half clad. Burgoyne surrendered 142 heavy guns, while St. Clair had less than 100 second rate cannon of various sizes and they were served by inexperienced men. It is scarcely necessary to defend his retreat in this age of general intelligence. The *United States Gazette* in speaking of his defense before the court of inquiry, said: "His defense on that occasion is still extant and exhibits a sample of profound generalship. Whilst the English language shall be admired it will continue to be an example of martial eloquence." It is easy now to see the wisdom of St. Clair's retreat, for by a letter written at that time it is known that he foresaw the effect his retreat would have on General Burgoyne; that he would prove careless in following up so weak a foe, with the result that a strong blow might result in the capture of his scattered forces. In view of this, St. Clair wrote that by "abandoning a post" he hoped he would "eventually save a state."

After this he was with the army at Brandywine and Valley Forge and was then detailed to organize Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops and send them to the front as rapidly as possible. When Arnold turned traitor Washington scarcely knew whom to trust, but with implicit confidence, he selected St. Clair to take charge of West Point. He was then selected to sit with Greene, La-Fayette, Clinton, Knox, Stark, etc., as a member of the most noted military jury that ever sat in this country, to try the unfortunate Major André. They were selected because of their high character both as soldiers and civilians and because they were educated in the military history of Europe. They unanimously reported that André should be considered as a spy and should suffer death.

During the closing scenes of the Revolution when the war-worn armies had practically surrounded the British at Yorktown, St. Clair was in daily consultation with Washington and was not by any means, the least of those illustrious men who stood guard at the final moment, when the long contest was decided in favor of the colonies.

In 1783 he was elected a member of the council of Pennsylvania and two years later become a member of congress. In 1787 he was elected president of congress, then practically the highest office in the government, and which can only be compared to the present office of president of the United States, a pos-

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ition not then created, but which came with the constitution in 1787. It was this congress over which he presided, which provided for the convention by which the constitution of the United States was formed.

It is usual to consider St. Clair as a military character alone, while in reality he was one of the statesmen of the Revolutionary period and united a very extensive knowledge of letters, of history and of the classics, with his military life. His strongest points are indeed shown in his civil and political life. While yet in congress he became a Federalist in principle, though the party was scarcely formed yet. Under the celebrated Ordinance of 1787 he was appointed governor of the Northwestern Territory, which embraced all the country belonging to us then west of the Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river. His prerogatives as governor were very extensive. He was not only the executive officer of the territory, but the law-giver as well. He appointed judges, and these in council, with himself, had the power to make laws for the government of the territory. The government which he thus organized extended over a territory which now constitutes five of the leading states of the Union, and has a population of over sixteen millions. The states are: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Other duties which devolved upon him were to erect counties, appoint officers, build forts, found towns and establish military roads, etc. In 1791 he went down the Ohio river to Fort Washington, where he organized a county and named it Hamilton, after Alexander Hamilton, the distinguished leader of the Federalists, who was St. Clair's life-long personal friend. The new town around the fort he named Cincinnati, in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati, a new organization among the officers of the Continental army of which St. Clair himself was a shining light and president of the Pennsylvania division.

Throughout the West he met the old enemy of the white man. They had been driven west gradually and were now committing many depredations on the Ohio frontier. General Harmar was sent against them in 1790, but his army was badly defeated. In 1791 General St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief and vested with a military power in his territory which corresponded with his title. An army of 2,000 regular soldiers was at his disposal and he tried to strengthen it by calling out the militia. Visiting Philadelphia, at that time the capital of the United States, President Washington gave him special caution about the danger of surprises in Indian warfare. In September the army left Fort Washington for the Indian country. There were three regiments of regulars in the infantry, two companies of artillery and one of cavalry. Six hundred militia joined them as they marched towards the enemy. They were compelled to cut a road through the wilderness and their progress was necessarily slow. On the Miami river they erected Fort Hamilton, some distance farther on they erected Fort Washington, and still later came Fort Jefferson, and at each fort was left a small garrison. Shortly after they left Fort Jefferson, as they were nearing danger, one of the militia regiments deserted bodily. Of the militia, Washington Irving says they were recruited from the worst element

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in Ohio. Enervated by debauchery, idleness, drunkenness, and by every species of vice, it was impossible, in a short campaign, to fit them for the arduous duties of Indian warfare. Even their officers were without discipline and were not accustomed to being under a commander. Though they were useless in a campaign, they had threatened the supply train which was following, when they deserted, and St. Clair was compelled to greatly weaken his forces by sending the First Regiment of Regulars in pursuit of the deserters. His army then numbered about one thousand four hundred, with less than three hundred militia. St. Clair knew that this army was not fitted to meet the Indians, but the matter was urgent, for the Indians, emboldened by Harmar's defeat, were daily committing depredations on the frontier. He had learned in the Revolution that a small army, by taking desperate chances, could often win a brilliant victory. There was, there is no doubt, but that he could have won, with a reasonable time given to discipline his army, but winter was fast approaching, supplies were scarce, Indian outrages on the sturdy settlers were increasing, and there was nothing left for him to do but go against the enemy at once.

On the night of November 3d, they emcamped on the head waters of the Wabash. The general, with the engineers, immediately laid out plans for a proposed "works of defense" which they were to erect the following day, and there await the arrival of the deserting regiment and the regiment sent in its pursuit. They were not supposed to be yet in the Indian country. But with the break of the following day, came the Indian attack. With their usual cunning, they fired first on the line of the militia, which at once fell back in confusion on the regulars. They were followed by swarms of Indians, some of whom passed beyond the first ranks and tomahawked officers and soldiers who had been carried back to have their wounds dressed. In a short time the entire army was over-run by Indians and completely routed. St. Clair was suffering from a fever. Irving says that "The veteran St. Clair, unable to mount his horse, was borne about on a litter and preserved his coolness in the midst of the peril and disaster, giving his orders with judgment and self-possession." With him was Colonel Drake, of the Revolution, and the Butlers, of Pittsburg, all of whom had won honors in the Great war and had seen much service in the almost constant warfare with the Indians around Pittsburg. Bayonet charges ordered by the general dispersed the Indians for a brief time, but they almost instantly swarmed again from the tall grass, and seemingly in increased numbers. With all came showers of arrows, the wounds of which were more painful and exasperating than those of bullets. St. Clair's soldiers were necessarily more or less in line, and this seemed only to aid the Indians in their peculiar style of warfare. St. Clair did not require a litter to carry him from place to place except at the beginning of the contest. When the battle raged and his forces began to wane, the excitement brought back his strength as though the vigor of his youth had been renewed. Eight balls passed through his clothes and hat, one of which cut the hair from the side of his head. Two

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horses were killed under him just as he had been helped to mount them. For an hour or so, no horse being near, he moved about on foot and surprised all who saw him by the agility he displayed. When again exhausted, he was placed upon a pack horse, the only one that could be procured, and though scarcely able to prick him out of a walk, he rode him till the battle closed. Adjutant General Winthrop Sargent, in a private diary, particularly mentions "St. Clair's coolness and bravery, though debilitated by illness." After the battle had lasted about three hours, there was little left for the army to do but retreat, and this was at best but little less than a confusion. Hundreds of soldiers threw away their arms and fled towards the fort. Though countless acts of heroism and daring courage, which have challenged the praise and admiration of four generations and will live as long as any war stories of our border history, were performed, yet the result was nevertheless most disastrous. There were five hundred and ninety-three reported killed and two hundred and fourteen wounded.

After the result of the battle became known, a bitter feeling arose throughout the Union against St. Clair. The real situation, had it been known as it is now, would have thoroughly defended him against blame, but the means of circulating any explanation of the defeat were extremely limited, and most people knew nothing of the battle except the general result and the number of killed and wounded. At. St. Clair's request, therefore, a congressional committee was appointed to investigate the entire affair and report their findings. They reported as follows:

"The committee conceive it but justice to the Commander-in-chief to say that in their opinion the failure of the late expedition can in no respect, be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action, but that as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnishes strong testimonies of his coolness and integrity."

St. Clair, through Washington, tendered the benefit of his information concerning the enemy to his successor, General Anthony Wayne, whereupon Washington replied, "Your wishes to afford your successor all the information of which you are capable, although unnecessary for any personal conviction, must be regarded as additional evidence of the goodness of your heart and your attachment to your country." General Wayne succeeded St. Clair in 1792 and after drilling his army for over two years, gave battle in August, 1794, and completely overthrew the Indians.

St. Clair has been more or less censured for not throwing up breast works on the night of November 3, notwithstanding the greatly fatigued condition of his army. The critics forget that an enemy confronted him which did not fight by the rules of civilized warfare. Breastworks such as an army could construct in a night would have been utterly futile as a defense against the savages. It must be remembered that the Indians fought like wild animals

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and that the only defense against them was a stockade or other obstruction which they could not surmount. Such were the fortifications that St. Clair built on his march from Cincinnati, but it was impossible to build one in a night. Bouquet was by far the most successful Indian fighter of his day and in his greatest contest and victory at Bushy Run, he fought the enemy all afternoon and until night-fall temporarily ended the battle. He could then have thrown up breastworks in the night as a protection against the enemy in the more terrible contest which he knew would follow with the earliest dawn. Such an idea certainly never entered his mind. Like St. Clair he knew too well the methods of Indian warfare not to realize that such earthworks, though potent against drilled troops, would have been no protection whatever against the howling demons around him; indeed both commanders must have known, that breastworks in either instance would have but aided the savages by confining the troops to a position that was not, in any way, inaccessible to them.

No intelligent student of history holds now that St. Clair should have been expected to hold Ticonderoga against Burgoyne's army, or that his army was properly equipped and drilled to go against the Indians in 1791. Both these disasters were unfortunate for St. Clair's memory, for even in our highly educated and considerate age there are some who seemingly forget the great achievements of both his military and civil life, and remember him largely in connection with his last battle.

St. Clair remained as governor of the Ohio territory until the beginning of Thomas Jefferson's administration, in all about fifteen years. He was all this time a Federalist and had unbounded faith in the centralized power doctrine as advocated by Alexander Hamilton. The people of Ohio were, moreover, anxious to form a state, and this could be brought about only through Jefferson's friends, for by that time the anti-Federalists were in power. Jefferson therefore removed him in 1802, and the same year Ohio came into the Union.

St. Clair's first home in Western Pennsylvania was in Bedford. After two years' residence there he became commander of Fort Ligonier in 1767. During the Revolution his family resided in Pottsgrove, now Pottstown, near Philadelphia. When he returned from Ohio he built Hermitage Furnace near his residence, a mile north of Ligonier, hoping thereby to recuperate his well-nigh exhausted fortune. For a time he manufactured pig iron and castings, the former for Pittsburg iron masters. He also rebuilt a flouring mill which he had built on his estate before the Revolution and which he gave to his nieghbors for their use during the war. But his creditors pressed upon him and in 1808 he was sold out by the sheriff. The most lamentable feature of his financial embarrassment is that his debts were nearly all contracted in the interests of the state and nation and should have been paid by them and not by St. Clair. During his last years he presented memorials to the state legislature and to the national congress, asking, not for charity, but for a simple re-imbursement of the money he had expended in the public interest. No single statement of these memor-

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ials has ever been denied or even questioned. In one of them he explains his situation by saying that when he entered the Revolution, he could not leave his young wife, born and bred in the best society in Boston, alone with her children on the unprotected frontier. So he was compelled to sell real estate in Western Pennsylvania at a great sacrifice, so that he might purchase a house in Pottsgrove for his family to reside in while he was in the army. This tract of land, he says he sold for 2,000 pounds in deferred payments, but the purchaser paid him in depreciated Continental currency, so that out of the purchase money he received only one hundred pounds. On selling his Pottsgrove house he lost the one-half by the bankruptcy of the purchaser. He says further, that beginning in 1774, he supplied nearly all the forts and block houses in Westmoreland county with arms and means of defense at his own expense. In a memorial to congress he says that in the darkest days of the Revolution, when Washington's soldiers were daily deserting him, and the army rapidly melting away because they had not been paid, Washington himself applied to St. Clair to save the Pennsylvania Line, the best organization in the entire army. St. Clair says that he accordingly advanced the money for recruiting and for bounty and put forth such other influence that, with the aid of Colonel William Butler, the Line was saved. The indebtedness which directly caused the sale of his real estate was contracted for the government while he was governor of the Ohio territory. When the army for the campaign of 1791 was collected it was found that the money appropriated by congress was not sufficient to equip it. St. Clair gave his bond for the amount necessary to move the army. All successive efforts to secure an appropriation covering this amount were fruitless. The bond was given on the express promise of the secretary of the treasury that it would be repaid. It probably would have been had Hamilton remained in office, but the new party was adverse to making good the amounts expended by the Federalists. There was hope, however, while Hamilton lived, for he better than any other, knew of the justice of the claim. St. Clair, with no desire whatever to contest the validity of the bond, came into the Westmoreland courts and confessed a judgment against his real estate for the face of the bond with interest, in August, 1803. The face of the bond was $7,042. Payments had been made on it, so that at the time of the sale in 1808 it amounted to $10,632.17. The sales took place in 1808-09-10, when the Embargo had driven all the money out of the country, and all his property, though valued at $50,000, was sold and did not bring more than the amount of the debt, interest and costs. The residence and the furnace were sold for $4,000, though the furnace and mill alone had been rented by him for $3,000 per year. The first sale took place, as the Westmoreland dockets show, in June, 1808, and the last tract was sold on October 15, 1810. His creditors did not stop with the sale of his real estate, but sold also his personal property, all of it save a few articles which he selected as exempt from sale. Among the articles was one bed and bedding, a few books from his English library, and among them was his favorite, Horace, whose classic

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beauty of verse he had long admired, and a bust of John Paul Jones, King of the Seas, presented to him and sent by Jones himself from Paris.

The assembly of Pennsylvania pensioned him, and in 1817, a year before his death, increased it to fifty dollars per month. Congress, the same year, being urged by Henry Clay and others, granted him sixty dollars per month and dated it back a year. This was attached by his creditors before it left the treasury, for there was then no law to prevent it, and St. Clair never received one cent of it.

Soon after the sale of his property in Ligonier he was turned out of house and home. His son Daniel owned a tract of land on the Chestnut Ridge, on the Old State Road, about six miles west of Ligonier, and to this the brave old general and his family removed. Broken with the storms of more than three score years and ten, saddened by the memories of the past, and denied by ingratitude that which was justly due him from the state and nation, he quietly awaited the last roll call. To secure bread for his family he entertained travelers, though his house was only a four-roomed log cabin. To a truly altruistic man like General St. Clair, who had really given of his abundance with a profligate hand to the weak and destitute, his poverty was a bright and shining crown of glory which now adds only to his greatness. St. Clair at no time in the army appeared so well as when, under adverse circumstances, he tried to save an army or prevent its destruction. So it may have been that in the poverty of his declining years, his true greatness asserted itself and shone forth all the more brilliantly. He readily forgot that the nation had taken the best years of his life and much of his property, and that now in penury, another generation refused to recompense him. The last pen picture of him we have describes him in the log cabin, as he appeared but three years before his death. It was written by Elisha Whittlesey, who was over sixteen years in congress from the Giddings Garfield district in Ohio and afterwards an auditor of the United States treasury, so that by a life of association with distinguished men, he could recognize true greatness when in its presence. His letter is as follows:

In 1815, three persons and myself performed a journey from Ohio to Connecticut on horseback in the month of May. Having understood that General St. Clair kept a small tavern on the ridge east of Greensburg, I proposed that we stop at his house and spend the night. He had no grain for our horses, and, after spending an hour with him in the most agreeable and interesting conversation, respecting his early knowledge of the Northwestern Territory, we took our leave of him with deep regret. I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of veneration and esteem. He wore a citizen's dress of black of the Revolution; his hair was clubbed and powdered. When we entered he arose with dignity and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log house of the western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. Chestnut Ridge was bleak and barren. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood if not in view, of a large estate at

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Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, as I have at times understood, was sacrified to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose self-respect, and were he now living, his personal appearance would commend universal admiration.

Some patriotic women of New York, hearing of his needs in his old age, sent him a present of four hundred dollars. In reply he wrote them as follows, though we quote only the first part of the letter: "To soothe affliction is certainly the happy privilege and is the appropriate privilege of the fair sex. And although I feel all I can feel for the relief brought to myself, their attention to my daughters touches me most. Had I not met with distress I should not, perhaps, have known their worth. Though all their prospects in life, and they were once very flattering, have been blasted, not a sigh, not a murmur, has been allowed to escape them in my presence, and all their plans have been directed to rendering my reverses less affecting to me; and yet I can truly testify that it is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me a moment's pain."

St. Clair did not seek pity nor charity. On one occasion he and Findley, who was then in congress, were talking, perhaps concerning measures for St. Clair's reimbursement. Findley was then a man of power and wealth, while St. Clair was almost in penury. Findley with perhaps the kindliest feelings, said: "General, I pity your case and heartily sympathize with you." Whereupon the old warrior, though bowed with the weight of many years, proudly drew himself up and with flashing eyes said, "I am sorry, sir, but I cannot appreciate your sympathy." At another time, toasted at a militia muster by a thoughtless admirer as "the brave but unfortunate St. Clair," he drew his sword in an instant and demanded that the offender retract his words. He would not be complimented and commiserated in a single breath; his achievements in the service of England and America, in war and in peace, were deserving of all glory without a compromising word of pity or regret.

The residence sold from him was one and a half miles north of Ligonier. It is all gone now, save one room, torn down perhaps by the ruthless hand of an ignorant iconoclast who neither knew nor cared for its tender memories. The room preserved is the parlor, and its quaintly devised woodwork, the mantlepiece and wainscoating doubtless saved it from destruction. It is now in possession of Mr. H. S. Denny, who appreciates and preserves it because of its historic associations. Vying in stately simplicity of design and in rich interior with the woodwork of our best homes in modern times, it bids fair to bear down to coming generations one of the few splendid specimens of Colonial architecture in Western Pennsylvania. The old house on the Ridge, where he spent the last years of his life, has long since disappeared.

On August 30, 1818, while driving down the Ridge, he likely sustained a paralytic stroke, since for some reason he fell from his wagon and lay unconscious by the road side. He was soon found and taken to his log cabin, where he died the day following, without regaining consciousness. The citizens of Greensburg, on learning of his death, called a public meeting at the court house,

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where appropriate resolutions were adopted and a committee appointed to wait on the family and ask that the Greensburg cemetery, since called St. Clair cemetery, be selected as his final resting place. With this request the family complied. Here then, on the bleak and lonely mountain side, in an humble log cabin of pioneer days, lived and died the friend and companion of Washington, Greene, Steuben, LaFayette, Hamilton, Franklin, Wayne, Sullivan and Schuyler, and in no small degree did he share their glory. When the Revolution closed he was one of the leading men of the new nation, whether considered as a gentleman, a soldier, a scholar or a statesman. Phoebe Bayard, his wife, survived him but nineteen days and was then buried by his side. She was a true matron of the Revolution. Though brought up in the best circles of Boston, she willingly accepted her hard life on the rude frontier, and bore its privations and sufferings with great fortitude and without complaint. Both she and her illustrious husband contributed greatly to the welfare and prosperity of Western Pennsylvania in its pioneer days, but practically nothing has been done for them in return. Their heroic privations, self-sacrifices and deeds of noble daring should be written on the scroll of the nation's history as a perpetual incentive to coming generations to preserve the rich heritage of freedom made possible by such illustrious examples of true nobility.

In 1832, an humble monument was erected over his grave by the Masonic fraternity, and its mute inscription speaks eloquently and truthfully of the neglect of the people of Western Pennsylvania. "The earthly remains of Major-General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

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CHAPTER XIV.

Tories—Early Forts and Block Houses.

It is well for the reader to remember that the Indians were not the only enemies the Pittsburg and other western Pennsylvania people had to contend against. They were harrassed on all sides it is true, first by the French and Indians; later by Dunmore and Connolly outlaws, and still later by an alliance between the English soldiers during the Revolution and the Indians who opposed them in every possible way. This may have been considered legitimate warfare on the theory that anything which would weaken and sap the strength from the enemy was allowable on the part of those carrying on the war. It is probable also that the English government at home never knew of the inhuman results of their alliance with the Indians. The idea that the crown of England authorized an alliance which they knew would result in the butchery of innocent men, women and children in that age of the world is abhorrent to human reason and indeed is at war with the well established reputation of the English people. In addition to these sources of annoyance there were a few disreputable white men who allied themselves with the Indians and became leaders more brutal than the most savage Indian warriors. These men left civilization, and joining the various Indian tribes, adopted the mode of life and warfare of their new associates. What induced them to do this can never be definitely known. In some cases it is known that they were deserters from the American army who were afraid to return, and being likewise outcasts from their own communities, went over to the enemy, but oftener to the Indians. Most generally it is believed their actions were due largely to the rewards offered on the part of the French and later of the English government for scalps. At all events they were more dangerous to and more feared by the white settlers than the Indians were, because they knew their weak points, knew the territory and knew more about the individual bravery or weakness of the people than the Indians did. When, therefore, a band of Indians under the leadership of one of those depraved wretches, actuated by a hatred for the law-abiding members of their race, came down upon a settlement it was indeed a most formidable and blood-thirsty onslaught. These white leaders, moreover, had great power over the Indians, more indeed than the Indian chiefs had themselves. They could at a word re-

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lease a prisoner at the stake around whose naked limbs flames were slowly creeping, or could have him stripped, tied to a tree and slowly tortured to death, as they wished or ordered. The Indians cared little for the gold of the French or the English, but were willing to commit any outrage for bright beads, blankets and rum, while the renegade whites cared but little for these articles but took the gold of their allies as their share of the booty. A great deal of the early trouble in and about Pittsburg was traceable to these outlaws, for here the more prominent had lived in former years and regarded this as their headquarters. Their names for generations have been held in abhorrence by the pioneers and their descendants. There were three conspicuous men among them who surpassed all others. They were Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, and by far the boldest and most inhuman was the former. More than 125 years have passed away since his evil deeds were perpetrated on our people, yet his name is still a name of infamy. He had adopted the life of the Mingo Indians, with whom he generally associated, though he went on raids with other tribes, but always as a leader. He knew Pittsburg and all of the western country, knowing the people, the houses, their strength and their places of refuge as well as any man in the country. He was therefore not likely to lead the Indian invaders into a stronghold where they might be captured and this important feature of his leadership was well known to them. He had been a trapper in early life and later a trader among the Indians of the Ohio valley. Mention is made of him in some of the early writings in this capacity even as early as 1749. He was frequently with Connolly's band of marauders who terrorized Pittsburg and the surrounding community. He often led smaller parties in the absence of Connolly and it is supposed that he led one of the parties which broke open the jail at Hannastown to release his allies who were incarcerated. He worked all over western Pennsylvania and Ohio and committed more depredations here in southwestern Pennsylvania than any other. He was utterly without pity in his make-up. Alexander McKee operated here less than Girty and Matthew Elliott less than either of them, but neither of them was as brutal and inhuman as Girty. McKee had formerly acquired land in the region of Pittsburg and was then a man of good standing. He had been a justice of peace appointed among those first in commission in Westmoreland county and hence frequently sat on the bench in the early courts at Hannastown. For some years he was a respected member of the court and the community. He forsook the white race and, like Girty, committed acts of brutality against the people which have forever consigned his name to infamy.

These briefly referred to border troubles made it necessary for our western people to protect themselves by garrisons and militia companies and often to call for assistance from the Colonial Army. This explains why it was necessary to build, repair and keep up old forts during and even after the Revolutionary War, and long after Connolly's Army had been disbanded, though the actual field of operation of the Revolutionary struggle was several hundred miles to the east of us. Forts and armed soldiers thus were indispensable. When a

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foray was made by the Indians into any town or settlement, the people ran for their lives to the nearest block-house. Though they were able when within the block-house to defend themselves, starvation would soon compel them to surrender, but a swift riding messenger could soon communicate with the nearest garrison, whose soldiers were at all times ready to hasten to their relief. The Indians knew this and did not dare to tarry long in one community. This was done time without number and the relief came largely from Pittsburg for the western section of the state, as the reader will see later on. Without these garrisoned forts to draw on, the early settlements around Pittsburg would have been literally devastated and the people either murdered or driven east of the Allegheny mountains, or perhaps taken captives to the North, where many of the Indians during the Revolution hailed from. And it must be remembered that the garrisons then were weak and at best but poorly equipped, although they were as strong as the new government, struggling for its first foothold, could afford.

There were four structures built by the pioneers for defense against the Indians or against any other attacking party. They were called forts, block-houses, block-house cabins and stockades. When either of the first two had a stockade in addition, it was properly called a stockade fort or stockade block-house. Block-houses were often called forts, and perhaps the general resemblance to them and the method of construction warranted this somewhat extravagant designation. A first-class fort was usually surrounded by a stockade. A block-house was not very securely guarded and was invariably made of heavy logs and in construction differed but little from the log houses of last century which all have seen but which are rapidly passing away. The heavy logs were used to give strength to the building and were generally unhewn. A block-house was often large enough to accommodate many families in times of distress. The first story was built from nine to eleven feet high, then another story was begun on the top of the first, but the logs of the second story projected generally from two to three feet beyond the lower story. By this second story projecting, if the Indians were to attack the house below, they could be readily shot by the inmates of the upper story firing down on them. The upper story was made six or seven feet high and had port holes in its walls through which to fire at the assailants. The block-house was only a place of refuge in times of Indian incursions and was not designed as a dwelling house or permanent place of abode. Block-houses were almost universally constructed by the neighbors in a community who united to cut the timber and erect them as places of public safety. They were not strong enough to resist an attack made by an enemy with heavy guns. They were a splendid barrier against the Indians, whose implements of warfare were almost exclusively confined to muskets or rifles, bows and arrows, tomahawks and scalping knives.

The English government while they were in possession of the country generally built forts. They were more substantially built than the block-houses and were made strong enough to resist an attack of heavy guns as heavy guns

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were then. The best of them, we need scarcely add, would be mere kindling wood against the heavy guns of today. All forts, block-houses or stockade forts built by the English army were constructed under the supervision of their best engineers and according to the methods laid down by the authorities on military tactics, and were built in the best manner then practicable in the new country. Accurate drawings and pictures of these structures were made by the engineers and sent to the war department of England, where they were carefully filed away. The same method to some extent was afterward pursued by the Colonial army, so that we have in the English and American Archives accurate drawings of many of these structures. The stockades of the forts or block-houses in this section were all made of logs. Fort Ligonier, as the reader will remember, was the first fort built by the English west of the Allegheny mountains, being built by Forbes' army in 1758. Its construction was determined by Colonel Henry Bouquet and superintended by Colonel James Burd, and was built by the army on its way to capture Fort Duquesne. It was not completed by the English at that time but was subsequently finished after the manner designed by them and was kept up as a fort for many years. The place of its location was on a high bluff, with almost a perpendicular wall of projecting rocks between the fort and the Loyalhanna creek. This afforded a natural barrier against the approach of an enemy from the South, the fort at its highest point being about ninety-four feet above the water of the Loyalhanna. It had also a natural fortification, to a great extent on the north side, for there lay a deep ravine which came from a spring toward the East. These natural fortifications are yet visible but all else concerning the fort has long since been obliterated. The stockade was about 100 feet square, with large diamond-shaped bastions or extensions at the corners so that all of its walls were capable of protection from within these bastions. The stockade was made of logs from ten to twelve feet long and set firmly in the ground. These logs were mostly split and the flat surface turned outward. They were called palisades and were set so closely that they touched each other. They were reinforced with others behind them which were so arranged to to close up the spaces that might be made by the palisades not fitting close together and they added strength to the structure. A strong piece of timber called a ribbon was thoroughly fastened to the palisades at the top to brace the whole structure and give it a more equal power of resistance at every point and to keep the palisades from sagging. In that part of the fort which was most likely to be attacked this horizontal ribbon was reinforced by others, and all were thoroughly braced and held in place by strong timbers which slantingly reached the ground. On the outside of the palisades the earth was thrown up against them and this made a ditch which practically gave an additional height to the stockade. The enclosure thus made was a space over 100 feet square, while the circumference marked by the palisades was over 600 feet long, this being due to the projecting bastions. Within the enclosure were the officers' quarters, store rooms, powder magazine, etc., while outside were the soldiers' cabins. In times of siege, which frequently happened at Fort Ligonier, the

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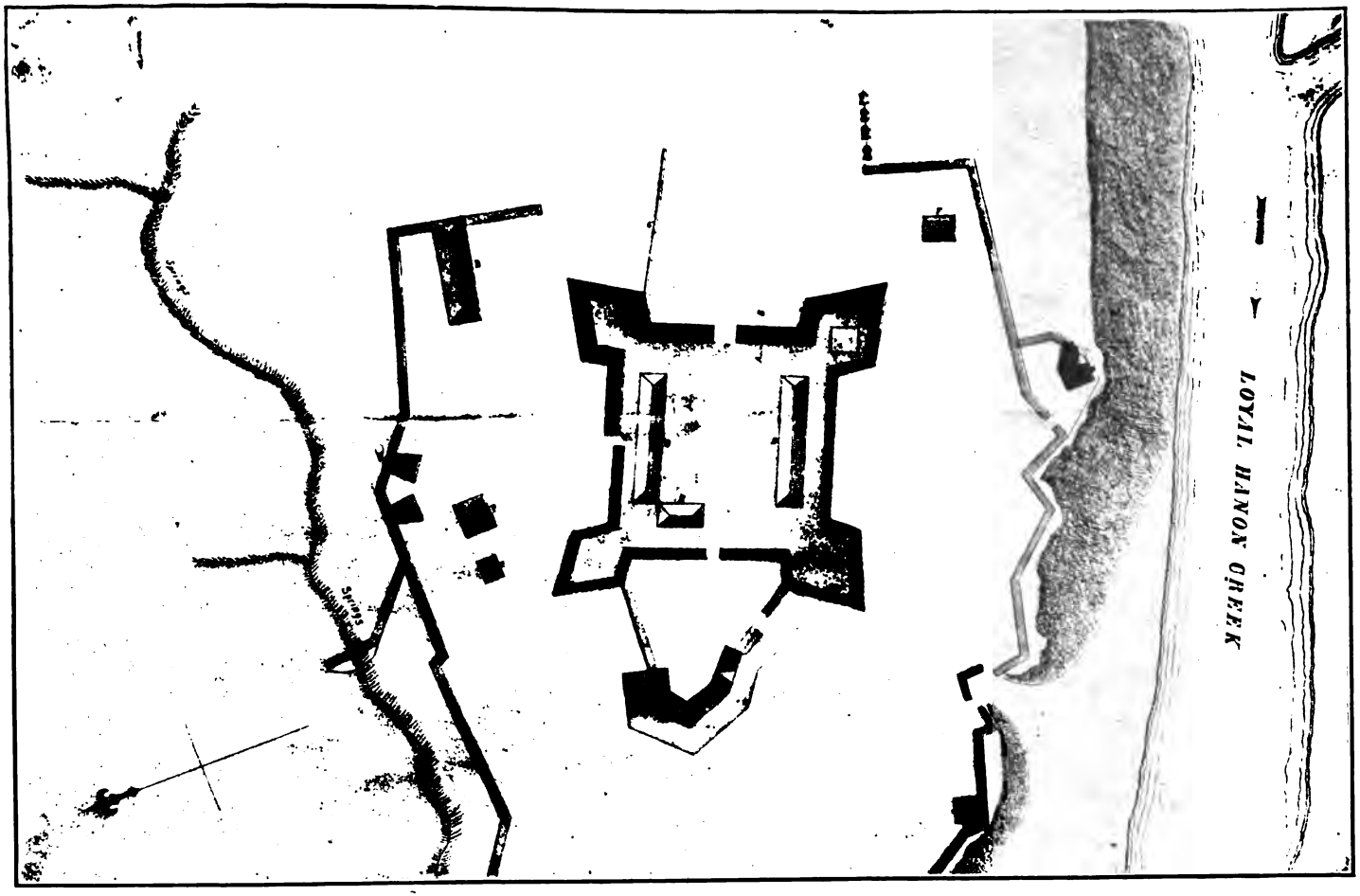

FORT LIGONIER—THE FIRST ENGLISH FORT BUILT IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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soldiers, settlers and officers were all within the stockade. During a siege domestic animals were taken within the stockade and those that were left without were destroyed by the enemy. On each bastion of the stockade was mounted one or more small cannons. A covered way led from the east side of Fort Ligonier to the spring and the ravine was crossed by a foot-log. The covering was made of shorter logs and was necessary and perhaps only used in times of siege. The covered way gave rise to the popular belief that there was a tunnel extending down to the Loyalhanna. There has never been any evidence of a tunnel discovered, save a few natural cavities in the rocks overhanging the creek, and these were but shallow. It is not supposed that an underground tunnel would be made and not reported or marked on the plan sent to the British war office, for the English did not generally report less than they builded. There was also a gate on the east side of the palisades made of strong timber like the palisades, firmly bound and hung on iron hinges. During a siege this gate was closed and barred. The fort was kept up for many years after its completion, being garrisoned by the English, and even after independence was declared, it was occupied by the Colonial army and was yet a place of safety for all the surrounding settlements. It has been described, not that it necessarily belongs strictly to the history of Pittsburg, but because it was the first fort built by the English in western Pennsylvania when on their way to expel the French from the Ohio valley, and because it is fairly representative of the early forts of our day which unitedly played such an important part in the founding of the English civilization at and near the Fork of the Ohio.

A still more common method of defense was by what was called block-house cabins. Sometimes they were called stations or forts or block-houses, but they were properly neither. They were strongly built log-houses with heavy doors and heavy coverings for the small windows which could be put up and barred from the inside. In the gables were cracks which admitted light and air. When built after the fashion of the pioneer they could withstand a long siege form the Indians on the outside. There were small port holes at every side, and the Indian who attempted to approach them when the inmate was on his guard did not generally do much damage after that. Two or three dozens of settlers could be reasonably secure in one of these cabins, and, armed with flint-lock guns, were easily able to cope with twice their number of savages outside. The fort at Hannastown was a stockade fort and was built at a spring on the north side of the Forbes road. It was, as we have seen, built largely as a protection against Connolly's army and the Indians and was put up at the suggestion of St. Clair by Robert Hanna and his neighbors in 1774. It was a large, two-roomed log structure with only one door below and no window whatever in the upper story. The only light came from small port holes, through which the barrel of a musket could be aimed at an Indian. It had a very nearly flat roof to prevent the Indians from setting it on fire from the outside. This house was additionally strengthened by being surrounded with palisades arranged after the manner of those around the fort at Ligonier. The upper story was higher than

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the palisades, so that they could be defended from the inner fort. The structure was not completed in 1774, but in 1776 it was greatly strengthened and did good service. Its construction was superintended by David Semple, and for this service the minutes of the supreme executive council show that he was paid twenty pounds. The palisades surrounded a storehouse where the settlers could make secure their private property. In transporting provisions from the East to Fort Pitt it became a very important stopping place. From the time it was built it was frequently filled with families of the neighborhood who were forced there to take refuge from the Indians. There were soldiers of the Continental army stationed there during all the years of the Revolution, though because of its well-known strength and of its garrison it was not subject to many severe attacks. The force within was not strong enough, however, to preserve peace on the settlement, as may be seen from a letter from Colonel Archibald Lochry to President Reed of the council, which says: "The savages are continually making depredations among us; not less than 40 people have been killed, wounded and captivated this spring and the enemy have killed our creatures within 30 yards of this town." This is dated at Hannastown, more than six years after it became a seat of justice. On January 1, 1780, Lochry wrote again to President Reed, saying: "I have been under the necessity of removing the public records from Hannastown to my own plantation, not without the consent of the Court." Often when the Indians had been seen lurking in the community or perhaps when a false alarm had been spread through the country, the inhabitants would gather in Fort Pitt or at Hannastown or at other strongholds and spend the night, resuming their work the following day in the fields. Their protection depended more on their united strength than on the strength of the fort or block-houses in which they were gathered. Men, women and children were from time to time housed in these places of refuge. The women of that day were innured to the hardships of frontier life and in times of danger readily performed important services. They could, through much practice, dress the wounds of those who were injured and knew well the herbs of the field which, when properly brewed, would cure or allay the sufferings of the wounded settlers. They could stand guard at night and give the alarm if the stealthy foe approached. They could make bullets, cut patches of cloth, then used in loading guns, and they could load them for the men who did the shooting. As the reader has seen, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was raised in the western part of Westmoreland exclusively for border defense in and around Pittsburg and that in an emergency it was ordered to New Jersey. After its removal from this section in January, 1777, the whole western frontier was laid open to the most violent Indian depredations. The militia was called out and they were poorly equipped, and if paid at all it was in depreciated Continental currency. In 1777-78, therefore, there were numerous depredations all along the border. The Indians, under the leadership of Simon Girty, or others of like character, seemed lurking in every place of concealment. The dangers of this community from ambuscading red men are illustrated in Captain James Smith's narrative, which

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has been previously referred to. About this time he marched a regiment up the Allegheny river region to chastise the Indians for their depredations. In his notes he says they marched in four columns, each about forty rods apart, with scouts posted on the flanks of each column. The men of each column marched one rod apart. In case of an attack each man was to face out and make for the nearest tree. This was to keep the Indians from surrounding them and to prevent them from shooting more than once without exposing themselves. Before night they encamped in a hollow square, each line being about a quarter of a mile long. Guards were placed outside to watch for the approach of an enemy and to guard the cattle which were taken along as meat for the army.

These were dark days indeed. The Continental Congress had no power to raise money sufficient to carry on the war except by promises to pay in the future. These promises were based on the credit of the country and depended entirely on the success of the struggling Continental army. People knew that if the cause of the colonies failed, their promises to pay would be worth nothing. No man who entered the service after 1778 expected to be paid in continental money, for it had then been depreciated until it was almost worthless. For the expenses of the army which must be paid congress depended almost entirely on private subscriptions. Soon the depreciation was so great that they ceased sending it out as soldiers' pay. Under these difficulties Colonel Brodhead marched out with the English Regiment in the summer of 1778 and did great service against the Indians of the Allegheny valley. His regiment cut off a party of about forty savages on their way to raid Fort Pitt and the surrounding community. Both Colonels Smith and Lochry accompanied the expedition. It had a salutary effect upon the peace and good order of our western community, but the army returned exhausted, for serving without pay and clothing themselves, they had nothing wherewith to recuperate unless their work at home went on while they were gone. These were the difficulties without limit heaped on the pioneers of this section and they were all thoroughly understood by the enemy. Finally the supreme executive council issued a proclamation encouraging young men to turn out to fight the Indians in small parties and in a manner somewhat after the Indian style. This proclamation had a good effect. There was an adventure in it which was very attractive to small parties of energetic young men. They were called "Rangers." Prominent among them was David Shaw and his brother, the Brownlees, Colonel Wilson, the Barrs, the Wallaces, Captain Brady, Captain Van Swearingen, Samuel Shannon, William Cooper, Joseph Erwin, Michael Huffnagle, James Guthrie, Matthew Jack, James Smith, Thomas Stokely and others. These were all bold young rangers, any one of whom might have figured as a character in the inspiring novels of Sir Walter Scott; might have taken the place of Bois Gilbert, or Ivanhoe, or of the bold MacGregor with his foot upon the heather of his native land and his eye on the peak of the much loved Ben Lomond. They went forth dressed in homespun garments, each armed at his own expense, and they

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were comparatively well armed for that day, for each carried a rifle or musket, a knife and a hatchet. They acted together or each separately, as the occasion demanded. They stood together for protection and they were frequently well acquainted neighbors and friends who would not stop at any danger to rescue a pioneer or a companion from difficulty. These rangers patrolled the country from the junction of the three rivers to Fort Ligonier. They had officers whom they obeyed whether they were in small parties or engaged in a general turnout for public defense. More than all this, they were at home in the woods and upon any sign or news of distress they knew how to travel by the shortest route to the place of need. They could soon spread the news of the presence of the Indians over an entire community, and they very rapidly gathered the women and children to the nearest block-house or place of safety. From long experience in the woods they could travel the most trackless forest on dark nights with unerring steps. Their faculties or hearing and sight were sharpened to such acuteness, by constant use, that the slightest movement of an Indian in the bushes was noticed by them, and sounds which fell on deafened ears of the unskilled, were distinctly heard and understood by them. They could endure long tramps through the woods and over mountains. They were rapid runners and were experts in the use of the rifle, so that they rarely ever failed to hit the mark. From places and difficulties in which capture seemed almost inevitable, members of their association several times freed themselves by a display of agility and strength which made even the hardened Indian marvel and fall back. All these qualities were bred and born in them from their youth, and were, in hundreds of instances, necessary for their preservation. Quick perception, unerring judgment and boldness of execution scores of times saved their lives. For years they were the salvation of our pioneer homes and to them we owe every possible meed of praise.

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CHAPTER XV.

Permanent Location of County Seat—Attempts to Form a New County with Pittsburg As Its Seat of Justice.

The reader will recall that the law which provided for the formation of Westmoreland county specified also that the courts should be held at the house of Robert Hanna until a court house should be built, and that the same Act authorized Robert Hanna, George Wilson, Samuel Sloan, Joseph Erwin and John Cavett or any three of them, to select a county seat, purchase lands and erect a court house. A letter has already been quoted in which Arthur St. Clair lamented that the law had been so worded that the commissioners by failing to build a court house could indefinitely continue the courts at Hanna's, and that was exactly what happened. Hanna was undoubtedly a strong-minded man of great shrewdness. Against the will of the people and against the power of St. Clair, who had more than any other secured the erection of the new county, and against the violent opposition of the people of Pittsburg, he was able to force the committee to retain the county seat at his own place for thirteen years. Indeed it is doubtful whether it would then have been removed had not other matters over which Hanna had no control intervened and had not Hannastown been destroyed by the Indians. Another misfortune for Hannastown was the proposed location of the state road which passed about three miles south of it. The road so projected was to be a better and more direct route between the East and West then the Forbes road, on which Hannastown was built. On the new road sprung up a village called Newtown, about three miles southwest of Hannastown. This town, afterwards called Greensburg, as well as Pittsburg became rival aspirants for the location of the county seat. The courts were regularly held at Hannastown after its destruction and it certainly must have been an inconvenient place, for but few houses were rebuilt and the town was practically without accommodations. Notwithstanding this, Hanna was strong enough to prevent the commission from taking action and the intent of the erecting act was defeated. In 1784 the question of a county seat was carried to the legislature by an indignant people and on November 22 an act was passed which set forth that, "Whereas, the trustees appointed by the law

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erecting the county had not complied with the powers given them to erect county buildings, they were dismissed and a new commission was named." These new commissioners were John Irwin, Benjamin Davis, Charles Campbell, James Pollock and Joseph Wilkins. They or any three of them were authorized and enpowered to perform the duties required of the commissioners in the old act of February 26, 1773, relative to county buildings. The second board of commissioners could not agree on the location, however, though they met and deliberated over the matter with the various claimants. They were confronted with representatives from three places, all demanding the county seat. First were Hanna and his friends, who wanted it to remain at Hannastown. Second, there were those who were trying to have it located in Pittsburg, which was then by far the most important and growing town in Westmoreland county, and was rapidly increasing in population and standing. Third, there was the village of Newtown, well located, full of promise and its friends were urging it with all their power. Upon the refusal or inability of the second board of commissioners to decide between these three aspiring towns, the legislature on September 13, 1785, removed them and appointed a third board. As this Act was the one by which the county seat was actually changed and which brought forth the question of the formation of Allegheny county, with Pittsburg as a county seat, we give that part of it in full.

"Whereas, the Seat of Justice of Westmoreland hath not heretofore been established by law, for want of which the inhabitants labor under great inconvenience, it shall and may be lawful for Benjamin Davis, Michael Rugh, John Shields, John Pomeroy and Hugh Martin of the County of Westmoreland, or any three of them to purchase and take assurances in the name of the Commonwealth of a piece of land in trust for the use of the people of Westmoreland County; provided such piece of land be not situated further east than the Nine Mile Run nor further West than Bushy Run, nor further North than the Loyalhanna, nor further South than five miles South of the old Pennsylvania Road leading to Pittsburg; on which piece of ground said Commissioners shall erect a court house and a prison sufficient to accommodate the public services of said county."

In more modern geographical terms this law forbade the location of a county seat further west than Penn, further east than Lathrobe, further north than seven or eight miles north of Greensburg and further south than two miles south of Greensburg. By these terms Pittsburg had lost all power in the legislature and nearly all hope for the county seat. The act further provided that the money expended in purchasing land and erecting a court house and jail should not exceed 100 pounds. The contest now lay between Hannastown on the old and somewhat abandoned Forbes road and Newtown, at that time beginning to be called Greensburg on the proposed new state road, which was then only partly in use. Of the new commissioners named in the above Act, Benjamin Davis lived in Rostraver township, Michael Rugh in Hempfield township, Hugh Martin in Mt. Pleasant township, John Shields in Salem township, and John Pomeroy in Donegal township. Three of them lived south of

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the Forbes road and two north of it, while Pittsburg had no representative on the commission at all even if the Act itself had not proscribed it as a county seat. Shortly after their appointment the commission met at Hannastown. On November 1st and 2nd they deliberated but came to no agreement, and in December met again at Greensburg, and the three of them living south of the Forbes road decided in favor of Greensburg as a county seat. They were Benjamin Davis, Michael Rugh and Hugh Martin, while John Shields and John Pomeroy, who lived north of the road, favored Hannastown, and these two dissenting from the decision, refused to act further with the trustees or commissioners. Thus it will be seen that all of the commissioners voted in favor of drawing the county seat toward their own homes. But by the terms of the Act three of them had the necessary power to make the location, and on December 10, 1785, they entered into an agreement with Christopher Truby and William Jack, to which Ludwick Otterman afterwards subscribed, to sell them in trust for a county seat, two acres of land on which to erect public buildings. This day, December 10, 1785, is the day upon which the second place in which Pittsburgers were interested was selected as the place of holding the Westmoreland courts.

The three trustees immediately proceeded to erect public buildings. Anthony Altman was employed to erect the court house and was to perform the work under the supervision of Michael Rugh. The court house and jail were all one building, made of logs and heavy planks. The jail portion had a heavy stone wall which extended some distance above the ground, perhaps to keep prisoners from cutting their way out. The structure was pushed rapidly and by July 1, 1786, both jail and court house were ready for occupancy. The trustees reported its completion to the July session of the court at Hannastown. Upon this the judges visited the new county seat and inspected its buildings, after which they made the following report, which is in part given to show the simple mode of life and few wants of our people in that day:

We, the subscribers, Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Westmoreland, upon receiving a written report from the Trustees of said County informing us that a new court house and prison was erected in Newtown, and that a number of other convenient buildings were also erected and opened for entertainment, found that we were warranted by law in adjourning our courts to the said town; now being desirous as soon as possible to take leave of the many inconveniences and difficulties which attended our situation at Hannastown, as well as to avoid the cost for rent for a very uncomfortable house, in which we held our courts, we did, therefore, accordingly adjourn to the said town. And we do certify that we found a very comfortable, convenient court house and prison, included in one commodious building, together with a number of large commodious houses, open for public entertainment, in which we enjoyed great satisfaction during our residence at court. We do further give it as our opinion that the situation is good, and possessed of every natural advantage that can contribute to the comfort and convenience of an in-land town; that it is as nearly centrical to the body of people as any spot that can be found possessed of the same advantage; that it lies in direct course between Ligonier

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and Pittsburg and will admit of the straightest and best road between these two places; that its situation is in the center of the finest and wealthiest settlement in this western country, and cannot fail of being supplied with the greatest abundance, upon the most reasonable terms; in short we think the said Trustees have done themselves honor in their choice and proceeding through the whole of this business.

Given under our hand the 10th of August, 1786.

HUGH MARTIN.	CHRISTOPHER TRUBY.
RICHARD WILLIAMS.	GEORGE WALLACE.
JOHN MILLER.	WILLIAM JACK.
ALEXANDER MITCHELL.	GEORGE BAIRD.

But even this did not quiet the dissension against the selection of Newtown, now Greensburg, as a county seat. The greatest dissatisfaction came from north of the Forbes road and from the region around Pittsburg. All these interested now united to overthrow what had already been done in the way of permanently locating the seat of justice. As a result of these agitations the legislature on December 27, 1786, passed an act suspending the authority granted to the trustees to establish a county seat, etc., until further directed. The Act also provided that the trustees were to exhibit their accounts, with proper vouchers for all expenditures made by them in their work so far as they had gone. These were to be inspected by William Moore, Charles Campbell and James Bryson and to be laid before the justices of the court and grand jury. Two of these inspecting committeemen were from unfriendly sections, Bryson being then a resident of Pittsburg and Campbell a resident of Wheatfield township, now in Indiana county. The subject was taken up by the people, who discussed it in the Pittsburg *Gazette,* there being then no other newspaper in the county. Some one from Brush Creek, who signs himself a "Friend of His Country," has a letter in the *Gazette* of October 26, 1786, from which we quote:

It is well known that the establishment of our present seat of justice was not a hasty, rash or inconsiderate piece of business. Almost sixteen years have lapsed since it first claimed the attention of the government; it has been deliberately considered and cautiously conducted; the sense of the people have been generally and repeatedly known by petition, remonstrance, etc., and in consequence thereof no less than four different Acts of the Legislature have been passed to effect and complete its establishment. When we reflect upon the many evils which have resulted from the want of such establishment, I think we ought rather to congratulate ourselves on the event, and rest perfectly satisfied that it is at last fixed anywhere nearly centrical to the body of the people.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who was then a member of the legislature from this county, and a very prominent resident from Pittsburg, on December 16, 1786, wrote the following letter, which was published in the *Gazette* of January 6, 1787:

"A bill is published superseding the powers of the trustees for building a court house and jail in Greensburg. The object is to prevent any further ex-

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penditure of public money in public buildings at that place, inasmuch as the court house and jail already erected are sufficient at least for a number of years. This appeared to us, the representatives from Westmoreland, to be sufficient for the present. It must remain with future time to determine whether the county seat shall be removed or a new county erected on the Kiskiminetas. The last, I believe, will be deemed more eligible."

In the same paper, dated February 10, 1787, the following letter appeared, written by one who signs himself a "Friend of Westmoreland."

"We find by Mr. Brackenridge's late publication that the seat of justice in this county yet remains an object of envy in our legislature, as a bill is published superseding the powers of the trustees for building a court house in Greensburg; I wonder when we shall see the end of the cavilings on this subject and the succession of ridiculous laws occasioned thereby. By the first law we find a number of trustees appointed for erecting a court house and prison, etc. By the second law we find their proceedings rejected, though perfectly legal, and the former repealed, and another set of trustees appointed with more extensive and conclusive powers. A third law approves and confirms their proceedings, and a fourth law supersedes their powers in the midst of the duties assigned them; and to carry the farce a little farther, I think the fifth law ought to amount to the total annihilation of the county."

The reader will discover that in the justice's letter or certificate given above, dated August 10, 1786, they say they have adjourned the courts to the new court house at Newtown. They had probably done this, but even then troubles were brewing, engendered largely by Hanna and his friends and by Pittsburg people who were loath to see the courts leave Hannastown or be permanently located at any new place, unless it should be Pittsburg. So in some degree to appease the wrath of the adherents of Hanna it was determined to hold the October term of court at Hannastown, and this was accordingly done. The first court held in Greensburg was the January term of 1787, beginning January 7, with Judge John Moore on the bench. The following is a list of the jurors who served at this first court in the new county seat: Grand Jurors—David Duncan, James Carnahan, John Carnahan, John Sloan, Abraham Fulton, Charles Baird, William Best, Nathaniel McBrier, Joseph Mann, James Fulton, William Mann, Charles Johnson, Jacob Huffman, Samuel Sinclair and John Craig. Traverse Jurors—Alexander Craig, John McCready, Peter Cherry, John Giffen, John Buch, Phillip Carns, Patrick Campbell, George Swan, Isaac McKendry, Robert McKee, John Anderson, James Waterson and Lawrence Irwin. The term only lasted about three days and the minutes do not show any proceedings of momentous interest. The grand jury, however, reported that the new jail was insufficient and not strong enough to hold the prisoners. The trustees submitted their accounts as required by the suspending act. The total expenditures so far had been less than a thousand dollars. The accounts were finally laid before the grand jury on July 12, 1787. It may be added here by way of explanation, that much of Brackenridge's opposition to

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the court house and county seat proceedings arose from his desire to form a new county. This is intimated in his letter above quoted, though there for reasons of his own, he located his proposed new county on the Kiskiminetas. His object was undoubtedly to unite the north with him in oppostion to the factions around Hannastown and Greensburg and take them into the new county at the Fork of the Ohio. It is admitted on all hands that he was elected to the legislature for the purpose of securing the erection of a new county. To this project the eastern part of Westmoreland county was naturally hostile. They were proud of their large dimensions as the county was originally formed, but in 1781 Washington county, and in 1783 Fayette county was entirely carved from its territory. They, therefore, tried to prevent any further encroachments. Nevertheless, the project of forming a new county was urged by the people in the vicinity of Pittsburg, as we shall see later on.

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CHAPTER XVI.

The Burning of Hannastown.

Increased depredations on the part of the Indians made the summer of 1782 a very gloomy one to our pioneer settlers. In nearly every instance where men worked in fields they were compelled to have others stand guard around them. This unusual Indian hostility was due in part to the murder of the Moravian Indians a year before. The enemy was also emboldened by the unfortunate termination of Lochry's expedition. Around Hannastown those who were looked up to as special defenders were Colonel John Campbell, Captain Matthew Jack, Captain Love, Lieutenant Guthrie, the Brownlees, the Brysons, the Shaws and the Wilsons. As the Indian troubles increased the pioneers became more and more annoyed until in the summer of 1782, when they nearly all lived in forts and block-houses or in close proximity with them. When a field of grain was to be harvested it was done, not by the owner alone, but by the community, so that the reaping party might be the more formidable in the event an attack by the Indians. Hannastown, it will be remembered, had been the county-seat for more than nine years, and the country for several miles in each direction and particularly on the Forbes road between Hannastown and Pittsburg, was pretty well cleared, and, for that day, thickly populated. The farmers had fenced their land, some of them at least with stake and rider fences, to protect their crops against live stock. Almost every farmer had cattle, horses and sheep and the community of Hannastown bid fair to surpass all others in Western Pennsylvania. Its only rival was the Pittsburg settlement. There had been militia soldiers guarding the garrison at Hannastown, but they had deserted their post because they were not paid, nor can they be blamed for this, for they are said to have been actually in rags when they left. The citizens of Hannastown were, therefore, left to take care of themselves. In every direction there were many deserted houses, the owners having gone to the section from which they came, east of the mountains. Hannastown being the county seat and, therefore, unusually prominent, had special fear that if a raid was made their settlement would be the objective point. The people were accordingly unusually vigilant, but they had had no particular warning to put them on their guard.

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On Saturday, July 13, 1782, the men of Hannastown and of the near community were engaged in cutting a field of grain for Captain Michael Huffnagle, who had been prothonotary of the county and also a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had formerly sat on the bench as a justice, had acquired considerable property and was a man of more than ordinary strength of character. In the Revolutionary service he had been wounded in the leg, and this incapacitated him for further duty in the main army, but it did not prevent him from taking a leading part in the defence of the frontier. His fields of grain lay one and a half miles north of Hannastown. The grain of that day was cut entirely by sickles and the reapers with their heads and bodies bowed down could be easily approached by Indians. They had cut one field and had eaten their dinners in the shade and were about ready to begin on a second field. One of the reapers crossed to the side of the field bordering on the woods and detected Indians hiding behind the trees and stealthily waiting until the reapers should resume their work. He ran at once and gave the alarm and the entire party of reapers ran for their lives. Some of them secured their firearms, others ran to notify their neighbors, but the general trend was toward the fort at Hannastown. In a few minutes they reached the town and in an instant almost, all was in a commotion. The Westmoreland county minutes show that court began on Tuesday, July 9, with Judge Edward Cook and his associates on the bench. The first work of the excited inhabitants was to take the court records from the court room to the stockade. These are the records, most precious heirlooms of the pioneer days,—from which we have so frequently quoted and which are yet in a good state of preservation. The door of the log jail was then broken open and all of the prisoners were set free. Able young people hurriedly assisted the children and the old men and women from their houses to the stockade. The haste with which this was done may be imagined from the fact that they took with them none of their clothes, furniture nor belongings, not even provisions for a single meal. In a few minutes all were in the fort who wished to go in, and preparations were made to close the gate of the palisades. There were several young men who did not care to enter the fort but who preferred to stay out and fight the Indians in their own way. These were the rangers whose exploits in Indian warfare have been referred to before. They regarded it as their duty to seek the protection of the fortress only when they warned the entire settlement of the presence of the Indians. Among these were James Bryson, David Shaw and Matthew Jack. Bryson is the young man who kept the records of the court as clerk of the prothonotary and who afterwards settled in Pittsburg and became one of its leading citizens. He and the others volunteered to go north toward the approaching Indians and learn something of their strength and intentions. There was no way for them to go but on foot, and they started out at once. At the same time, Matthew Jack, the sheriff of the county, mounted a horse and set out, not directly to the North but in a circular direction, intending to pass around and reconnoiter the enemy and at the same time notify the surrounding

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settlement of the presence of the Indians. The Indians did not at once pursue the reapers. Their idea had evidently been to make way with them before they reached the fort and attack the town without warning. Thinking perhaps that the repears did not know the strength of the invaders, and that they would return and attack them, they waited nearly an hour in the vicinity of the grain field. By rapid riding, Captain Jack soon reached the vicinity of the Indians. When he saw them he turned to ride back and was followed by them. On the way he met Bryson and the others, whom he warned to run for their lives, and said he would circle around somewhat before entering the fort. He accordingly rode southeast to the cabin of the Love family and warned them. The scouting party took Jack's advice and ran as rapidly as they could towards Hannastown. The Indians soon caught sight of them and gave them a hard run for their lives. They undoubtedly mistook them for the reapers, whom they supposed had not yet warned the citizens of the town. If, therefore, they could catch them they would yet surprise the fort. On any other theory the Indians would have shot them while on the run, but a shot fired would have aroused the fort. It was a very exciting race for a distance of more than a mile, with one advantage only on the part of the scouts, namely, that they knew the ground thoroughly, knew every short cut to take or hill to avoid. This familiarity probably won the race for them. Before they reached Crabtree Run, a short half mile north of the fort, they could hear the foot falls of the pursuers and a backward glance revealed the naked breasts and glittering forelocks of the savages. All of them ran directly to the fort except Shaw. He first ran to his father's house to see if his family was safe and then made for the stockade gate. By that time the savages were swarming on the banks of the creek below. Drawing up his long barreled gun and taking deliberate aim, Shaw sent an unerring bullet which ended the career of a warror, and then ran within the gate. He was the last to enter and thus all the Hannastown people had passed the stockade gates before the Indians reached the town.

Michael Huffnagle's report says, that about two o'clock in the afternoon the town, consisting of about thirty houses and cabins, was attacked by about one hundred and fifty Indians and Tories. When they saw that they had failed to surprise the town and that the scalps must be fought for if gained by them, they gave forth a prolonged, indescribable Indian yell, resembling the cry of an infuriated wild beast in torture, the recollection of which alone caused those who had escaped to shudder long years afterwards. The Indians then took possession of the houses and cabins in the town in full view of the fort. Clothes and household goods were thrown into the street. Some of the bolder Indians arrayed themselves in these clothes and, brandishing knives and tomahawks, danced in full view of the fort, though at a safe distance from it. Their leaders seemed to be white men dressed as Indians, and there is no doubt but that they were urged on by these traitors. They could have been successfully fired on from the fort, but those in the fort were slow to begin battle, knowing their own weakness. They knew also that the force of Indians,

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though at considerable loss, could take the fort and that their only safety lay in receiving additional strength. After a consultation among the Indians, about one-third of the band started off in the direction of Miller's block-house, which was about three miles southeast. In a short time those remaining set fire to the town in many places and perhaps in every house. The houses had been built for some years and their clap-board roofs were thoroughly dried. In a few minutes the entire town, save two houses which were too near the fort for them to fire, was in flames. One house left standing was Robert Hanna's, which had served as a court house since the county was formed. The Indians found some rum and whiskey in these houses and with the aid of these they had a jovial time while the town was burning. They paraded in the garments of the settlers in full view of the fort. One Indian decked himself out in a bright colored military coat which he had taken from one of the houses. He at length grew bold and paraded, peacock like, too close to the stockade. Some one within took a steady shot at him. The Indian leaped into the air and fell dead, his vanity costing him his life. All communication with the outside world was cut off when the stockade gate was closed. There were several scouts out, but they did not return but performed better service by moving about and alarming the settlements, who at once tried to devise a means of rescuing the unfortunate prisoners. The stockade at Hannastown was naturally a strong one, but on this occasion its defence was very weak. Some reports say they had only nine firearms, some say thirteen, but all agree that they were of a poor quality, being the cast-off firearms of the militia. It is probable that a few of the scouts, like Shaw and Bryson, had good arms. The Hannastown people in the fort were largely elderly men, women and children. The young people were at Miller's block-house that afternoon. This weak condition of the fortress was known to those outside, and hence their anxiety to march at once to relieve their friends. The number of those in the fort is not known, nor are the names given except of a few who performed service worthy of special mention in the reports.

At Miller's block-house were collected about forty people. Samuel Miller had been a captain in the Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line and had been killed in 1778 while doing recruiting duty in Westmoreland. At all times his house had been open for all who came there socially or for safety. In addition to the block-house there were several log cabins built near by and all of them were strong in times of Indian raids and were capable of being strongly barricaded. The Millers were a lively, sociable people, and hither went the young men and maidens for an afternoon's dance. They did not go to Miller's for safety, for it is well known that Judge Hanna's wife and daughters were there, and had they been in quest of a place of safety they would have remained at home, for the Hannastown stockade was stronger than the block-house. It is reasonably well authenticated that there was a wedding there, which was the chief attraction. Justice Richard Coulter wrote an account of the burning of Hannastown in 1836, gathering much of the material from those who were cap-

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tured at Miller's as well as from others who participated in the affair, says this: "At Miller's there had been a wedding the day before. Love is a delicate plant but will take root in the midst of perils, in gentle bosoms. A young couple, fugitives from the frontier, fell in love and were married." All accounts agree that there were many women there. The company had been dancing to the tune of a fiddle and there had been great glee among the guests, when almost instantly there burst upon them the war whoop of a band of savages. Among others who were there was Captain Brownlee, whose duties as a ranger have been mentioned. He was one of Erwin's bravest soldiers in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. When his term of enlistment expired, he left the service to devote his energies to Indian fighting on the frontier. In this he was very successful. He did not discriminate between a good and a bad Indian, thinking perhaps that there were none of the former class. He thought it his duty to kill an Indian as he would a snake or a dangerous wild animal, yet he was an excellent neighbor and a good husband and father. Indeed it was to protect those he loved that he remained at home rather than do service in the army. Few men of his day were better or more honorably known than Brownlee. On the afternoon of the raid a number of men were mowing in a field close to Miller's. Hearing the rumble of the firing at Hannastown they became apprehensive of danger and hastened to the block-house. As they were leaving the field the Indian band from Hannastown entered the other side of it. Here again the Indians were foiled, for they doubtless meant to capture the men in the field and thus have an easier victory at the block-house. The Indians followed them and very soon closed in on the frightened party. The cries of the helpless people, mingled with the Indian yells, added to the consternation of the few fighters who were there. One of these at least, lost his life in trying to save those who were comparative strangers to him. But though strangers, they were defenceless women, and that has always called forth the best efforts of Anglo-Saxon manhood. A few who ran on the first sign of danger made their escape by going to George's Cabin, and still others made their way to Rugh's block-house. When the Indians were surrounding the block-house, Brownlee seized a rifle and ran out to give battle. He could probably have escaped and formed a rescuing party at once, but his wife cried to him: "Captain, you are not going to leave me, are you?" The brave man turned around and gave himself up as a prisoner to those to whom he had never before bent his knee. He had faced the savages time and time again, but he could not resist the plea of his wife. No one who knew him could imagine that he meant to make a selfish escape. Soon after the Indians captured Brownlee, Captain Jack came riding toward the cabin to give the alarm. As he approached he saw the Indians near it and that he was too late. He turned his horse and galloped away. The Indians had remained quiet while he approached, but sent a shower of bullets after him when he turned. They all missed him, though they whistled about his head and one cut his bridle rein.

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The alarm was not confined to the community alone. It was a still, calm afternoon preceding a rain, when sound travels a long distance. Many in the neighborhood heard the excessive firing and were alarmed at once. At Unity Church, near Latrobe, the congregation had met for preparatory communion services when the rumor of the incursion came. The people hastened to their homes, the pastor, Rev. James Powers, who lived long afterwards to tell the story, rode with his utmost speed to his home near Mt. Pleasant. Men in the fields heard the distant roar of muskets and went home to make bullets, gather in their children and barracade the windows and doors of their cabins.

The Indians proceeded to secure the prisoners taken at Miller's. The hands of the men were tied behind their backs. Taking all the provisions they wanted, they fired the block-house and cabins. Many who had gone there for safety had taken their live stock, consisting of cattle and horses with them. These were all shot by the Indians. Both Hanna and Duncan in their reports estimated that one hundred cattle were killed. Of the captive prisoners, the most conspicuous was Captain Brownlee. One of Robert Hanna's daughters escaped. The other daughter and Mrs. Hanna were taken. The captives were made to carry the goods stolen on their backs. Brownlee kept up a good spirit and undoubtedly encouraged this disconsolate party. At length an unthinking woman, said to have been Mrs. Hanna, through her tears cried: "Captain Brownlee, it is well you are here to cheer us up." The unfortunate remark was undoubtedly the first indication the Indians had that their docile prisoner was their fearless enemy—Captain Brownlee. All the Indians knew him by name and reputation, but few Indians who met him face to face ever disturbed settlers afterward. After it was all over Captain Brownlee's friends saw clearly that he was all the while attempting to conceal his identity with the hope that in a day or two he might escape and head a rescuing party. It was for this reason that he gave himself up and was extremely meek when they tied his hands and placed heavy burdens on his back. All this was unlike the Brownlee whom the Indians knew of. His friends both among the prisoners and those who were free, believed that he would soon escape and return with a full knowledge of their strength and how best to attack them. But when his name was mentioned, immediately there were hasty glances from one Indian to another, and two of them in gutteral tones consulted with each other. In addition to his burden he was carrying one of his children on his back. As he bent down to enable the innocent child to cling more tightly with its arms around his neck, a savage sneaked up behind him and buried a hatchet in his brain. Brownlee fell dead and the child rolled over him. As it was scrambling to its feet the Indian killed it in the same way. A woman near by screamed and fell swooning to the ground. She met a similar fate, the savage doubtless mistaking her for the wife of Brownlee. Mrs. Brownlee, the rest of her children and the other captives, were compelled to witness these deeds in the silent agony of despair. The march was towards Hannastown, where they joined the band that had remained to burn the town. About dark the entire band changed

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their location, moving to the northeast and encamping for the night in a ravine or hollow made by the Crabtree creek. During the afternoon the Indians watched the fort closely and kept up a regular fire. The romantic event was the shooting of Margaret Shaw. She was a young girl of about fourteen years and was a daughter of Moses Shaw and sister of the brothers of whom we have written. During the afternoon a child within the stockade had wandered toward an opening in the pickets and was within the range of the enemy's bullet. Seeing this, Margaret ran to take it away but as she bent down to lift the child a bullet struck her in the breast and penetrated her right lung. After a long, lingering illness she died and was buried at the Middle Churches, near Mt. Pleasant.

About forty men gathered near George's Station that afternoon, all bent on rescuing the prisoners in the fort. The night fortunately brought dark clouds and rain. In the meantime the location of the Indians, the destruction of the town, etc., were reported to the rescuing party by scouts. As the rescuers, about thirty in number, approached, they could see from the gleam of burning logs the outline of the fort with its whitewashed palisades. As they crept up to it the scouts made known their arrival and the gates were opened to receive them.

As soon as the evening meal was over among the Indians they proceeded to divide their plunder. One unusually large Indian arrayed himself in a silk dress, but could not get his foot through the sleeve. His attempts were very ludicrous, and he seemed highly pleased that he could make the others laugh so heartily. They also prepared to celebrate their victory. One captive was selected, his body was painted with black stripes and he was tied to a tree, to be tortured by being burned alive. Then they made the prisoners run the gauntlet, the men first and after them the women. The daughter of Robert Hanna was put through but had gained the favor of an Indian by laughing at his grotesqueness when he arrayed himself in the silk dress and, therefore, got through without great injury. A young woman named Freeman, who had red hair, which was always held in contempt by the dark-haired race, was beaten almost to death. More than a generation afterwards she was treated by Dr. Postlethwaite in Greensburg for injuries to her skull, received that night.

It was believed by those in the fort that an attack would be made in the morning, so they tried to deceive the Indians by making them think that very large forces had arrived. Some old drums were brought out and pounded. There was a wide bridge across the ditch surrounding the fort, and all of the horses of the rescuing party were galloped back and forth several times across this bridge to the music of the drums. All in the fort were now hilarious, or acting so at least, and, as intended, these acclamations of joy apparently over the arrival of forces, were plainly heard by the Indians. It was, moreover, not impossible that by twelve or one o'clock forces from Fort Pitt or Fort Ligonier might arrive. At all events the strategy had the desired effect on the minds of the Indians. They stole away so silently that no one in the fort knew that they

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had gone. Not having time to torture the prisoner, they tomahawked him before they left. They traveled north and crossed the Kiskiminetas river about where Apollo now stands. The forces in the fort followed them to that point, but could not pursue them into the Indian country beyond, which was then a wilderness. For the failure to pursue them further they were more or less censured, but, we think, unjustly. There were at least one hundred and fifty well armed Indians and Tories, and the force in the fort, including the relief party, did not amount to one-third that many even if both old and young could have joined the pursuit, which was practically impossible. The Indians had with them about twenty prisoners whom they had taken at Miller's. These they marched to Canada, where they sold both the prisoners and the scalps they had taken to the English for beads, trinkets, firearms and whiskey. The prisoners were kept until a final peace was effected between Great Britain and the colonies, after which most of them found their way back to Hannastown. Of those who are known to have hurried to rescue the fort and follow the Indians not yet mentioned, were the Craigs, the Sloans, Captain David Kilgore and two of his sons and Captain Wendell Ourry.

Who commanded the Indian forces on the Hannastown raid is not definitely known. Some have written that it was Simon Girty, but this is known to be an error, for it has been well proved that he was in Kentucky at that time. The leadership of nearly all incursions of that character was attributed to him. It was more likely Guyasuta on the part of the Indians, and Connolly, of the Dunmore war fame, on the part of the white Tories. The Indians were mainly from a small tribe called "Munceys," then in northern Pennsylvania.

Hannastown was never rebuilt, though the courts were held there for some years afterwards. Cities of untold wealth and power have arisen, but few of them have so interesting a record in their early history, as this little collection of mud-plastered log huts built in the heart of the "forest primeval" in Western Pennsylvania.

In a letter from General William Irvine to General Washington, dated January 27, 1783, it is learned that the Indians had assembled near the head waters of the Allegheny and that an attachment composed of about 300 British and 500 Indians had actually embarked with twelve pieces of artillery, with the intention of taking Fort Pitt. This expedition was abandoned because of important repairs made at Fort Pitt, intelligence of which was carried to them by a spy from the neighborhood of the fort. The Indians and British then contented themselves with the usual mode of warfare by sending out small parties on the frontier, one of which came to Hannastown.

The destruction of Hannastown and the injuries inflicted on the community in connection with it, were much more serious and far-reaching than the reader at first may imagine. Its evil effects cannot be estimated in dollars and cents, though when viewed from that standpoint alone, it was a fearful calamity. For almost a quarter of a century Western Pennsylvania had been gradually increasing, with Hannastown as its seat of justice. Rude though its log cabins

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may have been, they were the best in the community and with their contents represented many years of toil and sacrifice. Here the hardy pioneer had expended his best energies in tilling the land and building up a civilization. Upon the perpetual growth of law and order depended the values of their properties, not only in Hannastown but all over western Pennsylvania. But now all for which they had labored had been swept away by a single blow, and the word went East to prospective settlers and land purchasers that in Westmoreland county, under the shadow of the Temple of Justice, savage warfare prevailed, property was ruthlessly destroyed and life itself was in constant danger. With the exception of a country store and a few old houses built long since the original town was destroyed, there is nothing at Hannastown to point the inquiring stranger to one of the most historic spots in Western Pennsylvania. When it was burned the war for Independence was practically over, for Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington in October of the previous year. Its destruction was in reality the last instance in America during the Revolution, in which the English united with their savage allies to destroy the innocent pioneer by what can be called little else than common butchery.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Formation of Allegheny County—Copy of Old Petition Urging Passage of the Bill Erecting It.

The movement which brought about the formation of Allegheny county originated in the ambition of Pittsburg to become the county seat of Westmoreland county. When, therefore, the act of September 13, 1785, was passed, which, in effect, it will be remembered, precluded the selection of Pittsburg, movements were set on foot to form a new county. A petition, it is true, was presented to the Pennsylvania legislature before this, on March 7, but only when the hopelessness of the removal of the county seat was apparent to everyone. Pittsburg was then a small country town of perhaps 100 log houses, and had but little power in state legislation. The representatives from Westmoreland were William Findley, Thomas Morton and William Todd. It is quite likely that they were all opposed to dividing Westmoreland, for the petition, though presented, was not brought up afterwards. More than a year and a half elapsed before the matter was brought up again, when on September 2, 1886, a similar petition was presented, but after being read it was laid on the table and forgotten. But new assemblymen were selected in October, 1886, and though William Findley was re-elected, Hugh Henry Brackenridge and James Barr were elected in place of Todd and Morton. The new legislature convened in Philadelphia on October 23, 1786, but because of the tardiness of the election returns, Brackenridge was not sworn in till November 13. He was elected for the purpose of having a new county formed and on November 16 presented petitions from the citizens of Westmoreland and Washington counties, praying for a new county, and he also called up the former petitions which had been presented and not acted on. They were pushed rapidly by him and on the twenty-first of November were read a second time and referred to a committee composed of Representatives Ross of Lancaster, Piper of Bedford, Findley of Westmoreland, Brackenridge of Pittsburg in Westmoreland, Flenniken of Washington, Gilchrist of Fayette, and Carson of Dauphin county. This committee acted promptly and reported on November 29 in favor of erecting a new county. Their report gave the boundary of the county recommended, agreeing

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in the main with that prayed for in the petitions, and urged it because of the increased value it would give to a tract of land which the state had reserved west of the Allegheny river, and the report recommended that the county seat be located on this tract of land. They recommended further that until a court house and gaol could be built, the courts of the new county be held in Pittsburg in buildings rented for that purpose. The committee was ordered to prepare a bill to that end, and on December 6 a bill was presented. But before the bill was passed finally, the legislature adjourned and though there was a short session in February and March, 1787, the Allegheny county bill was not reached. At this session a petition from the citizens of Pittsburg and vicinity was presented. It is the only one that has not been lost and is signed by nearly 1,000 petitioners. The legislature met again in September and Mr. Brackenridge was present to push it as rapidly as possible. He also presented additional petitions, one from Washington county asking that it also be annexed to the new county. He further presented petitions from the western parts of Westmoreland asking that their section be annexed to the proposed Allegheny county. The bill came up before the house for debate and was opposed because of the additional expense it would entail on the people of the new county, and that it was too near election time to create new county lines. Brackenridge responded ably, as he always did, and urged the expense the people were now put to to go to the court houses in Washington and Westmoreland counties. He urged that Pittsburg expected and deserved to be made the county seat when Westmoreland county was created, but had not obtained it. Members named Whitehill and Wright both spoke against it. The latter urged that five hundred people, meaning the people in Pittsburg, could not afford to keep up a county organization. He argued that they could not cross the Allegheny river to the court house and gaol, and there was not a soul living over there and no one to commit, unless it were bears. After considerable discussion the question was put as to the taking up of the bill, when the matter was voted down by a majority of eight votes, there being twenty-five yeas and thirty-three nays.

This did not discourage the friends of the new county. Mr. Brackenridge was not a candidate at the October election, and John Irwin was elected in his place, the old members from both Washington and Westmoreland being otherwise re-elected. The question was brought up again on November 20, 1787, and was referred to a committee composed of Messrs. Clymer, Lewis, Lowry Heister, Findley, Irvine, McDowell, Philips and Schott. The day following the old petitions were read to the house and referred to the committee above named. The report of this committee was finally laid on the table on November 29, and that was the last of it for that session.

The next session convened on February 19, 1788. By that time the other side was heard in the form of a remonstrance from Washington county, though signed by but ninety people, opposing the formation of the proposed county. The house, however, took up the matter on March 22, and appointed a committee to decide on the boundaries of the proposed county. This committee re-

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ported on March 26, but on the 29th the house adjourned. It met again on September 2, and received petitions from a new section, viz., the Youghiogheny river section of Westmoreland county praying to be included in the new county. This was laid on the table. On September 11, the following Tuesday was fixed as the day for the third reading of the Allegheny county bill. September 16th it was read and postponed till the following Saturday. On September 16 a large petition was presented, signed by over fifteen hundred citizens of Westmoreland and Washington counties, asking that the bill be passed. This was followed by a petition exclusively from Washington county on September 22. On September 24, 1787, the bill entitled "An Act for erecting certain parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington into a separate county," was finally passed and the speaker signed it the same day.

The following petition, presented to the legislature at the February and March session of 1787, has never been published. It was discovered in a box of old papers in Harrisburg by Mr. Luther R. Kelker, custodian of public records, and was copied for this work. In this connection it becomes a most valuable document, for it gives the names of the men who took the lead in Pittsburg and vicinity in the great work of erecting and founding Allegheny county. Many who signed it became leaders in the city and county afterwards, and some of them are well known in our national history.

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met. The Petition of sundry Inhabitants of the Counties of Westmoreland and Washington

Humbly sheweth

That your Petitioners have seen the Bill published for consideration entitled an Act for erecting part of Westmoreland and Washington Counties into a separate county. We are pleased to find the Honorable House have given time to those Inhabitants who wish to be included in the new County, to make their sentiments and situation known to the House upon this subject. Your petitioners conceive by the limits specified in the before mentioned Bill your honors were not so well acquainted with the situation of the Country adjacent to Pittsburgh as to fix the bounds which ought to designate the new County with that precision the importance of the subject requires, and as we are unanimously of opinion your honors wish to lay out the County so as to make the same convenient to the Inhabitants and without injuring either Washington or Westmoreland Counties. Your petitioners with due submission beg leave to give your honors information of what we humbly conceive to be the proper bounds for the new County, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of Racoon Creek where it empties into the Ohio, thence up the middle of the said Creek to White's Mill, thence along a new cut Road to Armstrong's Mill on Miller's Run, thence in a direct line to the mouth of Mingoe Creek where it empties into the Monongahela River, thence up the middle of said River to the line of Fayette county, thence along said line to the mouth of Jacob's Creek on Youghiogany River, thence in a direct line to Cavet's Mill on Brush Creek,

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from thence a direct line to where Forbe's old road crosses Turtle Creek and from thence a direct line to the mouth of the Kiskamenitis, where it empties into the Alleghany River, thence up the middle of said river to the line of Northumberland County at the mouth of the Conowago River, thence up the middle of said River to the northern boundary of this State (if the said River shall extend so far and if not then from the said River by a line due north to the said Northern boundary, thence along the said Northern boundary westward to the western boundary of this state, thence down the said boundary southerly to the Ohio River aforesaid, thence up the middle of the said River to the place of beginning. The above described bounds will give general satisfaction to every Inhabitant in the two Counties, excepting a few interested persons or those who make it their business to object to every measure for the publick good, besides it will be much nigher and more convenient for every person living within the beforementioned bounds to go to Pittsburgh to courts or market than to Washington or Greensborough, having the advantage of the diffirent waters leading to Pittsburgh to transport ourselves and produce. At the same time we are obliged to attend Courts of Justice, either as suitors, jurors or witnesses, we can carry our produce with us, with which we can pay our court charges and Tavernkeepers Bills, and also procure such necessaries as we want for the use of our families. This a matter of great importance to us who at present are labouring under many difficulties for the want of Cash to patent our Lands and pay our Taxes. Your petition humbly conceive that the laying off a county with respectable bounds will greatly advantage the Inhabitants of the three Counties, the greater number of Inhabitants in a County makes the County Town the Richer, this induces persons of wealth to become Citizens, and consequently a greater consumption of produce. Pittsburgh the Capital of the Western Country seems intended by nature for a place of consequence from its situation at the confluence of two large Rivers that glide through an extensive and fertile Country, this will induce a great number of persons of trade and business to settle it, it will also increase the value of all the lands within the reach of that market, and also bring forward at an earlier period the Sale of the State lands, and the Settlement of that part of the Country Northward of Pittsburgh. Your Petitioners humbly conceive that it is the intention of your honors to accommodate the Inhabitants of the new County with such bounds as will make it more convenient for them to attend the Courts of Justice at Pittsburgh than at any other place, and we are happy to inform your honors that every person residing within the beforementioned bounds will find it more convenient to go to Pittsburgh than to any other place. Your petitioners beg leave to inform your honors that we do not mean to dictate to the honble House, when we mention the bounds, but only as a matter of information, and this we have thought incumbent on us as the persons who are immediately concerned in the consequences that are to ensue from the determination of the House. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honors would be pleased to enact a law for erecting a part of Westmoreland and a part of Washington Counties

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into a separate County upon the principles of liberality and justice and your Petitioners as in duty bound will pray, &ca.

Westmoreland, February 15th, 1787.

John Ormbey
Samuel Barr
Isaac Craig
Robert Galbraith
Geo. Adams
Richd. Butler
Geo. Thompson
Wm. Tilton

Hugh Ross
John Scull
A. Tannehill
John Handeyn
Jos. Tannehill
Robert Petterson
John Patterson
Chas. Wilkins
John Warner
David Boies
John Rammage
George Sipes
his
James x Reed
mark
William Richey
Charles Pamer
Richard flocks
Mathas Broker
William McCoy
Jacob Wise
William Hall
John Morison
John McNall
Caspear Bowman
Jno. Willims
Jno. Grubs
Eli Power
William Lowrey
James Willson
Wm. Wilkinson
Nichs. Neil
Matthew Willson
James Colhoon
John Poynts
James Lawless
Wm. Irwin
Denis Kenedy
Thos.
Sam Morison
John Reed

Jno. Gibson
David Duncan
John Boyd
Wm. Butler
Jno. Wilkins
Jno. Finley
Stepn. Bayard
Geo. Wallace
Wm. Greenough
Nathl. Bedford
A. Lawler
John Brown
Geo. Cochran
Wm. Weisthoff
Adam Sharp
Nehemiah Sharp
John Clark
Wm. Patton
Bert Garvey
Samuel Kerr
Adam Waltr (Walter)
Stephen Cisna
James Scott
Josiah Wynn
William Rosberry
Stephen Crawford
Tho. Jackson
Petter Cuthwright
Robert Mcfarland
James Williamson
Arthur Gardner
Jas. Littell
John Mcelland
John Collons
Alex. McCadams
Nathaniel Points
Nich. Welch
Geo. Mitchell
Jno. Meek
Timothy keen
Ephraim Herriott
George Herriott
Allen Boys
his
Jas. x Miller
mark
Yost Wribel
Mr. Lacassagne
William Dunning

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John Dunning
John Gill
Thomas Gorham, Jr.
Gorge Browaugh
Nathaniel Cotton
Jas. Thompson
Edw. Thompson
Jno. McGruger
Francis McElwain
John Leeth
James Reed
Weldon Reagen
Saml. McKay
Abdiel MLure
William Black
Charles Duke
petter McAchene
Daniel Mcdonald
Isaac Young
John Walter
James Chambers (H. Constable)
Isaac Whitaker
Jas. Whitaker
Aaron Whiteker
Jno. Clevedence
Charls Morgan
Thomas Fisher
Thomas McKenzie
Geo. Bowers
Thomas Dougherty
James Dougherty
Robert Jackson
John Mavie
Tho. Garvin
Jon. Irwin
Wm. Irwin
Jacob Stone
Philip Everhard
Samuel Shreve
Isreal Moorcroft
John Glass
his
Michel x McChristle
mark
Hugh Sterling
Adam funk
Pattrick McFarlen
John Miller
Benjamin Wilson
Robert Shawhan
Isaac Williams
William Redmon

George Sill
Jos. Fisher
Isaac Drumon
Samuel (?) Calhoun
John Small Shott
Fredrick Clevidence
William Dick
Willm Earl
John Boggs
James Robertson
John Plash
Isack McBride
John Wilson
Thos. Hilldrooth
Robt. Colhoon
Joseph Thornell
Oliver Ormsby
Robt. Thompson
Charles Morgan
Fauntley Muse
Joseph Philips
Jno. Richardson
Jno. Stokes
Tho. Carter
John Carter
Wm. Cassedy
John Persons
Ezek. Shelkint
Wm. Cecil
Wm. Haisting
George Fraiser
Dinnis Feris
Elias Williams
Hugh Hoffernan
David Coventry
William McDonald
Johan Rükert
Henry Taylor
Matthew Pheonix
Frederick Rothair
John Ward
Jos. Ashton
Jno. Ward
James Morrison
And. Jeffries
James Grant
William Thompson
Peter Rockafellow
James Hillman
Christian Maurer
Jacob Myers
Alexander Dunlap

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Henry Edwarts
Johannes barnhart
John Martin
John Clemmens
Elexander McCoullester
Adam Later (?)
Wm. McMillen
Johann Gorg Lichtenberger
Joseph McMahhen
Eng. Wilkeson
Andreas Drukenbrott
Wm. Boniface
Langn. McClane
Adam Matter
John Barr
William Boone
James Farrell
James Fleming
William Funk
Samuel Ferguson
Wm. McCoy
Jas. Dinsmore
Hugh Knox
Daniel Craig
John Armstrong
Adam Funk
George Jay
Hugh Rippey
Dinis kenedy
Alexr Fife
Robt. Philips
Isaac Morton
Willm. Phibbs
James Smith
Mich. Murphy
Wm. Claerich (?)
Thos. Wilkins
Saml. Duncan
Ezekiel Boggs
Morris Melone
John Tinny
Alexr. Downie
Jo Gardner
William Gill
Patrick Rylie
John McClure
Abraham Pyott
Wm. Wilson
Jacob Springer
Geo. Wallace, Jr
Edward Smith
Joseph Couch
Thos. Parker
Andw. Boggs
Wm. Driver
Wm. Chadwick
Thomas Greenough
Robert x heaton
his
mark
Jesse Kirkpatrick
James Pride
Charles Mathews
Bargi Lippincott
Jonathan Pew
John Shinn
John De huff
Gorge Morton
John St. Clair
Daniel McHenry
John Orr
Frederick Byerly
David Morris
Willm. Ludly
Peter Gainer
Jn. Johnston
Mickl. Arclebee
John Housholder
Thos. Wylie
Robt. Hawthorn
Robert Templeton
Robert Correy
John Connor
James Scott
Thomas Scott
David Scott
Roderick Strase (?)
Richard Sparrow
Wm. Clark
Wm. Braden
Joseph Nicholas
Andrew Simons
Joseph Lowry
William McMellan
Tho. Hill
Thomas McGinness
Wm. Chribbs, for P. Murphy
Robert Bratherton
Hugh Neelley
Wm. Collins
John Collins
Wm. S. Menig
William Evans
Joseph Newton

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John bailey
Robart brotherton
Charles Richards
J. S. Monceau de bouge
Philip Everhart
John Greer
Benjamin Richards
Gorg. Altman
his
Peter x Allon
mark
John Dehuff
John Walton
John Craig
John McClure
Jas. Munrow
his
John x Gordon
mark
Edward Murphey
John Brockney
James Martin
Jas. Beaty
Johan Grün (Green)
William Jones
Leaven phllips
Wilhelm Diehl
Matthew Deen
Mark Deen
John Dobin
Hugh Gardner
John Cowan
James Gill
Noble Wilkins
Roger Sweeney
Richard Spence
Jno. Gibson
Jas. Gibson
John Patterson
Joseph Patterson
David Updegraff
Daved Saven
James Williamson
Joh Gelen (?)
Saml Colhoun
Andrew Watson
William Watson
William Rodman
Tho. Martin
James Seal
Dennis OBryan
Robert Burns
Jair. Banden
John Reed
Saml. Todd
Deverux Smith
Owen Newman
Wm. Amberson
Saml. Sample
Jno. Colhoon
Joseph Gelln (?)
Alexander Nagely
Thomas Chambers
Alexdr. McNickell
James Lucky
David White
David Watson
Willm Story
Benjamin Chambers
Wm. Christy, Jr.
Jno. Robison
H. Redman
Henry Ewalt
Henry Hoglin
his
Jacob x Dixon
mark
James Myers
Abner McMahan
David Dunfield
Martin Cox
James Semple
Geo. Burns
David Leviston
Thomas Watson
James
Edward Watson
James Horner
William Carr
James Hawthorn
Reynor Smith
Andrew Robertson
Jas. Robison
William Freeman
Simon Small
Philib frantz
John McCollogh
his
Rob x McGinnes
mark
Benjamin power
James Power
John McKean
Amos Gristin (?)

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James McKean
James McKean
Johannes Hartner
Jas. Myar
Robt. Henderson
Arthur Boorns
James Boorns
Patrick Moore
John thompson
Robert Kenedy
Danl Carmichael
John Carmichael
Maekel Barckman
Alexander Carson
Arthur Withney
daniel Shawhan
John Kennedy
William Kennedy
William Reno
John Kerr
Jas. McDermut
James Richardson
Thomas Williams
Alexr. Long
Daniel Herbert
Martin McKeen
Henry hurst
James (illegible)
James Stewert
Robt. Johnson
Henry Middlesworth
Obediah Holmes
Robert Shawhan
Jno. Saviers
Isaac McMichael
John McMichael
Adam Keller
John Philips
John Nisbett
bartholomew Dinnis
Joseph McDowell
Thomas Lownsdale
Jacob Wyant Junr.
Thos. B. Patterson
Charls Smith
Ebenezer Gallahar
Amos Wilson
Wm. Hall
Michl Brown
Richard Sparrow
John Bell
William Tiddball

John Clifford
Benj. Kuykendall
Nicholas Bausman
Alex Steel
John Metzger
John Meck Clennen
James Bevard
George Adams
Joseph McCollogh
Robt. Snodgrass
Saml. Blackmore
Charles Allison
Thomas Redmon
Thos. Neilly
William Fife
John Ross
George Justus
Jno. Henry
William Boggs
Samuel Barber
David Felton
his
William x Anderson
mark
Jacob Ferree
John McLaughlin
John Hays
Robert Wilson
Andrew McAnsland
John Kinkead
Thos. Scott
Alexander Watson
Jacob Haymaker
James Kelly
Benjamin Vander Slice
John Millikin
James Kennedy
William Vaughan
James McMculleum
David Kennedy
Henry Wolf
John Stewart
Joseph Kerr
James Kennedy
Thomas Hogg
Joseph Mcdermit
Isaac Miller
Wm. Davidson
John Stees
John Neel
Obednego Davison
John Patch

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John Carr
William Black
John Kinkead
Robert McKee
James McPherson
William Carson
Isaac Williams
John frew
Thos. Williams
John Williams
Wm. Williams
Alexander Frew
John Boyd
Zac. Burdin
John Carn
Isaac Lane
George Gaunce
Joseph Robison
James Colwell
Patrick Armer
Hackai Slidem
William Wilson
Wm. Daugherty
Job Harvey
John Hull
Matt Hurley
John Barr
John McCormick
Joseph Curry
Thos. horsfiel
Conroad Wimbeidel
William Boggs
Christian Harseoh
George Evans
Daniel Shewhen
Jno. Sharer
James Finney
Wiliam Finney
Alexander kean
William Long
Jno Wallace
Daniel Reisher
Nathanael Patterson
Robert Thompson
Jas. Hamilton
John McKee
Michael Reisher
John Boggs
Thos. Lapely
James McKinney
John Wilson
Oliver Elliot

James McMullen
Joshua Long
James Brady
Eadward Coile
William Stewart
James Erwin
David Kennedy
Henery Shever
Robt. Bryarly
James Rutherford
John Johnson
John Scott
Dunning McNair
Peter Parchment
William Stephens
Saml. Sinclair
Jacob Miller
William Wightman
Simon Fletcher
John McDowel
David Calhoon
Henry Shaver
John Powell
James Elliott
John Small
Augustin Leibhardt
James Coulter
John Forgey
Saml. Sinclair Junr
Samuel Glass
Andrew Patterson
Mobray Evans
Andw. McClure
William McKee
Wm. McGill
John Elliot
Mathew Wigfield
(illegible)
Henry Reichard
Thomas Hamilton
Hugh Davison
William Hamilton
Robert Henderson
Henry Wood
Sanders Snoodgrass
James Snoodgrass
Willum McLauglin
Thomas Finney
Saml Cunningham
John Shields
Thos. Dunlap
John Loudobough

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William Powell
Joshua Davidson
William Reed
James Turk
his
Alexr. x Barr
mark
Wm. Daugherty
Sal. Young
John Miller
James Patton
Robert Boaken
Ebenezer Patton
David hill Sener
Mikle Strain
Samuel hill
David hill
Hugh McCoy
francis kirkpatrick
James thompson
Wm. Barr
James Richardson
Robert Sanders
John Dull
Joshua Meeks
John Meeks
John Purdy
William Boyd
Alexander Spiars
Robert Lyons
John Evans
John Morgan
John Ormsby, Junr
Jacob Haymaker, Junr
Charles Brooks
John Willson
Robert Holms
Isaa Walker
Isaac Israel
Robard hall
Steeven hol
James hol
William holl
John Mc bride
James Bear
Geidon Miler Junr
Geidon Miler
James Reed
John Smith
Jacob Hook
James Patten
John (illegible
(illegible)
(illegible)
James Henry
Joseph Christel
Robert Ramage
James Reed
Wm. fulton
Thomas Ramage
Thos. Willson
James Burns
Isaac Benet
John Tradle
James Cassey
James flaeanaghan
Jacob Dixon 176
Bartholomy Garvy
Saml. Sample
Hahnes Dauss (illegible)
Wm. Reed
Abraham (illegible)
Geo. Kelly
John Stille
Edward Pall
Thos. Craig
James Wallace
John Bever
Andw. Crauford
John Gallaher
Thomas Murdoch
Hans Murdoch
Daniel Robins
Ebenezer Magoffin
John Kerlisle
Frances Willson
Beneamin Bennit, Juner
Beneamin Bennit
Samuel tailor
Thos. Sands
Hugh McDanall
Peeter (illegible)
John Williams
Jno. Carnaghan
John Crowder
Abraham Bennett
Geo. McCully
Nat. Irish
Tho. Martin
Wm. Ryan
James Ryan
Saml. Crage

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Steward Wilkins
Jams Willis
Wm. Wilkins
Thomas Ross
James Ross
John Armstrong
Robt. McMaharg
Henry Speers
Joseph Flienter
Charles Duke
James Harosh
Niel McAchaney
Michael (illegible)
Thos. Morten
James Rice
Daniel Robins
William Murphy
Jno. Murphy
Patıick McDonnald
Abraham M. Dean
Samuel bar
Hugh Quigley
Gorge Bowers
Jno. Rice
Wiliam Deen
Jno. barr
Samuel Barr
Jno. Brakeny
Mathias Brakeny
Robt. Barr
Pat. Lenerd
David Crutchrow
Drenkin Rubsin
177 Jams Norish
Jnob. Ryan
Samuel McNear
Benjamin Ryzar
Arthur Brown
James Bows
his
Jacob x Burkheaut
mark
William Black
Thomas Black
Thomas Davison
Henry Fusher
Robert Black
Robt. Miler
Robt. Hain
Robt. Hutchusin

Wulliam Ross
John McClean
Edward McGlaughlon
Seth Bryan
Denel teremyer (?)
Wiliam Robisen
Anthony Evenes
Samuel Hulen
Tumues Garety
Danil Swany
Jas. Wilkinson
183. Wm. Asqua
Sam Martain
James Martain
James Cissna
Elina Powell
Jas. Amberson
Thomas McKee
James Huey
James Fisher
James Thomson
Samuel Mclure
Samuel Eve (torn)
James Guffy
196 John Mclean
James Gray
McMillan

(torn out)

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Richard Sparrow
Charls Dunkin
Marmaduke (illegible)
John Smith
(torn Lerch
(torn) McDonald
(torn) eny
(torn) trotter
(torn) Camreon
(torn) Selly
(torn) McDonald
(torn) füsher
(torn) ald
(torn) Betty
(torn) English
(torn) bans
(torn) Myclaw
(torn) Mcbroay
(torn) broay
(torn) iffe

(torn) Brothers
James Cannon
John McFaal
his
John x Mcdonald
mark
his
John x Camron
mark
Alexander Mcdonald
Hennry Small
Henry Mclinear
James Thompson
Thomas Christy
Henry Simons
William Mcfarish
Timothy Burderskull
John Titus
David Betty

Charles Willson
Henry McMeen
John Edwards
Mathew Mconnal
John Jacks
James Willson
John Duffe
William Broday
Murdgah Mclowd
Daniel Grahams
215

John Wolter
James Chambers
William Willson

Danl. Britt
Edwd Ward
Thos. Gibson
Jno. Lockart
Wm. Durragh
Wm. Christey
Archd Reid
James Carr
Charles Bell
Charles Forgie
Jas. McLelland
Pattrick McCartney
Thos. Sampson
pat. Mcdoneld
Willm White
Hugh Nicehol
William Dowell
James Wilson

Harrisburg, Penna., October 8, 1907.

To whom it may concern:

I hereby certify that the foregoing pages 1 to 10 contain a true copy of the original petition of citizens of Washington and Westmoreland counties for the erection of a new County, with Pittsburg as the county seat, date as mentioned on page 1. Now on file in Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, Penna.

In testimony whereof I hereby affix the Seal of this Department.
[SEAL]

LUTHER R. KELKER,
Custodian, Division of Public Records.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Pioneers of Pittsburg; Their Habits, Customs and Hardships.

The early settlers around Pittsburg were nearly all young men who had come from Virginia and from the Cumberland Valley and were largely descendants of Scotch-Irish parents. Rarely ever were they beyond middle age. The old people were left behind in the East. Often a young man came across the mountains unmarried, and here located a tract of land, clearing part of it and sometimes built a house the first year. Late in the fall he returned to his former home to get married, and early in the spring the two set out for their new home. He usually had a horse on which the young wife rode and on which was also carried a few indispensable household goods which could not be purchased here. Sometimes a well-to-do pioneer had two horses. If so, on one was a pack-saddle, on which was brought west perhaps 300 pounds of household utensils. In any event they brought a skillet, a pot, a few dishes, an axe and a mattock for clearing land. They generally brought some bedding material, though this was often entirely of skins of animals killed on the way or procured after their arrival. They also brought garden seeds and a few dry herbs to last them until new ones could be raised. Seed corn and seed grain was always kept at the garrison of Fort Pitt for the benefit of the community, and thither went the young farmer who was in need when planting time came. Those who came west also often brought seeds of favorite apple and peach trees, which they planted near their new homes. The settler himself usually walked all the way and carried a rifle on his shoulder, for this he must have in the new country. With this outfit, if they had with them a few pounds of hard-baked bread and if he was fortunate enough to shoot a deer, turkeys or other smaller game on the way, they were well supplied for a fortnight's journey through the wilderness. There were often days of travel without the sign of a human habitation. If the travellers were near a settler's house, be it ever so humble and crowded, they were always welcome. This long journey was usually made in the springtime, when sleeping outside was not dangerous nor inconvenient. They were, moreover, often going to a settlement where they were looked for by relatives or old acquaintances, and the journey had in it much to look for with pleasure. Seldom did a family locate in a new country

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alone. In case the community in which they were moving was entirely new, they formed a company among their neighbors in the East, who made the journey and located together. These companies were called colonies and often had among them entire families who were being transplanted to the West. As has been observed before, the first log houses or cabins were built near the forts; then they spread out along the military roads and finally the entire community was settled. Fort Pitt was all this time garrisoned by the government or the state, and in this the settlers, except during Dunmore's War, were made welcome until their log houses were ready for occupancy, so that their residence in the fort was not always limited to times of danger.

Western Pennsylvania had few Daniel Boones in its early history, men who isolated themselves entirely from companionship and lived alone in the wilderness. Fur traders, of course, did this in the early days, but they are not generally considered among the thrifty pioneers who cleared away the primeval forest and were the original founders of the homes we glory in today. The early pioneers whom we are considering were home-makers, and, after the acquisition of land, what they most desired was neighbors. They did not come here to hunt and fish, nor to buy furs and skins from the Indians. Generally they left better homes in the East, but were willing to endure all manner of hardship for a few years with the hope of abundance later on. They very soon learned to love their new homes and to fight for and defend them, as we have seen in Dunmore's War, even as though thy had been palaces. However rough the land, however small the clearing or however rude his mud-plastered log cabin, it was his own, and that consolation alone was enough to enable him to overlook all its imperfections. Because he owned it himself he was willing to defend it against the world, if necessary. "To be a freeholder," said Blaine in his eulogy on Garfield, "has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Horsa and Hengist landed on the shores of England." For many years, as we have seen, the pioneer worked with his gun near him and in company with his neighbors. In house building he was almost compelled to have neighbors, or at least some assistance in putting the logs in place. He could cut down and hew the timber and perhaps a neighbor could help him to draw the hewn logs to the place selected for the house. Then came a "raising," which was a big day among our pioneer ancestors. The whole community assembled and put up the log house in a single day. Sometimes they cut and hewed the logs and put up the house between "sun-up" and "sun-down." A house fifteen by thirty feet, two rooms below and one or two above, was a very large house for that period. The axe was the principal tool used in house building. On the day of the raising the older people had each a dram before they began work, for whiskey was supposed to be indispensable in every well regulated community. There was also a big dinner, which was prepared by the women of the community. Thus both old and young were brought together at the raising and all had a part to perform. Not by any means the least attractive feature of the occasion were the young maidens

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who attended to prepare the noon dinner. The young men, who proudly showed their strength by lifting logs to their places, were often rough and unpolished, half hunter and half farmer, but nevertheless they greatly attracted our grand dames. The raising was governed by rules which greatly facilitated the work. The men were divided into two equal companies, and, after the military order of that day, each chose a captain. The logs were pushed up on slides at each side and ends of the house and the party which could the most rapidly put its logs in place were the victors. When the log was at its proper height it was notched at the ends to fit on the log underneath it and thus be held firmly in the house. The man who notched the ends of the logs was called the "corner-man," and there were four of these, that is, one for each corner. A sharp ax, a true eye and a strong arm were the requisites of a corner-man. Had he these qualifications he could very quickly notch the log to fit on the log below and cut its upper side to fit the triangular notch of the next log. He must also keep his corner plumb and this required more care than we might think. He was a very important man at a raising. While he was doing this, those on the ground were moving the next log up the slides to its final position. A good corner-man must also have the last log finished by the time the next log arrived so as not to keep the men waiting. But if he did keep them waiting sometimes in the morning when the logs did not have to be raised very high, later in the day he could often indulge in the sarcasm of calling for logs, for each succeeding log had to be raised about a foot higher. The average log when green, if twenty feet long, would weigh about 1,500 pounds, and it was not an easy matter to hoist it ten or fifteen feet with the limited appliances of that day. The average house, say fifteen by twenty-five feet, was nine or ten feet to the top of the first story, and the second story was not generally more than four or five feet to the eaves of the roof. Sometimes when the house was more pretentious, the second story was a full story of eight or nine feet. The entire house was generally built of logs of equal length, making no provisions for the door or for windows. The logs were afterwards sawed away for such openings, and this can be noticed even to this day in our old log houses. Sometimes there was a chimney in the center with a fireplace on each side, but this was a more pretentious style of architecture than the pioneer in his hurry usually adopted. The chimney was often at one side or end of the house and frequently on the outside, in which case there was an opening through the logs for the fireplace. In most houses the chimneys were made of stones and mortar. A few that were more hurriedly constructed had chimneys made of small pieces of wood which were laid in thick mortar, which thoroughly covered the inside and thus protected it fairly well from the sparks of the fire. The earliest houses had no glass windows. Light was admitted through greased paper, and the light at best was very poor. There was no glass manufactured in America then and it was a luxury only indulged in by those who could afford to transport it from the East. Glass was first manufactured in Pittsburg in

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1791, but it was long years after that until it came into general use in making windows.

At the top of the first story logs called joists, were laid across the building and these were hewn on one side only. They were usually small saplings from eight to ten inches in diameter. On the top of the house came the rafters, made after the same manner but not so heavy. The roof was made of clapboards, that is, boardlike pieces split from straight-grained trees. They were much larger and thicker than split shingles. Sometimes they were smoothed off with a drawing knife. From these were also made the rough floor of the second story if there was a second story at all, for many of the houses were but one story high, and indeed many of them had but one room and were not over fifteen feet square. The floor of the first story in the most primitive houses was made of clay. Next to clay in advance was the puncheon floor, which was made of logs split in the center and laid with the flat side up. These flat surfaces with a little dressing, made a comparatively level floor. The fireplace was a great, wide opening, so that a log six feet or more in length could be rolled into it as a back log and thus help to throw out heat. Over this great fireplace was hung the rifle, bullet pouch and powder horn of the owner of the house. Sometimes the antlers of a deer hung above the fireplace and from them were suspended the implements of the hunter. The door was hung on wooden hinges. The door latch was a short bar of wood on the inside, and from it upward through a hole in the door passed the latch-string so that it could be opened from the outside, but when night came the latch-string could be drawn in, a simple way of locking the door. From this came the favorite expression of welcome, "the latch-string is out." The houses were made comparatively warm by filling up the cracks with small pieces of wood and covering them with mortar. It was also a dry house after the floor was put in, but these were almost its only merits. The houses burned in Hannastown and also the houses in Pittsburg at that time were the best in the western country, yet none of them was better than the description above and some of them were much smaller. The houses in Pittsburg before the Revolution were not equal to this. In 1774 there was but one house in Pittsburg with a shingle roof and it was pointed out as a marvel in town improvement and as an evidence of the great enterprise around the Fork of the Ohio. Dr. MacMillan, who came to the West to preach in 1778, says: "The cabin in which I was to live was raised but there was no roof to it, nor any chimney or floor. We had neither bedstead, table, nor stool, nor chair, nor bucket. We placed two boxes, one on the other, which served us for a table, and two kegs served us for seats, and having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread our bed on the floor and slept soundly until morning. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks, but had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes and all the necessaries of life; as for luxuries we were not much concerned." Dr. James Power, who also preached in the West during the Revolution, says that for years after he came there was not a frame, stone or brick house within the limits of his congregation, and his charge in-

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cluded nearly all that is now embraced within Allegheny county. Stone houses were not built until the latter part of the century, and even then were built only where stones could be readily procured. The furniture within the houses of that day was nearly all home-made, and in many instances without sawed lumber. Our day laborers now would scarcely live in such houses, even though they were rent free, yet those were the houses and castles of our ancestors who fought so bravely to protect them and who were not inferior to us in physical and moral qualifications, nor were they by nature intellectually inferior to us. If any reader who prides himself on being descended from one of Pittsburg's oldest families will go back far enough he will find his ancestor living in just such a house as is described, and likely in one not quite so complete. Nor will he be ashamed if he is a truly worthy and loyal son of his pioneer ancestry. The greatest and most distinguished man of last century was born in a one-storied log cabin in Kentucky. Daniel Webster, the Hercules of American statesmen, in a political address made during the Log Cabin campaign in 1840 at Saratoga, New York, bore this testimony to the old log huts: "It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my older brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin, raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire at a period so early that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it, to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them." The second story of the log-house of that day, if there was a second story, was generally called a loft, and was reached sometimes by a stairway but often by a ladder, or by wooden pins driven into the logs. On the rafters were often hung pieces of smoked meat, all kinds of herbs for medicines, and clothes when not in use. The stables of the pioneer were built like the houses, but of smaller logs, and they were rarely hewn. The smaller logs were used so that the cracks between them might be less and thus protect the stock from wild animals, such as bears and wolves, which roamed the country at will and were very destructive to domestic animals. The stables were not much of a protection against the blasts of winter, for the cracks between the logs were very rarely closed. When the early settler began to erect buildings he always located them near a never failing spring, and thus generally on the lower ground. In felling trees for his house and stable he was clearing his land, and thus his first fields were near his house. Afterwards he cut other trees, rolled them together and burned them. The forest was further cleared by deadening trees and among these he raised grain even the first season. One man in a day could deaden the trees on three or four acres of land. In a few years the storms uprooted the deadened trees and the huge boles by that time were very dry, so if four or five were rolled together, making a "log heap," they could be reduced to ashes in a few hours. In this way the primeval forest was cut away, and very little of the timber was utilized.

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The pioneer's next duty was to fence a few of his fields, that is, such as he intended for agricultural purposes. The cattle and horses were allowed to wander at large, browsing in the woodland, and the fences were to protect the growing crops from them. Bells were hung on the necks of animals so that they could be found when needed, and that the farmer might know from the sound of the bell when they had broken into his fields. Bells were almost indispensable in a new unfenced country, yet they sometimes wrought great harm. The prowling Indians frequently removed the bells from domestic animals, and, hiding behind bushes or in dark ravines, induced children or the pioneer to come close to them, they thinking they were approaching the cows or horses for which they were searching. The bells on animals were also said to be a protection against wild beasts, for rarely ever, it is said, would a wolf or bear attack an animal which wore a tinkling bell.

Corn, rye and potatoes were the principal products of the early farmers. They were very anxious to raise wheat, but had poor success in its culture, even in our present wheat growing communities. They believed that wheat and rye could be raised only on high ground, and for that reason cleared the hills first. The more level tracts and rich river bottoms which afterwards constituted the most productive farming land, were then too damp for wheat or rye, particularly the former, to live in over winter. Furthermore, the rich bottom land was very prolific in the growth of weeds and briars and required much more labor to reclaim it than the higher ground. Corn was largely used for bread and by hunters and travellers in the form of "johnny cake," which for this reason was originally called "journey cake." The average garden of those days was a small affair. They raised their sage, from the leaves of which they made tea, used as a substitute for the tea of commerce. To the real tea our ancestors were always hostile after the tax was put on it by Great Britain in 1765. When Arthur St. Clair first moved his family to Ligonier Mrs. St. Clair, who was a Boston woman of gentle birth, brought with her a chest of real tea. Many of her new neighbors had heard of it before but had never tasted it. They came from near and from far to attend her "tea parties." They enjoyed it so much that it was but a short time until it was exhausted. Coffee was not known to our early settlers, but by the time of the Revolution it was used for special occasions. The root bark of the sassafras tree, roasted chestnuts and roasted rye or wheat were all used in place of coffee.

From necessity our ancestors of that age were clothed almost entirely in homespun garments of linen or wool or a mixture of the two, called "linsey woolsey," or in the skins of animals. Flax culture is so far removed from our generation that perhaps a few words concerning it may not be out of place here, for it was undoubtedly the main-stay of our pioneers. Its culture is one of the oldest of human industries. Dr. Herr, the great German botanist, has proved thoroughly that it was cultivated among the pre-historic races of Europe. After many years of research he asserts that it was grown in Egypt 5,000 years ago. Its use in the formation of textile fabrics is much

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older than the use of wool, notwithstanding the fact that sheep are among the oldest of domestic animals. Flax is a fibrous plant, from the bark of which all linen is made. It will grow readily in any soil but it will grow best on loose ground. The seed is a small brown grain and from it is manufactured all pure linseed oil. The seed is so small that a gallon of it would sow about two acres. It grew about two and one-half feet high and bore a pretty blue blossom, a field of which when in full bloom, was most attractive to the eye. When ripe it was pulled up by the roots and dried on the ground. The seeds were easily removed by thrashing it with a flail. The stem itself was very brittle when dry, but the bark of the stem was very tough, and so when "broken" on a crude machine called a "break," the bark remained whole while the brittle stems were reduced to small pieces and were easily separated from the fibre. The finer part of the fibre or bark could be spun into linen and the coarser part was made into cloth called "tow." This separation was done by drawing it lengthwise over a "hackle," which was a small piece of wood set with numerous iron spikes projecting about four inches. This caught the rough material and allowed the finer fibre to be drawn through.

Then the housewife spun it on a spinning wheel propelled by a treadle tramped by one foot. Spinning wheels may yet be seen in many houses, preserved as mementoes of that age. Spinning with a wheel was a very ancient and very simple art. They spun in the days of Virgil, for he says, "the slender thread of life is drawn out from the spindles of the fates." They both spun and wove in Greece and still further back than Homer's age the Egyptians were weaving linens which would be of high order even in our advanced age. Homer compares the life of a man to the "swift flying shuttle of the weaver." Nor was the spinning in the latter part of the eighteenth century confined to the pioneer women of the West, but our grandmothers in the best eastern families had been taught to spin and knit, and many of them to weave. The mother of General Washington, Mary Ball, who was a woman of high birth and wealth, could spin, knit and weave, and Martha Washington, the wife of the general, became famous for her knitting societies during the Revolution. The cloth was woven on looms, which were rather expensive structures and only perhaps one family in a dozen could afford one, though every family of any standing had one or more spinning wheels. The neighbor who had a loom took in weaving and retained a part of each web woven in payment for his services. A fabric made of tow or linen was very durable but not a warm covering for cold weather, so a mixture of wool and linen called linsey-woolsey was made. Through many a long evening, aided only by the flickering light of a tallow dip, did the industrious mother nod and bend over the spinning wheel or grasp the countless threads with weary fingers and weave them into webs of cloth for her husband and children. Wool could be prepared for home spinning by "carding," which was done by two hand cards looking not unlike horse curry-combs. It could then be spun and woven like linen or tow. But the pioneer's great difficulty in producing wool was to protect the sheep from the wolves and

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bears which were found in every section of the West. Foxes, too, which were very destructive to young lambs, abounded in the forests. When the country grew older these animals were banished and wool carding by hand was abandoned, for in many localities late in the century, there sprung up fulling mills. To these the farmer sent his wool where, by simple machinery, it was made ready for spinning. Or he could, at a later period, have it spun at the mill and woven into such cloth as he stood in need of. The woolen factories were run by water power and the work they did was not expensive. Still later these factories colored wool and made it into blankets of red and white or blue and white, some of which may yet be seen, preserved as heirlooms among the older families of the country. But these factories were scarcely built before 1800, and for twenty-five or thirty years at least, all pioneer families around Pittsburg spun and wove their own cloth almost entirely by hand. In the winter men wore caps made from the skins of animals and in the summer they wore straw hats, but all were of domestic make. Men wore buckskin trousers and these were worn by men in all ranks of life. They often wore a hunting shirt, as it was called, though its use was not confined to the chase. It was sometimes made of doe skin and was very slow to wear out. The well-to-do men wore shoes with buckles in the summer, while the poorer class wore moccasins, a soft-soled shoe of home manufacture made of buckskin. Along with shoe buckles and knee breeches went blue coats and brass buttons, but the cloth of these was not generally of home manufacture. There was much more difference between the well-to-do and the poor as to dress then than there is now. Women wore short skirts of linsey-woolsey in the summer and of all wool in the winter. They wore beaver or felt hats on special occasions and their hats did not differ very much from those worn by men on dress occasions. It was then fashionable for women to tie a fringed silk handkerchief over their heads. Most women before 1800 were barefooted in the summer when about their house work, and prior to that time many of them attended church, the only dress occasion they had, without shoes. In the winter they wore moccasins. It was at least thirty years after the founding of Pittsburg by the first settlers that silk dresses began to be worn by women. It is true, as we have seen, that a silk dress was taken from a house in Hannastown by an Indian, but this was remarkable, and its being silk was perhaps what preserved the incident to us. Calico and all kindred fabrics were unknown to our ancestors of the Revolutionary period. During the early years of the last century calico sold for $1.00 per yard, and even as late as 1825 it was selling for fifty cents per yard.

Another crude industry by which the pioneer lived was boiling the sap of the maple or sugar trees and making syrup and sugar. It was done in a very primitive manner compared with the same industry of our age, yet the result was nearly the same. They bored a small hole into the tree and inserted a hollow reed or stick, through which the sap dripped rapidly into a trough about three feet long, made of the halves of a small split log. These logs

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were hollowed out with an axe and could be made to hold three or four gallons of sap. The sap they boiled in kettles over wood fires. The season for making it was very short, being confined to the first mild weather of springtime, and consequently when the pioneer had many trees on his land he kept the sap boiling night and day, for it soon soured if not used up. The sugar camp was a favorite place for young men and women to meet at night to make sugar and keep the fire going and the water boiling after the older people had gone home, for the boiling was always done in the midst of the grove of trees. The trees on the eastern slopes of the hills and in the bottoms where the warm morning sun struck them most directly, were the most productive of sap. An average tree produced eight or ten gallons of sap per day, and a large one produced much more.

A Scotch-Irishman who located here early last century was very much delighted with the sugar making, which to him was a new way of securing the saccharine substance. He worked his trees all he could in the early springtime and told his neighbors that he would "stap aff" until his corn was planted and then would begin again. The great English novelist, Thackeray, made a greater mistake than this in his charming story entitled "The Virginians," written to portray the ill-fated expedition of General Braddock to capture Fort Duquesne. He represents his hero, George Warrington, as being taken a prisoner by the French and confined in the fort until his escape in October, 1756. The hero started on foot at once by long night journeys through the wilderness to his home in eastern Virginia. The novelist represents him as very greatly admiring the hues of the October forests in Western Pennsylvania, travelling mostly by night to escape pursuers, when one night he saw a distant light in a valley. The escaped prisoner was very hungry yet feared to go to the light lest the campers be Indians or hostile French. But finally, spurred on by hunger, he ventured close enough to discover to his great delight that they were farmers boiling sugar, for this, says the novelist, "is the season of the year that the Pennsylvania farmers secure their sugar by boiling the sap of the maple tree." The Indians made syrup from the maple and the hickory tree and also from the walnut tree, the latter producing a very dark colored but very sweet fluid or sugar. Indeed, it is said on good authority, that the industry now so common in America was taught the white pioneer by the Indians. They cut a small niche into the tree and caught the drops of sap in vats or troughs, boiling it very much as our forefathers did. The sugar or syrup was, like all products of that day, made for home consumption only. It was long years before there was a sale for it. The industry, with many modern improvements, is yet carried on in many parts of Pennsylvania, though the product is now almost exclusively maple syrup.

The woods also at that time were full of wild fruits. Moreover, all small fruits and berries grew more abundantly and were more luscious then than now. Horace Greeley noticed the same change in the New England states, and attributed it entirely to the destruction of the original forests. This so changed the moisture

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of the atmosphere and the earth and so subjected the tender buds to intense heat, to the stormy blasts of winter and to severe cold, that small fruits scarcely thrive at all now compared with their natural growth when the country was in its original condition. Blackberries, whortleberries, raspberries, wild plums, wild strawberries, haws, wild grapes, and servesberries, the latter ripening with the early days of June, were plentiful then and of a much finer quality than the few stragglers which woodsmen may now occasionally find. The peach and cherry trees both bore fruit in their third or fourth year and were easily raised then while, owing to climatic changes, they can scarcely be grown at all now. In the early days of Pittsburg many of these small fruits were grown profusely on almost every residence lot in the town. Wild fruits were of great advantage to our ancestors. It is an undoubted fact that many of them lived sometimes for days without bread or meat. Often an escaping captive travelled hundreds of miles through an almost unbroken forest, subsisting entirely on wild fruits. Most of the early families depended mainly for their meat supply on the trusty rifle. All men of that day were presumed to know how to handle a gun. Small boys looked forward to the great day in the future when they could be entrusted with firearms and go into the woods to hunt. The country was full of game. The most dangerous animals were the black and brown bears, which were very common, and especially among the hills around Pittsburg, where the cavernous rocks near the rivers and deep ravines afforded them good dens and hiding places. They by nature inhabited the wildest regions and, of course, were more common in the early days of Pittsburg on the Allegheny mountains. They ventured out into the settlements in those days in the pursuit of food. The settlers' sheep, pigs and calves were always in danger and were much more likely to be carried off in the winter than in the summer for obvious reasons. All parts of Allegheny county, at least until 1810, suffered from such depredations. Bears were often killed in this section as late as 1820, but these had probably come from the Laurel Hill or Allegheny mountains in search of food. The meat of the bear was used by the pioneer and very much resembled pork. They invariably laid in a stock of it for winter and preserved it in the same manner that pork is now preserved. The bear skin also made at least a half of a very warm blanket because of its thick covering of fine soft hair. The bear was hunted with dogs. It could travel long distances through dense underbrush and was therefore, not by any means an easy prey for the hunter. When closely pursued by dogs it climbed a tree for safety and could then be brought down with a ball from the rifle. They were also caught in large steel traps and were so furious when thus captured that they frequently bit off the foot above the jaws of the trap and thus escaped. They were caught more securely in pens made of strong logs, built on the side of a hill or so that the bear could easily reach the top of the covering of the pen, which was baited with a tempting cow's head or other piece of meat. The top of the pen was so arranged that it tilted with the bear's weight and dropped it into the pen, the tilting part of the roof closing immediately over its head, and

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was thus ready to entrap another bear. They were not crafty or cunning animals and were frequently entrapped by this and other similar devices. There were also many deer in the country and they were not confined to the mountains but roamed all over the present limits of Allegheny county and Western Pennsylvania. Later, of course, they were driven to the mountains exclusively. They fed on grass, herbs and buds and frequented this section, where the three rivers afforded them an abundance of fresh water. They were wild and quick in movement when frightened, but with the hunter who understood their habits were comparatively easily shot, and upon them the pioneer depended largely for his supply of meat. Dozens of them were sometimes shot in a single year by one hunter. The deer had certain places where they crossed from one high hill or spur of mountains to another and these crossings were well known to the hunter and were sometimes well defined paths. Posting himself on these he could easily shoot the deer. There were certain places where the water that oozed from the earth was slightly salted; these were called deerlicks and were much frequented by them, for they had the same taste for salt that cattle, sheep and horses have. The meat of the deer, called venison, most nearly resembles mutton or beef. It was dried or jerked to preserve it for future use. The skin of the deer was, like that of the bear, of great service to the hunter. It was covered with a thick growth of hair and it was almost impervious to cold or rain. When prepared in the form of buckskin or doeskin it was manufactured into breeches, coats, moccasins, etc. There were no buffaloes here after the advent of the white man, but Washington, in a letter wrote of hunting them on the upper Ohio river sections and the Kanawha river regions were relied on to some extent, to furnish buffalo meat for the army in charge of Fort Pitt during the Revolution. Formerly they had undoubtedly inhabited this region.

Small game, such as wild turkeys, pheasants, rabbits, squirrels, etc., abounded everywhere, and in some localities were an annoyance to the growing crops. Ammunition was too expensive to be wasted on them, though wild turkeys were always considered a great delicacy and were much sought after by the pioneer. Twice a year they had droves of wild pigeons to shoot at, that is, on their migrations north in the spring and south in the fall. These birds came in great numbers. Wolves were a great annoyance to the farmer. Taken singly a wolf was a cowardly, skulking animal, but a pack of them, when driven to desperation by hunger, would attack either man or beast. The wolf of Pennsylvania was brown in color rather than the gray wolf of the West with which we are more familiar. It hunted its prey by scent like a dog. A pack of them would approach the cabin of a farmer in quest of pigs or sheep and announced their presence by prolonged howls which terrified the community almost as did the war-whoops of the Indians a few years previous. In that frenzied condition, produced by hunger, a gang of them would spring on a horse or cow, fasten their teeth and claws into its flesh and though all its strength was put into play, the suffering animal could not rid itself of them and in a few minutes was brought to the ground and devoured. A man alone after

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nightfall was equally in danger should he encounter a pack of hungry wolves. The only safety for him was to climb a tree. They could not follow him there but they could watch him all night, which they often did, skulking away to their dens in the morning. They were always gregarious animals. They generally inhabited mountainous countries or sections where they could readily find dens among the cavernous rocks and later where they were not too far removed from the domestic animals of the early settlers. In 1782 the state offered $5.00 for the scalp of a wolf whelp and $25.00 for that of a full grown wolf. This was in state currency, which was greatly depreciated, but a few years later a reward of $8.00 in gold was offered for every wolf that was killed, and this reward was afterward raised to $12.00. In addition to this some counties in Western Pennsylvania were so sorely afflicted with them that they offered special rewards. Squirrels and crows were also a great nuisance to the farmers. They dug out newly planted corn grains and feasted on the ripening fields of grain. Premiums were put on their scalps also, and some counties were specially authorized by legislative enactments to assess and collect a squirrel scalp fund. The premium offered by the state was two cents for squirrels and three cents for crows, and was but little more than the cost of the ammunition, which itself was a very important question with the pioneer. He could not produce the ingredients of powder nor could he dig lead from the earth. All firearms were then discharged by flint locks and hence they were not compelled to buy caps, which came afterward, but lead must be purchased. Powder was very frequently manufactured by the early pioneer. Its explosive quality is brought about by the chemical action of the union of three non-explosive ingredients, namely, saltpeter, charcoal and sulphur. Taking about six-tenths of the former and two-tenths each of the latter, they first pulverized each separately, then mixed them in water and dried the mixture over a fire. To keep the mixture from becoming a solid mass they were compelled to stir it constantly. When finally dry they had a fair quality of powder. The charcoal they could produce but were compelled to purchase the saltpeter and sulphur. It could still be made at less cost than the selling price of powder and the latter could not be purchased at all times in this section. One old hunter was thus manufacturing powder and was drying it over an open fire. Forgetting himself and perhaps not realizing that it was dried, he stirred the fire below with the same paddle he was using in stirring the powder. When he began again to stir the powder a small coal perhaps adhered to the paddle. At all events it exploded and very nearly cost him his life. A good hunter in those days used nothing but a rifle, and for small game a gun of very small bore and bullet was used. It was not an uncommon thing for a hunter to bring in a dozen squirrels or small birds like partridges or pheasants, each of which was shot in the head. Squirrels were often killed by "barking" them; that is, by shooting a bullet into the bark, or between the bark and the squirrel. This was almost sure death to the squirrel and did not destroy the meat.

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There were few tools used by the farmers in those days compared with the ones used now. Scarcely any farmer had a wagon, but hauled his crops on a rude sled, which he could easily manufacture himself if he had a saw, an auger and an axe. Hay was often dragged with a grapevine used in place of a rope, and a comparatively good sized pile, weighing several hundred pounds, could thus be dragged by drawing the vine underneath and around it and hitching a horse to the end. There were no ropes in the community then. They had a rude shaped plow, but very few harrows. To mellow the ground after plowing they dragged a thorn or other tree with projecting branches over it. The land was covered with deadened trees and stumps and because of these was very much more difficult to cultivate than when thoroughly cleared. Grass was cut with a scythe and grain with a sickle. Finally grain cradles were introduced, but were used only in cutting wheat, rye and perhaps buckwheat. So it will appear that a farmer with an axe, saw, auger, sickle, scythe and plow could manage to get along reasonably well as far as tools were concerned. There was little done in this section then except farming. There were no towns of any consequence, and nearly all the people depended upon agriculture for a livelihood. Women not infrequently worked in the fields and helped to perform much of the labor which is now performed by men exclusively. To destroy the forest was the pioneer's first duty, for it will be remembered that the entire country was practically an unbroken wilderness when first settled by white men. The work on the farm was very hard. A day's work was from daylight until dark. In the winter months the pioneer cleared lands and later threshed his grain with flails. No one at that time who worked a day or two for a neighbor was paid in money, but in return labor when he needed help, and any pioneer living within two or three miles of him was considered a near neighbor.

Prior to 1790 there was scarcely a market for any farm product, but each pioneer was content if he raised enough to live on from year to year and improved his land and increased his acres. After that, when there came a market for rye for distilling purposes and when the manufacture of iron made a market for horses, oats and corn, then the pioneers began to build better houses and all over the country we can see the crumbling ruins of old stone houses and barns built in the early years of last century. The pioneer during these primitive years had few expenses. He had scarcely any doctor bills, for there were but few physicians, and, moreover, the housewife knew the simple remedies of garden herbs which she had carefully preserved. His fuel was cut from the surrounding forest, his clothes were homespun or grew on the backs of wild animals, while the crude iron implements and ammunition were among the few necessaries which he could not produce. But often these were subjects of barter and he could procure them in return for rye, potatoes or the skins of animals.

The great crying need of the settler was salt. This he could not produce from his land and neither he nor his livestock could live and get along well

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without it. In "Craig's History of Pittsburg," is quoted a letter from Daniel Brodhead written to the president of the supreme executive council, in which he says salt will purchase any material which money would not buy. He urges them to send it and urges that they cannot send too much salt. All salt was then brought here on pack horses from Hagerstown, Maryland, or from Philadelphia, hence its great scarcity. In 1790 one barrel of salt was worth twenty bushels of wheat. Meat could not be conveniently kept without salt, so the scarcity of salt brought about a corresponding scarcity of meat. When Fort Pitt was garrisoned as a place of safety it was not uncommon to send soldiers out to hunt in the woods for game. Few cattle were raised because of the enormous price of salt. About 1800, Kentucky salt was manufactured from the inexhaustible salt wells of that state and was brought up to Pittsburg in barrels on boats, and after that it was cheaper. Yet as late as 1806 Kentucky salt was selling in Pittsburg at $14.00 per barrel, though the barrels were about one-third larger than they are now. For many years salt was worth from twelve and one-half to twenty cents per quart at retail. Deerlicks, it is true, were known here long before the Revolution, and Captain Brady and other hunters from Fort Pitt frequently took advantage of them in securing venison. But the pioneer had neither the money nor the knowledge to bore for and manufacture the salt from the water which oozed from the earth. The common way of procuring it was to send a train of pack horses East laden with skins and furs and return with them laden with salt.

Both congress and the legislature passed measures to relieve the people of the growing need of salt. In September, 1776, a large amount of salt was found secreted by some Tory merchants in Philadelphia, and it was at once confiscated and divided among the counties of the state. Pittsburg was then in Westmoreland county and the share given to the county was three hundred and nineteen bushels. In 1778 the legislature purchased a large quantity of salt for free distribution, and they also passed a law against any one having a monopoly of the salt trade. The Continental congress itself established a salt works in New Jersey, but like most of its exploits this was not successful. In 1779 a Committee of Salt was appointed by the state to regulate its price and force its sale on the part of those who had laid up large quantities of it. In a "Merchants' Memorial," relative to a seizure of salt made by the Salt Committee on October 23, 1779, it is stated that they had refused two hundred dollars per bushel for it and that now when taken from them for the state's benefit, they were only receiving about one hundred and fifty dollars per bushel for it. Flour was a very scarce article in the East, so President Reed proposed in 1799 that salt be distributed among the counties in proportion to the amount of flour sent east by them. While salt was more abundant in Kentucky, they had not yet begun to distill whiskey, and therefore when our pioneers began to make whiskey, boatloads of it were sent down the river and exchanged for Kentucky salt. But salt in the early years of the last century remained at a very high price and it was not unusual for the pioneers near the Fork of the

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Ohio to unite and send down to Hagerstown or to Kentucky, a train of pack horses which would carry back the salt for the coming year. Each pack horse could carry from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty pounds of salt. Even as late as 1820 farmers' boys went east in groups for salt. One horse could carry two hundred and fifty pounds of salt and a boy rider in addition. The speed of travel was about twenty-five miles per day. The boys, an old pioneer has told the writer, looked forward all year to the prospect of the trip to the salt works in the fall, and when they returned they were veritable young heroes and were asked to tell of their sight-seeing trip. Shortly after 1800 salt was discovered in the Conemaugh Valley by an old woman named Deemer, who noticed salt water oozing up in the river bottom in times of low water. William Johnson first sunk a well and started a salt works. His land lay near the present town of Saltsburg, where he also built a grist mill, and called the place Point Johnson. This was as early as 1812 or 1813 and his works could produce about thirty bushels of salt per day. This brought down the price of salt considerably. Salt was also known to ooze from the ground at Jacobs' creek because of well known deerlicks at that place. William Beck first began its manufacture in that locality on Sewickley creek. The bed of salt was about five hundred feet below the surface, though Johnson had bored a well only about two hundred and ninety feet deep, where he found an abundance of salt water. These wells were bored purely by man power. Four men stood on the ground and four on a platform above them and the eight men grasped the shaft of the auger and raising it about three feet, simultaneously let it fall. This was repeated time after time, and the auger was turned an inch or so each time. There was a rope fastened to it after the shaft of the auger passed below the surface of the ground. It is known that they actually worked in this manner two or three years in boring a hole five hundred feet deep, but it is scarcely probable that the work was pursued daily. The well was tubed and the manufacture of salt began here in Western Pennsylvania; this resulted in another reduction of several dollars per barrel. The water was pumped from the well with horse power and was boiled in kettles and pans over large fires. This primitive manner of the manufacture made it very expensive and for many years afterward a good cow might be exchanged for salt, and bring only one barrel.

A great many references have been made to the Continental money of this early period in Pittsburg's history and about its fluctuating values. The real value was so indefinite and irregular that it is hard to say what it was worth in gold or silver. It was, however, an important factor in our early settlement, and must be properly considered. It was practically the only measure of value the pioneer had. Gold and silver had scarcely any circulation at all west of the Allegheny mountains before it became a measure of values in 1789 when the country, as a union, came under the present Constitution. Prior to that continental money had scarcely any purchasing power. An old order book of 1780, among other things, prescribes the amount which land-

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lords are allowed to charge their patrons for liquor and accommodations. These rates are given in continental money and are as follows:

"Half pint of whiskey, $6.00; whole pint of whiskey, $8.50; supper, $2.00; breakfast, $2.00; lodging with clean sheets on the bed, $3.00; one horse and hay over night, $3.00." Accordingly no valuation of property based on such depreciated currency can be of any value to us. In 1779 flour and bacon were very scarce here and were brought across the mountains on pack saddles. Bacon frequently sold for one dollar a pound. Congress resorted to all manner of schemes to sustain the value of its Continental currency. It passed embargo acts, legal tender acts, limitation of prices acts, enacted penalties for refusing to take it, etc., but all their enactments were ineffectual in giving it a purchasing power equal, or anything like equal, to its denomination. The only result of their legislation in this direction seemed to be to bring about a contempt for the Continental Congress. Perhaps our people suffered more from it after the Revolution than at any other time, for the reason that the soldiers at the close of the war were paid off in this currency. This brought much of it into the Pittsburg region and resulted in the immediate disappearance of what little gold and silver the people had. As if this was not enough, the state also issued a currency. There was no reason why the latter might not have been good upon redemption by the issuing power. But the pioneer sentiment was so opposed to paper money a prejudice brought about by their experience with Continental money, that the state's currency had but little more value than that of congress.

The county commissioners of Westmoreland in 1780 adopted a system of value which was probably a fair one, for it was confirmed by the courts of the county. In this system thirty dollars in Continental money was valued at three shillings and six pence. This would indicate that one dollar in gold was worth about fifty dollars in Continental currency. David Duncan, a well known Revolutionary soldier of Pittsburg, was Commissioner of Purchases and reported that he had purchased in 1781, stall-fed cattle at one shilling per pound, state money, and whiskey at six or seven shillings per gallon. He further said: "I have been in the glades trying to purchase beef, but no one would sell without hard money." By the "glades" he probably meant the section now included in Somerset county.

The people of this section had much difficulty in paying their preachers, and often paid them in farm products instead of money. In some sections they stipulated that the amounts subscribed by the members of the congregation should be paid either in money or grain, the latter to be delivered at the parsonage at, say four shillings per bushel for rye and two shillings and six pence per bushel for corn. They also agreed that this should be paid quarterly and should be sued for as lawful debts if not paid. It was frequently agreed that the preacher's salary should be paid one-half in money and one-half in provisions. Rye was then rated higher than corn or wheat, because they had already begun the manufacture of it into whiskey. It is not uncommon in the

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records in Greensburg to find a will in which the father gives his land to a son, or perhaps divides it between his sons, and stipulates that the devisee shall deliver to the other heir or heirs a certain number of bushels of wheat, rye, oats or corn annually for a given number of years as their share of the estate. In this manner he made, as he supposed, an equal division of his property between his children. Late in the century came the merchant, and stores were started by laying in a small stock of groceries, common fabrics, hunting material, etc., which were replenished twice a year by his going to the eastern cities for them. It is true that we had fur traders before this, but they dealt exclusively in the one product and were scarcely to be called merchants as we understand the term now. The country store was usually at some small cross-roads, where water power was near at hand and a grist mill was erected. The storeroom of the merchant was perhaps not over twelve or sixteen feet square and had counters around three sides of it and was heated by a wood fire. On his shelves were a few dishes, groceries, ammunition, tobacco, and a few common fabrics, sold by the web or yard. His goods were sold mostly at one hundred per cent. profit, which was perhaps not too great, for he took in return all kinds of farm products and sometimes had great difficulty in disposing of them. He took bacon, wool, butter, eggs, whiskey, flour, and, as an old-time merchant once told the writer, "a little of everything except money." With all his large profit on his goods he generally had hard work to replenish his store twice a year. This he did by long horseback journeys to Baltimore or Philadelphia, carrying in his saddle bags the money with which to pay for the goods he purchased. The merchant was usually looked upon as the leading business man of the community. He wrote letters, articles of agreement, etc., for his neighbors, and sometimes founded a little town which frequently grew and became an important centre and perhaps a part of the present city.

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CHAPTER XIX.

The Beginning of the Town of Pittsburg, Its Streets, etc.—Washington's Last Visit —The Founding of Alleghenytown.

It will be remembered by the reader that prior to Pontiac's war in 1763 there was a considerable collection of huts around Fort Pitt and that the population of the place and the number of houses at that time have been given. When Captain Simon Ecuyer saw that the Indians were about to besiege the fort he levelled it to the ground and burned all the houses, so that the Indians could not fire them and thus set fire to the fort, the main part of which was made of heavy logs. The buildings extending up the Monongahela were not burned by him for they were several hundred feet distant from Fort Pitt, but the besieging Indians destroyed them entirely. So on the arrival of Bouquet's army on August 10, there was probably not a human habitation within sight of Fort Pitt. George Croghan's house was about two miles up the Allegheny river, but it had been burned by the first of Pontiac's Indians to arrive. The people who were thus rendered homeless could scarcely be called the first settlers of Pittsburg. They were fur traders, camp followers and Indian fighters, who were at best but temporary sojourners; though they pitched their rude huts at the fork of the rivers they neither attempted nor intended to form a permanent settlement. Yet many writers have referred to them as the pioneers of Pittsburg, and the real pioneers who came here to plant civilization at the Fork of the Ohio, who were men of the highest character, have to a great extent, been confounded with these early adventurers. In 1764 Bouquet had built a block-house, had strengthened the fort and had conquered a peace with the western Indians, and the garrison in the fort had apparently come to remain. All these matters gave an air of safety and permanency to this community that was very encouraging to new settlers. Accordingly in 1764 Colonel John Campbell laid out the plan of lots in the point formed by the union of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. The ground laid out by him is now bounded by Water and Second streets and lies between Market and Ferry streets. He undoubtedly recognized the importance of the point and sought to reap the advantages frequently gained by the far-seeing pioneer who locates

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on a promising tract of land. At all events his plan of lots succeeded. It was the nucleus of a town which has since become one of the most prolific of the many great manufacturing centers of the world.

The town plat laid out by Campbell was necessarily near Fort Pitt. The place had been frequented more or less by white men since 1748, but until after 1758 there were but few settlers anywhere in western Pennsylvania. When the French were banished in 1758, white settlers, ever anxious to locate on the frontier, began to arrive. The first who came built their cabins as near the fort as possible. Campbell had no legal right to lay out a town, further than the military permits which were issued by the commandant of the garrison. The Indian title to the land had not yet been purchased and no settler could have more than the permission of the commandant to locate here. When the title was purchased from the Indians in 1768, the Penns, who were then the only ones who had title to this section, ordered a survey of a tract of land at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers which was called The Manor of Pittsburg. This survey was completed on March 27, 1769, and contained five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres. When the Penns laid out a town on this tract of land in 1784, they made their additional streets to conform to Campbell's plan of lots, the only change being that they enlarged it. In this way they sanctioned and confirmed the plan of lots already laid out. Colonel Campbell was a Virginian and most likely received a show of authority from Governor Dunmore, who then claimed that Pittsburg was within his dominion. During Dunmore's war Campbell was a follower of Connolly, which partly substantiates the theory that he drew his authority to lay out a town from the governor of Virginia, who did not recognize the Penns' ownership at all. The town which Campbell founded was occupied mainly by traders. Reverend Charles Beatty in "The Journal of a Two Months' Tour," who had preached here as chaplain of Forbes' army in 1758, came to Pittsburg with Reverend Mr. Duffield in 1766. In this journal we learn that "Mr. Duffield preached to the people who lived in some kind of a town, with a fort, to whom Mr. Beatty also preached in the afternoon." These ministers, or missionaries as they may be called, had been sent here by the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia to ascertain what assistance was needed in the western settlements. They were here on Sunday, September 7, 1766, and found Reverend McLagan, who was here as chaplain of the Forty-second Regiment. It seems therefore that religious services were held regularly while the British were in charge of the fort, and prior to that when under the rule of the French Catholics, particular attention was paid to the spiritual man. The language of Reverend Beatty's Journal does not indicate that Pittsburg was a very flourishing place at that time. It was undoubtedly a town of very slow growth for the first thirty years of its existence. Emigration came rapidly to the West after the Stanwix purchase in 1768 and the opening of the land office for warrants from this section in 1769. Yet they were nearly all farmers who wanted to clear away the wilderness and to own broad acres of tillable land. For that reason but few of them could locate close to the fort. The constant stream of emi-

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gration across the mountain passed down the Ohio river to Kentucky and to other western points, and those who passed by Pittsburg to some extent benefitted the settlement at this place. Thus invigorated, Pittsburg took the form of a town. In 1770 it consisted of four squares, with perhaps twenty log houses situated mostly on the bank of the Monongahela river. These houses were, perhaps with one exception, occupied by traders who were scarcely here even then to found a permanent village, but rather to collect furs and skins and transact such business with the westward bound people as came their way. This exception was the house occupied as a tavern by Samuel Semple, and was situated on the corner of Water and Ferry streets. It was a double log-house erected by Colonel George Morgan in 1764. It was somewhat famous in its day, for it was the first house in Pittsburg that was roofed with shingles, and this peculiarity was pointed out as a marvelous evidence of the advancement of the age. It was a pretentious structure for that time and contained three rooms below and sleeping apartments in the upper story. In it Washington was entertained during his last visit to Pittsburg in 1770. He reached this place on October 17, as he indicates in his diary. He had with him his life-long friend and physician, Dr. Craik, Colonel William Crawford and others. The tavern at that time was probably known as Semple's Tavern, but long afterward it was given the more pretentious name of The Virginia House. In 1770 Washington was living on his estate at Mount Vernon in the beautiful mansion yet preserved, and there were probably few men in America who were better surrounded than he, yet of Semple's Tavern he says that it was "a very good house for public entertainment." What was then known as the town of Pittsburg, Washington says, "lay about three hundred yards from the fort and consisted of about twenty log-houses inhabited mostly by Indian traders." The population, without counting the soldiers in Fort Pitt, he estimates at from one hundred to one hundred and twenty. The forces in the garrison consisted of two companies of Royal Irish commanded by Captain Edmundson. On October 18 Washington took dinner in the fort with Colonel George Croghan and others, being the guests of the officers of the garrison. Colonel Croghan had rebuilt his house on the Allegheny in 1766. On October 19 Washington dined with him at his place. At Croghan's house he met White Mingo and several other Indian chiefs of the Six Nations, who greeted him warmly and assured him that they wished to be friendly with the people of Virginia and to consider them as friends and brothers, "linked together in one chain." Croghan returned to Pittsburg with Washington, who remained that night in Semple's Tavern. On the day following, October 20, they secured a large canoe "with sufficient store of provisions and necessaries," and all set off for a trip down the Ohio river. On November 21 Washington returned to Pittsburg and on November 22 he invited the officers of the garrison and others to dine with him at Semple's Tavern, thus showing a hospitality perhaps in return for the courtesies that the garrison and others had extended to him and his party a month previous. On the 23rd of November, Washington and his party rode away on horseback, as they had come. This was the last visit that he made to this place. When he

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was here there were a few unpretentious shops, a gun-smith, a weaver, a breeches maker, and perhaps one or two stores, each keeping a few simple articles that all western settlers stood in need of. The British officers with their well-known red coats and gold lace were probably the only ones here who were not dressed in homespun garments or in garments made from the skins of animals. Elsewhere in these pages this manner of dress and the style of log-houses found then on the rude frontier has been properly considered.

Notwithstanding the slow growth of Pittsburg, when Westmoreland county was formed on March 26, 1773, it was the largest town in western Pennsylvania and aspired with great reason to become the county seat of the new county. St. Clair, it will be remembered, was the most prominent citizen west of the mountains, and his foresight was shown in the efforts he put forth to have the county seat located at Pittsburg. Shortly after this came the Revolution, which greatly retarded the progress of Pittsburg as it did all settlements in Western Pennsylvania. With this and the constant Indian troubles, Pittsburg survived perhaps only because of its splendid situation. The population and houses both increased but it was not a healthy growth, for many of the new citizens came here for the sole purpose of the safety afforded by the garrison. The new buildings were put up nearer the fort and even encroached on the ground which the commanders had set apart for the special use of the soldiers. Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who commanded the fort, complained that the fences of the settlers were within a few yards of the bastions of the fort. The population of the place was a very mixed one at that time. John Wilkins, who came here shortly after the close of the Revolution, says that the town was filled with old officers, soldiers and camp followers, mixed with a few families of credit.

There was at that time but little religious sentiment or morality among the people of Pittsburg. In fact the opposite of good order and culture was the rule. Arthur Lee, from one of the first families of Virginia, came here in 1784, and wrote as follows:

"Pittsburg is inhabited almost entirely by Scotch and Irish who live in log houses and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty shillings per hundred weight from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church or chapel, so they are likely to be damned without the benefit of the clergy. The rivers encroach fast on the town and to such a degree that as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place I believe will never be very considerable."

The low grade of morality was likely the result of the long continued war, but the place had even then many points of interest, some of which it can scarcely boast of now. It was even then an historic place and the moats and walls of Fort Duquesne were still visible. The logs of Fort Pitt still bore the

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impression made by the arrows of Pontiac's Indians. Close to the point on the Allegheny river was an orchard of apple and pear trees planted by an English officer when the fort was held by the British army. Above this were the gardens of the garrison, where Ecuyer's famishing band had secured their first food after the siege of Pontiac's war. The limpid waters of the three rivers were

PITTSBURG IN 1795

filled with fish, and over all was the blue sky, which we fear has been dimmed for all time by the smoke of modern industries of the great city. A pond of stagnant water lay across the ground traversed by the present Wood street, north of Third avenue. A much larger pond or swamp began at Grant's Hill and extended to a point beyound the present Sixth avenue, passing diagonally across Fourth avenue. This pond had a shallow outlet into the Monongahela. On the upper side of Wood street was still another pond, which lay south of the location of the present Liberty avenue and between Fourth and Fifth avenues. Its outlet was near Short street, into the Monongahela. Major Samuel Forman came here in the winter of 1789 and thought that Pittsburg was the muddiest town he had ever seen, but he said the place was noted for handsome ladies, who were also very hospitable.

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The second survey of a plan of lots in Pittsburg was made by George Wood and Thomas Vicroy, of Bedford county, in June, 1784. This plan was laid out by the Penns and approved by their attorney, Tench Francis, on September 30. The main part of the survey had been made by George Wood and after him the prominent street in Pittsburg was named. Wood removed from Bedford county and came here taking up a tract of land upon which Hazlewood was afterward built. The plan which Wood and Vicroy laid out extended to Grant street on the Monongahela river, thence along Grant street, crossing Grant's Hill to Liberty street, thence to the Allegheny river and down the river to the point or place of beginning. By an act of the legislature passed in 1794, which incorporated the town into a borough the limits were extended, the line on the Monongahela being extended to a small run, now a sewer, which empties into the Monongahela directly above the Panhandle railroad bridge. The line then extended north thirty degrees east one hundred and fifty perches to a post (near Ross street); thence north nineteen degrees west one hundred and fifty perches to the Allegheny river. When the town extended on the Monongahela river only as far as Grant street, that is, between 1784 and 1794, the lots were sold as extending only to Water street, which was next to the river, and the land between Water street and the river was reserved for a wharf. But above Grant street the lots were sold to the river. This is the explanation of the fact that the Monongahela wharf only extends to Grant street. Above Grant street Bakewell's glass factory was built between Water street and the Monongahela river and remained there until taken away by the Pittsburg & Connellsville railroad, now the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. The map of Pittsburg in 1795 will be fraught with interest to the student of early street making in Pittsburg. By Wood and Vicroy's plan all lots faced the Monongahela river and the streets running parallel with it; in no instance do they face on Ferry, Market, Wood, Smithfield or Grant streets. This peculiarity was probably due to Campbell's plan of lots, which was unchanged. They were laid out in 1764 and faced on the Monongahela river, Front and Second streets. Wood and Vicroy, when they adopted this plan as a basis, made all new streets to conform to it. It will be noticed that the width of the streets vary in a way not expected. Market street is narrow, while Wood, Smithfield and Grant streets are much wider. So Front, Second, Third and Fourth avenues are narrow while Fifth, Sixth and Seventh avenues are wider. There was formerly an Eighth street, or avenue, extending from Grant street to Liberty street, but the Pennsylvania railroad long ago secured possession of it. Liberty street is wide, while Penn avenue is narrow. Market street one would naturally suppose would be wide, for the old idea was to have a market-house, roofed but open at the sides, down the middle of the street, and under this the hucksters collected and retailed their goods to the purchasers. In Pittsburg, however, the diamond was reserved for a market place and the street did not need to be so wide. Undoubtedly Campbell laid out the lower part of it in that way. Vicroy, in a letter written describing the work done by Wood and him-

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self, says that when they attempted to make changes in any street they were met with most violent opposition on the part of the lot owners who would thereby be placed to great inconvenience because of the location of their houses. They therefore left them unchanged. The Penns perhaps did not care or did not instruct the surveyors what to do in disputes of this kind. The reason for the varying width of the other streets can only be conjectured. Pittsburg owed its origin principally to its being at the head of navigation on the Ohio river, which was almost the only means of travel westward from this place. There were then but two routes over the mountains by which emigration could reach the navigable waters of the Ohio. The town was laid out to suit the circumstances existing then, knowing or caring little about the future. The lots were laid out facing the river because that was the all-important highway of travel. Many emigrants came down the Youghiogheny and down the Monongahela in small boats, and stopping here they would secure westward transportation by larger crafts. Those who came by land would also take boats here. The streets were not badly laid out, as will be seen, so far as accommodating the trade as it then existed was concerned. Penn street was the leading way from the East, but houses were built on it before the survey was made. Its width was therefore not changed but Liberty street, which ran parallel with it, was new and was made wide to accommodate the wagons and horses which stopped here to load and unload. Market street reached the river at a high bluff and would not be used much by heavy teams going to the wharf; it was therefore left narrow. Wood street terminated at the river with a gradual descent, the bluff being much lower there. It would therefore be much more used than Market and was accordingly made much wider. Generally the inhabitants at that time preferred to live near the river where there was more life, and these streets being mostly residence streets, were narrower, while from Fifth avenue eastward horses and wagons would naturally concentrate and these streets and Liberty were made wider. The traffic of Pittsburg was carried on on these lines and in this way, even up to the building of the Pennsylvania canal in 1827-1828. The great lumbering Conestoga wagons of the early days of last century and the taverns to accommodate the horses and drivers, were largely concentrated on Liberty and Fifth avenues and on the avenues east of Fifth. There was a large tavern on the corner of Liberty and Seventh avenue called the "Spread Eagle" and one on the corner of Wood street and Fifth avenue. On Fifth avenue near Smithfield street, close to the old postoffice, was a great arch under which the wagons were driven, and nearby was a large courtyard where the horses rested at night. Tavern keeping of that kind was all-important in Pittsburg until the building of the canal. All lots in the old plans were sixty feet in front by two hundred and forty feet deep. They were nearly all composed of rich alluvial bottom land such as is generally found near the banks of streams. The rich soil and the depth of the lots afforded each landowner a prolific garden and also a stable on the rear of his lot. This plan of lots was a very important one. It was laid out large enough to accommodate the growing

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town for nearly fifty years, for the city even in 1837 extended but little beyond the original boundaries of the plan of lots of 1784 as extended by the incorporating Act of Assembly of 1794. Moreover the plot included lots that are yet by far the most valuable in the city of Pittsburg. After the plan of lots was made in 1784 the usual sale followed, but the town did not increase rapidly as we understand rapid growth now. According to Craig's best judgment based on his personal residence, the twenty houses noted by Washington in 1770 had increased only to one hundred and two in 1796. Many people purchased lots in 1784 who did not build on them and many purchased two or three lots building on one and using the others for pasture and garden purposes. While the land around Pittsburg had been purchased from the Indians in 1768, all land north of the Ohio and east of the Allegheny had remained in their possession and was designated as the "Indian Country" until October 21, 1784. No white man had a right prior to that date to reside there. At that time a treaty was held with the Iroquois Indians, again at Fort Stanwix, by which the Indian rights were purchased to all lands in Pennsylvania north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny, except the triangle on Lake Erie. Very soon after this purchase, a number of residences were built on the north side of the Allegheny river opposite Pittsburg but the country was not settled rapidly. While the growth of Pittsburg seems slow to us, it must have been more favorably regarded by the people of that day. It was founded by the Penns and now that the country north of the Allegheny was owned by the state, the legislature concluded to found a rival town on its own land. Allegheny was therefore founded by an Act of Legislature passed in 1788, and it is supposed that it was induced to do so by the success of the Penns in selling lots in Pittsburg. The state was in great need of money, for it had not recovered from the long and exhaustive struggle of the Revolution. It had kept up a force of militia whose enlistments were numbered by thousands and whose services were very largely required in Western Pennsylvania. The credit of the state was bad; its currency was greatly depreciated and it had almost no source of revenue except by direct taxation and by the sale of its public lands. These lands it had taken from the Penns by the divesting act of 1779, which did not, however, take from them their private manors, such as the manor of Pittsburg. The act had not only alienated the Penns but had engendered a natural hostility between them and the state. The legislature, therefore, never thought of uniting with the Penns in extending the limits of Pittsburg north of the Allegheny, but, on the contrary, for the sole purpose of pecuniary gain, established there a town of its own. It was fortunate for the state that its land was separated by a comparatively narrow stream of water from the thriving town of the Penns, from which they were reaping a regular income. Pittsburg's growth would naturally stimulate Allegheny and enable the state government. by the sale of lots, to pay off its debts in part. In selecting the location of the new town the legislature showed great wisdom. It grew side by side with Pittsburg and in a measure has kept pace with it for nearly a century and a quarter. While it has

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been a separate municipality all these years, its general history is almost identical with that of Pittsburg. For all other than municipal purposes the two towns have been regarded as one and our story might well be called a tale of two cities. The Indian name of the north side city which it took from the river which flows at its feet is more beautiful and more appropriate than any modern English name can be.

The manner in which the town of Allegheny was laid out will be of interest to the reader. In 1788 the legislature ordered a survey of three thousand acres of land opposite Pittsburg. This was known as "the reserved tract opposite Pittsburg." A part of it was divided into town lots and all the remainder of it became Reserve township. There were one hundred lots, each lot 60x240 feet, and each inlot was to carry with it the title to the purchaser of an outlot of equal size. The one hundred inlots formed a square on the river and the one hundred outlots lay on the three sides of the plot of inlots. The reserved tract began at the mouth of Wood's Run on the banks of the Allegheny and ran back in a straight line to the vicinity of Millville, thence to the Allegheny river and down the river to the junction with the Monongahela, and thence down the Ohio to the mouth of Wood's Run, the place of beginning. The centre of this plan of lots was opposite St. Clair, now Sixth street, in Pittsburg. The Act of the Legislature laying out the town reserved a public square at the corner of Federal and Ohio streets, which is now marked by the City Hall and the Carnegie Library in Allegheny. For many years the sale of the outlots was a matter of much controversy. The original intention and purpose was that they should be used as pasture lots for the cows belonging to the owners or residents of the inlots. Attempts to sell them separately brought the decision of the courts that they were the common property of the inlot owners and that no separate outlot could be legally transferred without the consent of all the inlot owners. After many long drawn out controversies in the courts, the lot owners consented to dedicate them to the town, the land to be used as a public park. In this way originated the splendid parks of Allegheny. A park commission was appointed, composed of far-seeing men who borrowed money by issuing bonds and improved the parks. They levied a small tax for the final redemption of the bonds and in this way the city, at a very small cost considering their real value, secured a magnificant though not a very large park. For a long time the city was called Allegheny Town; then Allegheny City, and now it is generally known as Northside Pittsburg. It was incorporated into a borough by Act of 1828, and into a city by Act of 1840. When incorporated into a city it had four wards, the division being the Federal and Ohio street crossing. The wards were: First, Second, Third and Fourth, and included all the territory back to Observatory Hill. South of the town or city of Allegheny was built the town of Manchester, named perhaps to offset Birmingham on the Pittsburg side. Still another independent borough sprung up on the northeast of Allegheny and took the old name of Duquesne. Both of these boroughs have long since lost their identity by being taken into Allegheny, the former

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as the Fifth and Sixth wards and the latter as the Seventh ward. Allegheny City spread rapidly and has absorbed more than the original reserved tract. In 1821 and 1822 with the city's consent, the state built the Western penitentiary on its commons, and the building of yellow sandstone was completed in 1826. It remained there sixty years, when new buildings were erected at Riverside on the Ohio and the old site reverted to the city, thus becoming a very valuable addition to its park system. The site of the old penitentiary is marked by the public greenhouse erected by the generosity of Mr. Henry Phipps.

All these years from the foundation of Pittsburg, its law business had been transacted in Hannastown, it being then in Westmoreland county. On September 24, 1788, the legislature passed an Act erecting the County of Allegheny. The Act, among other things, provided that the courts should be held in Pittsburg until the trustees named in the Act should erect the necessary court house and jail on the "Reserved Tract Opposite Pittsburg." The legislature thus donated land on the Allegheny side, upon which the necessary buildings were to be erected. They were perhaps unduly jealous of their own interests. They did not intend to contribute to the benefit of the town of Pittsburg, founded by the Penns, by establishing the seat of justice in that town at the expense of their own town across the river. The state, moreover, owned all the land north and west of the Allegheny and owned no land in Pittsburg. From its abundance, therefore, it could easily grant land for public buildings. A further investigation disclosed the fact that the state land west of the Allegheny was almost entirely a howling wilderness, inhabited only by Indians and wild beasts, while Pittsburg was a growing town and the metropolis of western Pennsylvania. Accordingly the legislature in 1789 repealed that part of the Act of 1788 and authorized the trustees named in the original Act to purchase lots in Pittsburg for a court house and jail. The trustees erected a court house on the diamond and built a jail back of it.

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CHAPTER XX.

The Early Thrift in Pittsburg—Sale of Fort Pitt—Ordinance of 1787—Indian Troubles—Fort Lafayette—Wayne's Victory.

Out of the manor of Pittsburg as reserved by the Penns, three acres were sold to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard in January, 1784. This tract lay between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny river.

In 1784 the Penns also sold the privileges of mining coal in what was called the Great Seam of the hill across the Monongahela river. This hill was divided into lots, and mining privileges were sold for thirty pounds for the right of mining for each lot, and the mining right was to extend back to the centre of the hill.

In 1786 the town had advanced far enough to be able to support a newspaper. At all events, the first edition of *The Pittsburg Gazette* appeared on the 29th of July. To undertake to publish a newspaper in this remote part of the state with a very small population, who were certainly much more given to hunting, buying furs and fighting Indians than they were to literary pursuits was indeed a great undertaking. It was established by John Scull and Joseph Hall, who brought their press, type, paper, ink, etc., from the East. There was no paper mill in the West then, and they were compelled to transport their paper across the mountains. The supply was necessarily irregular and sometimes the editors were forced to reduce the size of their paper to that of a handbill. The paper on which it was printed was at all times of a very poor quality. Joseph Hall was probably the main type-setter, and Scull had the more experience in the newspaper business. Hall died on November 10, 1786, when only twenty-one years old. Scull continued to edit and publish it alone for a time, when he took John Boyd, of Philadelphia, into partnership with him.

The kind of news material found in the columns of papers of those days is entirely different from the style of material found today. Local news is rarely ever given in the papers of an early day. As a rule the subscriber read but one paper and local news could be handed around by gossip from one neighbor to another, and what the subscriber demanded in his paper was foreign news that he could gain in no other way. The founding of new enterprises,

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marriages, or deaths of prominent citizens, etc., found no place in the pioneer newspaper. European news necessarily nearly two months old, long articles on the management of public affairs, controversies carried on from week to week between rival exponents on different theories, essays on morality and amateur poetry, fill up the columns of nearly all the early newspapers of Western Pennsylvania. To this rule the *Gazette* was not by any means an exception. Their value to those who would learn of early local history is found chiefly in the advertisements and from these of the *Gazette* one may gather some important information concerning Pittsburg's early days. Its files are unfortunately not complete, the file beginning with the fifth number, dated August 26, 1786. In this issue is a part of a continued article entitled, "Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River." From this we learn that there was a minister in Pittsburg, for the writer says, "a clergyman has settled in this town of the Calvinistic church." He refers to some of the inhabitants being of the Lutheran and Episcopal churches, but makes no mention of a regular congregation of these churches. Further he says, "A clergyman of the German Calvinistic church also occasionally preaches in this town," and expresses his opinion that from the rapid increase of the German population it will not be long until a minister "who can deliver himself in this language will be supported here altogether." In laying out the town he says, "five lots were assigned for churches and burying grounds." These lots were near the centre of the Wood and Vicroy plan of lots and were about midway between the two rivers. The writer also refers to an ancient cemetery of the natives in the form of a mound, the height of which indicated that it had been a place of sepulture for ages. A log church was also being constructed in the summer of 1786 by the Presbyterians. The same writer speaks of there being two physicians in Pittsburg, one "a native of South Britain," and the other an American, though he fails to name them. From other sources it is learned that one of these was Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, who came here as early as 1770. Most likely the other was Dr. Thomas Parker. There were also two lawyers in Pittsburg, and this, we believe, completed the list of professions. All other Pittsburgers were tradesmen, mechanics, farmers or laborers. The manufacturing establishments had not yet arrived, though several of the tradesmen had shops. Boat building on a minor scale began about this time. The same writer on observations, speaking of Pittsburg's future, says that "this town must in future time be a place of great manufacturing; indeed the greatest on the continent or perhaps in the world." Had he stopped there he might have achieved undying fame for his prophetic vision, but the reason he gives for the town's future greatness is that Pittsburg is so far removed from the manufacturing establishments in the East that the great expense of transportation of articles would force the people to manufacture them for themselves. "The present carriage from Philadelphia," writes he, "is six pence for each pound weight, and however improved the conveyance may be and by whatever channel, yet such is our distance from either of the oceans that the importation of

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heavy articles will still be expensive." His forecasting was not acute enough to predict that Pittsburg would one day sell its products in all the open markets of the world. A favorite subject discussed by the same writer is the removal of the county seat from Hannastown to Pittsburg. He gives as a reason for this that the distance is more than thirty miles, over a very rugged road and over a stream which, for a great part of the year, is difficult to pass. He also urges the lack of conveyance among the people of Pittsburg, by reason of which many persons, even women and aged people, "are often under the necessity of travelling on foot." He urges the removal of the county seat for another reason, which however would apply equally well to Hannastown, namely, that "the holding of court brings money to a town, retains a number of officers, and brings inhabitants and contributes to its improvement."

Another subject which he discusses is that of education, in which he says, "I do not know that the Legislature could do a more acceptable service to the Commonwealth than by endowing a school at this place. The door of Janus has long been open, presenting battle axes and all the armory of war. The literary education of our youth has been in the meantime neglected." He observes that even "since the late war" the legislature has added to the treasury of the University of Philadelphia, but that that institution could not be of the least service to the people of Pittsburg, and suggests that the college at Carlisle was but little more accessible than Philadelphia, and why at all events, argued he, "should this county be under the necessity of remitting money to the County of Cumberland for the advantages of education." The state at that time frequently appropriated money to the higher colleges and academies. Pittsburg Academy, which afterward became the University of Western Pennsylvania, was incorporated in 1787 and was endowed by the state. In view of this apparent lack of facilities of gaining an education Mrs. Pride advertises in the *Gazette* in November, 1786, that she is about to open a boarding and day school for young ladies, and that she will teach them Plain Work, Flowering, Fringing and Knitting, and she adds that reading English will also be taught if required. For more than fifty years the private schools were the only means by which a youth could obtain an education. Some of the private schools were of a high grade and well attended. At that time Hugh Henry Brackenridge, of western Pennsylvania, was representing the county in the legislature, and in December, 1786, wrote to the editor of the *Gazette* that a bill had been offered and published, naming the trustees in the western country for an academy at Pittsburg, and that he had obtained from the Penns a grant of one square in what was then called Ewalt's Field, upon which to locate it. This bill was finally passed and became a law on February 28, 1787. The trustees named were Reverends Samuel Barr, James Finley, James Power, John McMillan, Joseph Smith and Matthew Henderson; General John Gibson; Colonels Prestly Neville, William Butler and Stephen Bayard; Messrs. James Ross, David Bradford, Robert Galbraith, George Thompson, George Walls, Edward Cook, John Moore, William Todd and Alexander Fowler; Doctors

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Nathaniel Bedford and Thomas Parker. With many of these the reader will become quite familiar on a further perusal of these pages.

There were also two taverns in Pittsburg in 1786, both of them being on Water street, presumably that they might be close to the river trade. One was kept by David Duncan. The other advertised as being "two doors above Market street," and was kept by A. J. Tannehill. Other business men were John and Samuel Calhoun, who had a dry goods store on Front street; Daniel Britt & Company; Wilson & Walls, and James O'Hara were also merchants, while John Gibson kept a store on the bank of the river and advertised "wet and dry goods." The advertisement of Hugh Ross notifies the public that he intends to erect a rope walk in Pittsburg and that he will have for sale a quantity of hemp seed before the sowing season of that article comes in. Ross owned a ferry which crossed the Monongahela river, and in October, 1787, informed the public that the ferry will be thereafter free to all foot passengers on Sundays "when there is divine service in Pittsburg, between the hours of twelve o'clock in the forenoon and from three to four o'clock in the afternoon, so that every person might have it in their power to attend a public worship who resided in the neighborhood of Pittsburg and Washington counties." In 1786 there was no mail service either to or from Pittsburg. Letters were seldom written in those days except upon most urgent business and mostly then were of military character and were sent from one section to another by a traveller who chanced to be passing that way. Frequently the traveller neglected to deliver the letter or package, as is indicated by a notice in the *Gazette* wherein William Freed and John Grof state that some westward bound traveller had undertaken to carry a valuable letter from the "Sign of the Ship," a tavern in Lancaster county, but who had failed to deliver it to them and they would like to have it. John Blair advertises that he will go up and down the Monongahela river with a boat every week and will deliver the *Gazette* to subscribers on the river "at a more reasonable rate than any other conveyance." About this time James Bryson, of whom we have previously written, at the suggestion of the people of Pittsburg went to New York and to Philadelphia to try to arrange a more perfect mail system between Pittsburg and the East. While there, in September, 1786, he was appointed to establish a post between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, but he did not succeed at that time in its establishment. Still later than this a notice was sent out from the postoffice department in Philadelphia that a regular mail service was about to be put on between Alexandria, Virginia, by the way of Bedford, Pennsylvania, to Pittsburg, and the postoffice authorities advertised for some one to carry the mail directly from Pittsburg to Philadelphia. The offer included the exclusive privilege of carrying it and all the profits of the service for a period of not over seven years were to be given to the one who undertook it. This advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* of March 14, 1787, but the offer was not tempting enough to induce a contractor to engage in it until July, 1788, when James Bryson established a regular route. John Scull, the *Gazette* editor, was the postmaster

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of Pittsburg and published a list of uncalled-for letters in the office in the issue of December 6, 1788. There were one hundred and sixty of them, which would indicate considerable correspondence. Bryson carried the mail sometimes on horseback and later in a gig or sulky. A mail left Pittsburg for the East every Friday morning and one arrived from Philadelphia every Friday. If it was carried on Sunday, which was the case, the daily average travel was about forty-three miles. The postoffice of Pittsburg was in the printing office with the *Gazette*, on Water street, near Ferry. For the year ending October 1, 1790, four years after Scull was appointed postmaster, the total receipts of the office in Pittsburg were $111.00.

In 1772 the British government concluded they had no reason for longer holding Fort Pitt. General Gage accordingly ordered Major Edmundson, who was then in command, to dispose of it. On October 10, 1772, he sold to Alexander Ross and William Thompson "All pickets, bricks, stones, timber and iron which are now in the building or walls of the fort and in the redoubts," for the sum of fifty pounds English currency. The English soldiers left the fort, but, leaving some property there, they left a corporal and three men to look after it. This abandonment of what the people of Pittsburg thought was a very important post, annoyed them very much and they at once remonstrated strongly and in the remonstrance, among other things, stated that the sale had been a private one purely. It was also charged that Major Edmundson had received fifty pounds from the purchasers as a present for throwing the property into their hands, and that Ensign Prideaux and Surgeon Hand, both of whom witnessed the sale, had also been kindly remembered by the same parties. In General Gage's reply he admitted that the sale had been irregular, but declined to interfere in the matter. He explained the matter to Governor Penn and also the abandonment of the fort on the part of the English. In his letter he says, "It is natural for the people of Fort Pitt to solicit the continuance of the garrison as well for their personal security as obtaining many other advantages; but no government can undertake to erect forts for the advantage of forty or fifty people." While this seems to be an unusually low estimate of the population at that time, Gage may have meant that forty or fifty people represented the number who were specially benefited by the fort. He also added that the fort was comparatively useless, as it could afford little or no protection to the people at any distance from it and could not cover or protect the frontiers, which, he says, "was fully evidenced in the late Indian War." The sale was therefore held to be a good one and the fort was, to a considerable extent, destroyed. Ross, the purchaser, is known to have sold part of the material which entered into its construction, and he is also known to have built several houses mostly from its material. Ross must also have purchased Thompson's interest in the property, for the latter does not appear again in any transaction concerning it. But before it was damaged to any great extent it was seized and occupied by Connolly's army, and still later, as the reader has seen, by other Virginia forces, and held by them for many months. In

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December, 1775, Ross, the purchaser, presented a claim against the Virginia authorities for damages done him because of the taking of the fort. This claim was for 1,482 pounds, seventeen shillings, and two pence. There was no doubt but that Virginia had seized the property belonging to Ross and he was finally allowed 107 pounds, 1 shilling and 9 pence. This, with the amounts he realized in the sales and in building houses and also from the fact that he still owned "two redoubts and eight stacks of chimneys," showed that Ross' fort-buying was not a bad speculation. When the war of the Revolution was ended it was scarcely supposed by many that there was any further use for the fort. In 1784, therefore, the council ordered those who had charge of estates in Westmoreland county which had been confiscated as the property of Tories during the war, to sell the fort, but this order, perhaps because of a general opposition, was countermanded in July following. In August a new order was issued to the state commissioners to take charge of the fort as the property of the state. But little is said about it then for some years, and it was likely falling into ruin rapidly, for in February, 1788, a lieutenant of the army offered a reward of a guinea for the discovery of the "evil minded persons" who had been taking pailings from the fence which surrounded it. The following winter the same officer published an advertisement of the desertion of a private from one of companies at Fort Pitt, and an ensign named Jeffers, of the First United States Regiment, and published word of the desertion of two privates from Captain Hart's company. The fort was therefore garrisoned because of the constant troubles with the Indians, for several years after the close of the Revolution. In July, 1788, General Richard Butler, then the Pittsburg superintendent of Indian affairs, notified the people below Pittsburg to be on their guard concerning the Indians. When the Revolution began the fort had been repaired somewhat by the Virginia company then in possession of it, and was garrisoned until the close of the war. The Indians were still troublesome in the West, and a company of soldiers was kept in the fort for frontier defense long after the Revolution.

March 1, 1787, a public meeting was held to devise means for erecting a market house for Pittsburg. Hugh Ross, Stephen Bayard and Rev. Samuel Barr were appointed a committee to secure or erect the house and to fix certain days of the week as market days. The house was erected as they had designed, on the corner of Market and Second streets, and Wednesday and Saturday of each week were named as market days. When the first court house was erected a semi-circular market house, roofed but open below, was built on the public square in front of it. After this, as the market increased, two wings, one at either end of the court house lot, were added. For nearly half a century Wednesday and Saturdays continued to be market days almost exclusively, but gradually each day in the week except Sunday became a general market day. In January, 1785, Reverend Samuel Barr came here and began to gather up the Presbyterians for public worship. On September 20, 1787, the first Presbyterian congregation was incorporated and prior to this a log church

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had been put up. The church was authorized by the legislature to raise funds to build it by a lottery and regular lottery tickets were issued, some of which are yet in existence in Pittsburg. This proceeding on the part of the church and the legislature was not at all uncommon in that day.

The Continental congress in 1787 passed the celebrated "Ordinance of 1787," and also a resolution providing for, and which during the same year brought about, the constitution of the United States. The "Ordinance of 1787" related to the government of the Northwest territory, then generally known as the Ohio territory, which had been ceded by Virginia to the United Colonies. Major-General Arthur St. Clair, who was president of the Continental congress at that time, was appointed territorial governor of Ohio. The Ordinance, with its unique provision prohibiting slavery in its territory, was the basis upon which the new governor established west of us, in a land that has since been peopled largely by emigrants from Pennsylvania, a very thriving government. The emigrants who went there were an extremely industrious and frugal people and from the first contributed greatly to the growth of Pittsburg. In April, 1788, the "Mayflower" left Simrall's Ferry, later known as Robbstown and now West Newton, laden largely with New England people who were bound for the new territory of Ohio which had just been opened up by General St. Clair. This was the beginning of the more extended immigration to the west. These people had come over the mountains by Braddock's road and had taken the boat at the very head of navigation. They and nearly all others who followed stopped in Pittsburg to lay in all manner of supplies for their new homes in the west. Many others came here afterwards from Philadelphia over the "Old State Road," and still later over the Turnpike when it was built. Almost invariably these people came west on their long journey without supplies, but stopped at Pittsburg to lay in an abundance of all they would need in the West. It was this patronage which first inspired the Pittsburg people to manufacture and sell articles of commerce such as the westward bound people stood in need of. Nor did Pittsburg's trade with them stop when they left for their new homes. It had in reality just begun, for as the great West filled up it needed more of Pittsburg's products. It was then that this city, situated at the "Gateway of the West," laid the foundation of its immense manufacturing interests which are now the marvel of the civilized world.

Boat building had been carried on to a limited extent before the western trade began, but with the opening up of Ohio a new impetus was given to the industry. A demand was created for boats by the constant arrival of emigrants by land. They demanded a boat that was neither large nor substantial and that could therefore be purchased with a small outlay. The boats for this purpose were made with flat bottoms, sloping in front, and with tightly caulked sides and with a cheap roof for shelter. There were oars in the front and a rudder at the stern, but the current of the Ohio river bore them onward on their journey with very little rowing. In such a craft a man with his fam-

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ily, or several families if the boat was large enough, could float down the river to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, stopping at whatever point they had selected for a permanent settlement. The boats scarcely ever came back. They were sold to new emigrants going further west or were abandoned entirely. This was the beginning of the river trade of Pittsburg.

In 1790 the Indians from Ohio and Indiana began to more frequently raid the section around the Fork of the Ohio. But few depredations had been committed by them in this section since the close of the Revolution but the memory of their inhuman actions was ever present with the people, who at once became terrorized beyond measure. The entire region was then without protection save a few troops of the militia who were quartered here the greater part of the time. General Harmar had led an expedition against them from Fort Washington in 1790. In a battle fought with them in the Sciota Valley his army was severely repulsed. A victory on the part of the Indians always encouraged them to think that by a few successful efforts they could banish the white race from their country. Shortly after Harmar's defeat they approached within a few miles of Pittsburg, and the people trembled lest the cruel race might fall upon them at any moment. In March, 1791, a town meeting was held and largely attended by the terrorized people. Major Isaac Craig was quartermaster here at that time. A demand was made on him for the use of one hundred muskets, armed with which the people proposed to defend themselves. The demand also carried with it the threat to take them by force if he refused to lend them. Craig had scarcely any other alternative than to comply with their request, and therefore gave them the arms asked for. The town was thoroughly aroused, but the Indians did not arrive and the muskets were finally returned to Craig. Major Craig knew of the great danger the town was in, for in a letter of May 19, 1791, he wrote of the frequent murders committed on the frontier and that several parties of Indians had penetrated ten, fifteen or twenty miles into the settlements and had committed many depredations. Fort Pitt was then in a very dilapidated condition, and this, with the defenceless situation of Pittsburg, made the people extremely restless. The condition in Ohio was much worse than here. Major-General Arthur St. Clair was appointed commander of the armies and was instructed to lead an expedition against them in the fall of 1791. His army, a very weak and poorly equipped one, started from Cincinnati and marched northwest. The urgency of his mission was such that sufficient time was not taken to drill his troops, many of whom were raw militia and were utterly unaccustomed to the obedience which is requisite in a good soldier. On the 4th of November, 1791, his army was surprised and cut to pieces by the enemy. The result of this second victory was to make the Indians more than ever confident of a final triumph over the white race. The situation in Pennsylvania was now alarming in the extreme. General Henry Knox was then secretary of war, and on December 16 ordered Major Craig to collect materials for a block-house and stockade fort to be erected in Pittsburg in the place best suited to cover and

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protect the town. Craig was rendered every assistance by the frightened people of Pittsburg and carried out the instructions of the secretary of war with great promptness. Lots were selected on what was then the upper end of Penn street, at Garrison alley, extending to the Allegheny river on the one side and from Penn to Liberty street on the other. In a letter to the secretary of war dated December 29, 1791, Major Craig wrote as follows: "I am making every possible exertion for the erection of a work to defend this town and the public stores. Accounts from Fort Franklin, as well as your orders, urge the necessity of prompt attention to the defense of this place. By next post I shall enclose you a sketch of the ground and the work that I have judged necessary; it will be erected on eight lots, numbers 55, 56, 57 and 58, 91, 92, 93 and 94. They belong to John Penn., Jr., and John Penn; Anthony Butler, of Philadelphia is their agent; the prices were fixed when the town was laid out. It is not intended to cover the whole of the lots with the work, but the portion not covered will be suitable for gardens for the garrison." "I take the liberty of enclosing you two letters from Fort Franklin, extracts of other letters of same date, December 26, by which it appears that the garrison is in imminent danger and that the fidelity of the northern Indians is not to be depended on. I am mounting four six-pounders on ship carriages for the block houses; but there are no round shot nor grape shot for that calibre here, the last being sent to Fort Washington. As there is no six-pound shot here I have taken the liberty to engage four hundred at Turnbull & Marmie's furnace which is now in blast. Reports by the way of Fort Franklin say that in the late action (St. Clair's battle of November 4th, 1791,) the Indians had three hundred killed and many wounded and that there were eight hundred Canadians and several British officers in the action. I shall take the liberty of communicating to the inhabitants your assurance of such ample and generous means of defense."

In later letters he conveys the intelligence that he has "contracted for forty-two boats, namely, thirty-two of fifty feet each, four of sixty feet and six of fifty-five feet. They are to be one-fourth wider than those purchased last year, namely, fifteen feet; to be also stronger and better finished, delivered here with five oars to each, price per foot eight shillings nine pence—$1.17 per foot. Further he says fifty boats now ready will transport three thousand men; they are the best that ever came here and I believe the cheapest." And still further on May 18, 1792, he wrote: "Captain with his detachment has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the first instant. Two of the six-pounders are very well mounted in the second story of the block house, the others will be mounted in a few days. The work, if you have no objections, I will name Fort Lafayette." On June 15 he noted the arrival of General Anthony Wayne. The new fort, as Major Craig had intimated, was called Fort Lafayette and extended across Penn street and occupied the ground on each side of it about equal to the width of the street. This fort was never attacked by the Indians, but there is no doubt that its erection deterred them from coming here.

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In 1792 General Anthony Wayne was appointed to succeed General St. Clair to equip an army and make a third expedition against the Indians in Ohio and Indiana. Wayne is known in history as Mad Anthony Wayne from the fact that he was a man of very high temper and in his army life, particularly at Pittsburg, was a Martinet in discipline. It is generally claimed that the severity of his rule in Pittsburg gained for him the name of Mad Anthony Wayne. His army, like St. Clair's, was composed in part of the worst elements in the community. Wayne knew from the sad experience of Harmar and St. Clair, the magnitude of his undertaking. He was not willing to take the chance of a third defeat without taking every possible precaution against it. Though the Indian outrages on the western frontier increased from month to month, he took his own time to prepare his army, subjecting them to the severest discipline ever known here. As a result of this long period of drilling he transformed them from an army of green troops, many of them being totally without restraint, to an army that was perfectly under his control. In the early maps of the town a building is marked as "General Wayne's Stable." These were sheds put up for the use of his cavalry and stood on the Monongahela river about where the Baltimore & Ohio station now stands. He arrived here on this new mission on June 14, 1792. His army was called the Legion, and when he established winter quarters below Sewickley the place was called Legionville. On November 9, 1792, Major Craig wrote: "This morning the detachment of the troops and the road officers with the necessary tools for building set off for the Winter ground below Logstown on the Ohio. In a few days the whole army will follow." Wayne's army remained here in Pittsburg until November 30, 1792, under which date Craig again wrote: "This morning at an early hour the artillery, infantry and rifle corps, except a small garrison left in Fort Lafayette, embarked and descended the Ohio to Legionville. The cavalry crossed the Allegheny at the same time and will reach winter ground as soon as the boats. As soon as the troops had embarked General Wayne went on board his barge under a salute from the militia artillery corps of the place and all have no doubt, before this time, reached their Winter quarters." Wayne was censured very bittterly for the severity of his discipline while in Pittsburg. Many of the troops were naturally insubordinate and disobedient, so much so indeed that nothing but the heroic treatment of a Martinet like Wayne would have made them fit to meet the enemy in battle. Sergeant Trotter was guilty of some gross disobedience, whereupon Wayne had him tried, condemned and executed as an example of the punishment that would certainly follow all disobedience. Trotter had many friends who raised a great cry about the brutality of the commanding general, but nothing short of the severest discipline would avail in armies composed of such elements of the frontier as were found in St. Clair's and Wayne's armies. The following extract from a letter written by Wayne, dated at Pittsburg, July 20th, 1792, will throw some light on the matter: "Major Ashton's detachment arrived here on Monday. Lieutenant

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Campbell and Stokes' Dragoons and Franklin's Riflemen on Tuesday. No less than fifty of Ashton's detachment and seven dragoons deserted on the way from Carlisle to this place." Nothing but the severest discipline would improve an army of such men. The army remained in Legionville until April 30, 1793, and were all the time subjected to the severest discipline and to constant drill. Craig says that sham-battles were frequent and that neither life nor lash were spared. Major Craig, the quartermaster at Fort Lafayette, received the following order from General Finley at Legionville on February 22, 1793: "Major Craig please send down some whip cord for cats; they have no cats to whip men with." This, too, on Washington's birthday. On April 30, 1793, Wayne and his army left Legionville in their boats for Marietta, Ohio. A few days before this a public meeting was called in Pittsburg, of which General John Gibson was made chairman. The meeting instructed the chairman to express to General Wayne in a letter their greatest respect for him personally and for the just attention paid by him to the rights of the citizens while the army lay at Pittsburg. General Wayne showed by his response that he appreciated the compliment paid him by the people of Pittsburg. For more than a year after he left Legionville he continued to drill his army and prepared them for the work before them. In this way he gained a mastery over the forces under him which made his army successful in battle against the Indians. On August 20, 1794, he met the enemy at Fallen Timber, in Indiana, and defeated them so badly that his name was ever afterward a name of terror to the Indian race. Wayne's victory was of great advantage to Pittsburg. It broke the spirit of the Indians and led to the treaty of Greenville and the cession to the United States of the Indian title to eastern Ohio. The population in all that section increased rapidly and very soon afforded a growing market for Pittsburg's products. More than all this, its important result was to remove all danger of Indian raids on the people around Pittsburg, and this security alone contributed a great deal to its growth.

Major Craig's letter above quoted speaks of a "Militia Artillery Corps' of Pittsburg. Only when one considers the smallness of the town then can he realize how active must have been the military spirit of the place to support an artillery company. A list of the mechanics of Pittsburg for this year, 1792, was published in the *American Museum* and is as follows, namely: One clock and watch maker, two coopers, one skin dresser and breeches maker, two tanners and curriers, four cabinet makers, two hatters, two weavers, five blacksmiths, five shoemakers, three saddlers, one maltster and brewer, three wheelwrights, one stocking weaver, one rope maker and two wheel smiths, the total being thirty-six mechanics. The number of families at that time was given in the same article as one hundred and thirty, and allowing six people to each family would give the place a popualtion of seven hundred and eighty. In all parts of the country buckskin breeches were commonly worn then and the men who made the breeches generally dressed and tanned the deer skins. Hence the occupation "one skin dresser and

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breeches maker." Cloth was scarce and expensive, while deer skins were plentiful and were more serviceable in breeches than cloth.

As we have noted, there was a small distillery on the Allegheny river nearby Pittsburg as early as 1770. In 1784 Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard were engaged in the mercantile business at Pittsburg and entered into a partnership with Turnbull, Marmie & Co., of Philadelphia. The new firm established a salt works and saw mill near Pittsburg and also sent here a set of stills which were probably operated in the same year, for in a letter from the latter firm in Philadelphia to Craig, Bayard & Co., of Pittsburg, dated October 28, 1784, is the following: "We are very anxious to hear that the stills have reached you and that you will be able to set them going this fall." Whiskey, it will be remembered, was in great demand then. The agent of Craig, Bayard & Co. about this time wrote them: "I am greatly in want of three barrels of whiskey and a barrel of rum. For the want of them my neighbors get all the skins and furs."

Few men who are interested in the history of Pittsburg can fail to remember the exploits of Captain Samuel Brady. In one of the great trials of Pittsburg's early courts he was the defendant, the indictment being for murder. It was held on May 20, 1793, with Chief Justice Edward Shippen of the Supreme court, and Judge Yeates of the same court, on the bench. It was the only case before these judges at that term. Brady was charged with murder in killing certain Indians at the mouth of Beaver creek in the spring of 1791. and as Beaver county was not then formed, it took place in Allegheny county. The treaties with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, McIntosh, Muskingum and Miami, had not only bound the Indians to keep peace with the people of the United States but had obligated them to surrender all of their number who should commit murder or other depredations on the frontier, yet many bands of them had infested the frontier and had stolen horses and other property and had murdered peaceable citizens. Just prior to the killing for which Brady was tried the Boggs family, a man named Phillips and Mrs. Van Buskirk had been killed by the Indians, their homes being near Wheeling, in Ohio county, Virginia. Brady had almost at once headed a party of volunteers from Ohio county and pursued the Indians who had committed these outrages and to recover the stolen property. Following the trail of the Indians from the community where the killing had occurred they crossed the Ohio and fired on the band when they caught up with them. For this he as leader of the pioneer expedition, was tried for murder. Guyasuta, a chief of the Iroquois, testified that the Delaware Indians had long before broken their treaty of peace and that the Shawnees, Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandottes and many of the Mingoes had united with the enemy which confronted Harmar in 1790 and St. Clair in 1791, all of which was contrary to the terms of their treaties. It was also proved that Captain Kirkwood's house had been fired on by the Delaware Indians, who had committed other depredations and murder, and that the Indians killed by the party headed by Brady were Delaware Indians and had

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in their possession much of the property taken in the recent raid and killing in Ohio county. It was proved that when fired on the Indians were in the act of seizing their guns to fire. The evidence of General Hamilton, who was a trader in that region, set out that the Indians who were killed were malignant and hostile in temper. The charge to the jury delivered by the chief justice, was a very learned and a very humane one. He explained the laws of war and the right of putting enemies to death. He urged the impropriety of killing those who could with safety be taken prisoners. He lamented any act of outrage by the white citizens which would impel the Indians to retaliate, but told the jury that in his opinion the Indians on this occasion were hostile to the white race and directed that if the jury were of his opinion, of which he had no doubt, they should acquit the prisoner without leaving the box. The jury did so and the court ordered Captain Brady to be discharged. James Ross, the celebrated lawyer and senator in the United States congress from Pittsburg, was Brady's chief counsel. He was surprised at the testimony of Guyasuta, which was unusually strong in favor of Brady, and so expressed himself to the wily chief after the trial was ended. The Indian straightened himself up with great pride and said, "Am I not the friend of Brady?" The Indians' idea was that a man should testify as well as fight for his friend.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Early Census and Description of Pittsburg—Predominating Nationality.

The size of the town of Pittsburg when it was incorporated in 1794 is a matter of some importance to those interested in its early history. We have spoken of its slow growth prior to this time, but in 1791 the state road was opened up from the East and seemed to have a good effect on the growth of Pittsburg. All old writers agree that during the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794 the town had a population of about 1,000. The *Gazette* of January 9, 1796, states that the population of the "Borough of Pittsburg as taken by the assessor last week was 1,395." It was not the assessor's duty, however, to take a census of the town but of the taxable citizens only, whether they were residents of Pittsburg or not. This statement of the *Gazette* was probably a calculation made from the assessor's book and it is of but little value. When the census of 1790 was taken Pittsburg was not yet incorporated and its population was included in Pitt township. The first census of Pittsburg proper, that is after its incorporation as a borough, was taken in 1800, when its population was 1,565. Brackenridge had in a somewhat boastful article reproduced in part later on in these pages, given its population in 1786 as 1,500, and the number of houses at 100. This was manifestly too large, for it is not likely that fifteen people could live in one house and that a growing town would only increase sixty-five in population in fourteen years. The *Niles Register*, Vol. 30, page 436, on the contrary states that "Pittsburg in 1786 contained 36 log houses, 1 stone and 1 frame house and 5 small stores." The apparent exactness of these figures entitles them to greater credence. Stores were nearly all dwelling houses as well in these days, and counting seven people to a house there would be 301 of a population in Pittsburg at that time, viz.: in 1786. The *Historical Review of North America,* which was published in Dublin, Ireland, says in 1789, "Pittsburg is a neat and handsome town containing about 400 houses." Brackenridge admits that his articles were written to advertise the town, and we have a like opinion of the reporter of the *Historical Review.* Most Irish were supposed to have kissed the Blarney stone, and we not only disbelieve these figures as to the number of houses but doubt whether Pittsburg was either "neat or handsome" even for that day of rude frontier habitations.

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The *American Museum*, Vol. 2, gives a list of 36 mechanics and 130 families of Pittsburg in 1792. This is a rapid increase over the figures given by the *Niles Register* for 1786, but may have been very nearly correct, though the number of families is undoubtedly large. It is quite likely that many of the houses contained more than one family. There were likely nearly 900 people in Pittsburg in 1792. Mr. Craig is very accurate in his statements and recollections. He was a young man in Pittsburg in 1796 and in writing of the town and its inhabitants of that day and of the calculation of the *Pittsburg Gazette* of January 9, 1796, as above referred to, says:

"This is the earliest authenticated account of our population, and it may be well to tarry awhile and notice the condition and appearance of its people at that time. The number of inhabitants, at six to each house, upon the average would give 232 houses, and although the writer's memory goes back pretty distinctly to that time he cannot conceive where that number of houses could be found. I have taxed my own memory severely, and, with the aid of one whose recollection is more distinct than my own, have made out the following enumeration of the houses of Pittsburg about the time above mentioned.

"On Penn street, east of Fort Pitt, Col. William Butler, James O'Hara, D. McHenry, 3; Liberty street, Cecil's and Dr. Bedford, 2; The Diamond, Black Bear Tavern, George McGunnigle, William Denning, 3; Market street, Old Jail; Corner of Fourth, John Irwin, Mollie Murphy, Brady's smith shop; Corner of Third, Horner's; Corner of Second, Brackenridge's, Mowry's, Ewalt's and Christy's, Corner of Water, 10; Water Street, P. Neville's, McIntyre's, Schull's, Wilmer's, Duncan's, J. Irwin's, John Ormsby's, S. Sample's, John Neville's, Craig's Redoubt, Kirkpatrick's, O'Hara's, Tannehill's, Greentree Tavern, Ferryhouse, Roose's, Audrian's, 18; Wood Street, John Wilkins, Jr., John Wilkins, Sr., Henderson's, Sturgeon's, Palmer's Log House, Rody's, McKinney's, 7; Ferry Street, Devereaux Smith's, Diehl's, Funk's, Charles Richard's and two other log houses, Wilcock's, 7; Front street, Ward's, M. Adams', George Adams', Hanlon's Stone House, Larwill's, Cooper's, Watson's, two story log house, small log house east of Pittsburg Bank, Granny Irwin's log house, Engleman's, D. Hogg's, Jones', Murrie's, 9; Fifth street (east of Wood) Riley's, Cogan's, Vaughn's, and two or three more, 6; (west of Wood) Lightenberger's and two others, 3; Marburry Street, General Richard Butler, Log Tavern, Delaneys', 10; Second Street (west of Market) Hex Gibson's, Chambers', General Gibson's (first brick house) Turnbull's stone house, McLaughlin's. Jimmy Long's, Benjamin Askin's, Major Irwin's, 9; Second street (east of Market) McNickles', Mrs. Elliott's, H. Reed's, Nicholson's, Hanna's, Addison's, 6; Third Street, Benjamin Richard's, 1; Fourth Street (west of Market) Hamsher's, McCord's, 2; (east of Market) two one story log houses, 1; Bouquet's old redoubt, 1; in Fort Pitt, four or five, 5; total number of houses, 103."

Mr. Craig says, that in this list there are not five houses overlooked; that allowing eight people to a house the population would be a little over 800. This we regard as a correct and reliable enumeration of houses of that day. The population of Pittsburg in 1800, taken four years and six months later was, as we have said, 1565, while in 1810 it was 4,768, showing an increase in ten years of over 300 per cent. It is not so difficult

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to suppose, therefore, that the population doubled itself between 1795 and 1800 as it is to suppose that it only gained 170 in that time. Mr. Craig wrote this account in 1850, and says further:

"We would be pleased if we could give our readers and adequate conception of the appearance of the plain on which our city stands at the time of the first assessment, or even many years later. Those who see Pittsburg in its present not very pleasant aspect, can scarcely imagine its former ragged and broken appearance. We shall attempt to describe it. The ramparts of Fort Pitt were still standing and a portion of the officer's quarters; a substantial brick building was used as a malt house; the gates were gone, and brick wall called the revetment which supported two of the ramparts facing toward the town, and against which the officers used to play ball, were gone, so that the earth all around had assumed a natural slope. Outside of the fort on the side next to the Allegheny river was a large, deep pond, the favorite resort of wild ducks. Along the south side of Liberty Street, and extending from the foot of Diamond Alley to the foot of Fourth Street, was another pond, from which a deep ditch led the water into a brick arch way, leading from Front Street, just below Redoubt Alley, into the Monongahela. By whom this archway was built I have never learned. It was no trifling work. The writer, when a boy, has often played through it. The sides, which were from three to four feet high, and the top, were of hard burned bricks, the bottom of flag stones. Before it was made there must have been a deep gulley extending up from the river below Redoubt Alley and I have supposed that when General Grant built the redoubt on the bank of the river, just below the gulley, he probably had the archway or culvert constructed to facilitate the communication between the redoubt and Fort Pitt.

"South of Market Street, between Front and Water Street, was another pond and still another in the square in front of the St. Charles' Hotel. Finally there was Hogg's Pond, extending along the north side of Grant's Hill from Fourth Street up to Seventh. From this last there was a low, ugly drain, extending down nearly parallel with Wood Street to the river. A stone bridge was built across this gulley in Front Street probably soon after the borough was incorporated, because without it the gulley would be very difficult to pass. We have now (1850) a beautiful landing along the Monongahela from the bridge to the point. Fifty years, nay, even thirty years ago, nothing could be less pleasing to the eye than the rugged, irregular bank. From the bridge down to near Wood Street the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was from sixty to seventy feet. Wood Street was impassable even when the river was moderately high. From Wood to Market the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was fifty or sixty feet. At Market Street there was a deep gulley worn into the bank so that a wagon could hardly pass along. At the mouth of Chancery Lane there was another chasm in the bank so that a horse could not pass between the post at the corner of the lot and the precipitous bank. At the mouth of Ferry Street there was another similar contraction of the way, so that it required very careful driving for a wagon to pass along. at Redoubt Alley there was quite a steep and stoney descent down to the level of the covered archway of which we have spoken before. Below that archway the space between the lots and break of the bank nowhere exceeded twenty feet and between Short and West Streets it varied from fifteen feet to five. Between West Street and below Water Street was closed by a fence extending to the foot of the bank so that persons going to Jones' Ferry from any place on Water

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Street had either to climb down the steep bank and go along the path or else to turn up from Water to Front and pass along it to Liberty. Such was Pittsburg less than fifty years ago. No doubt the next fifty years will produce as much improvement as the last."

The region around Pittsburg was settled very largely by Scotch-Irish and their descendants who came from the Cumberland Valley or from Maryland and Virginia. In many instances they came directly from Ireland to Pittsburg. They were a sturdy race of people in all colonies wherever found. They had originally come to America from Ireland, but their ancestors had formerly been the bone and sinew of Scotland before they were removed to the Emerald Isle. They and their descendants, more particularly the latter, were scattered thickly over Western Pennsylvania. They were the first to settle around the forts and particularly around Fort Pitt, where they made money by trading in furs and skins with the Indians; by taking up and selling lands and by sharp dealing generally, rather than by agricultural pursuits. They lived by their wits, by thrift and by cunning rather than by hard labor such as the German elements in all colonies were willing to perform, yet they did not attempt to live on the unpaid labor of others. They were an extremely aggressive and independent people who made splendid pioneers, particularly in a country infested with a hostile enemy and abounding with wild animals. A very large percentage of all early settlers around the Fork of the Ohio had for their mother tongue the English language. The Scotch-Irish very soon obtained control of public affairs in and around Pittsburg, as indeed they did in almost every colony or province in which they settled. Those who came from Ireland or even from other colonies, designated their coming here as settling among the "Broadrims," a term applied generally to the Pennsylvanians because of the shape of the hats worn by the Quakers of the eastern counties. More of them came to Western Pennsylvania than to any other section of the state, if not indeed more than to any other section of America. About the time the region around Pittsburg was opened up for settlement, they went through a series of domestic troubles in Ireland, among which were the high rents and other oppressive actions on the part of the landed gentry of Great Britain. The large landed estates of Ireland, it will be remembered, were almost entirely owned by lords, dukes and nobles who resided in London during the greater part of the year and came to their estates only to hunt and to lead a short period of rural life each year. The metropolis was then the centre of a most profligate and spendthrift age and race, to support which high rents and oppressive measures on the part of the land owners seemed necessary. Here in Western Pennsylvania land was cheap and plentiful and here they settled in untold numbers. With them came many of the same national extraction from the central and eastern parts of the state, and from Virginia and Maryland. All were actuated mainly by that progressive westward moving spirit so common among the enterprising, which has since filled the western states with a most progressive and intelligent population.

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The Scotch-Irishman adhered closely to the Calvinistic religion of that day, and had a personality strong enough to very largely impress his belief upon other neighbors who differed with him. A noted writer of their own people says they kept the Ten Commandments and everything else they could lay their hands on. They were intellectual, steadfast, independent, shrewd, industrious, and ambitious. They very readily became Americanized, perhaps more so than any other pioneers. The Scotch-Irish had no strict nationality to forget, no sympathetic national faiths to unlearn, for their was no pure Celtic blood in their veins. They had left no nation across the Atlantic ocean which they longingly regarded as the mother country or the father land. The songs of Robert Burns which have made the pure Scotchman loyal to his native heather, had no special music for them, nor did the memory of any song learned in childhood from the lips of an Irish mother, fill them with patriotic glory or draw them in memory from the New back to the Old World. The Shamrock to which the true sons of Erin are universally loyal had no tender memoried mystic chords of interest to them. They were no more attached to Ireland than the Hebrews were to Egypt by their long sojourn there, or than the Puritans were to Holland from whence they came to America in 1620. The pure Irish are loyal to the mythical traditions of their hearthstone in whatever nation they may be found. The pure Scotch weep as readily on the banks of the Monongahela as in Scotland over the chant of "Bonnie Doon." But different from these the Scotch-Irish remembered Ireland only for the severity of its landlords and regarded it purely as a place of temporary tenantry. These characteristics made them very independent, if not arrogant, in the world and gave them the power to impress their identity on, if not to govern, any community in which they permanently located. They and their heroic deeds in America have received the highest measures of praise by their friends, while their enemies have apparently with equal reason, held them up to the bitterest ridicule and contempt. They always looked down on the Puritans and Quakers, who in turn despised them. They abhorred the Pennsylvania Dutch and would not settle in the East because of them, and yet from the beginning to the end they ruled the Quaker, Puritan and Dutchman as though with a rod of iron.

The aggressive spirit of the Scotch-Irish and their descendants led to many difficulties between the Indians and the white men in Western Pennsylvania. The English and the Germans had both adopted, as far as possible, Penn's peace policy in dealing with the Indians. They were willing to endure many hardships and wrongs on the part of the red men for the sake of a hoped-for peace and tranquillity in the future. But not so with the aggressive spirit so characteristic of the Scotch-Irish race. They wanted land, caring little whether it came from the Indians or the Penns; whether it destroyed the Indian hunting ground or encroached on the rights of the Quakers, English or Germans; and when they once procured a show of title to it, woe be unto the one who interfered with their possessions or tried to shove them and their rights aside. No ignorant or brutal race of red men should encroach on the

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rights of a people who had for centuries stood up against and held their own with the oppressive hand of the Irish land owner. But when the Indian, spurred on by his inborn vindictive wrath, came to retaliate he made and perhaps knew no distinction between the pacific, hardworking Dutch, the peace-loving Quaker or the high-minded, if not quarrelsome, Scotch-Irish. All were alike palefaces to him and upon the white race without distinction, fell the severity of the incursions which he thought were a just punishment for the wrongs received at the hands of the white men in general.

How loyal these people were to Washington and our institutions is indicated in the manner in which they honored him at his death. The early Pittsburgers bore always in mind distinctly his youthful efforts in behalf of the English-speaking people of this section. Though all sections of the United States paid him the highest homage, the little town of Pittsburg took a special pride in his achievements in life and at his death set apart a special day upon which to honor his memory. This was on Jan. 8, 1800. The ceremonies were such as might have been expected had Washington been a life-long citizen of Pittsburg, and as though they were in reality carrying his body to its last resting place. The military companies and the grief-stricken populace generally, met at Fort Lafayette. There was in the parade a company of cavalry from Westmoreland county, another from Pittsburg, under the command of Captain James Bryson, a company of light infantry under Lieutenant Magee and a regiment of troops under Captain Shoemaker. These all marched with arms reversed while the bands played funeral dirges. The soldiers all wore white sashes trimmed with black. At early dawn the city was awakened by the firing of sixteen heavy guns. All day a gun was fired every half hour, and minute guns were fired during the funeral ceremonies. All business was suspended and the houses were closed and men and women joined in the procession which marched as though in actual funeral services. First came the military organizations; then the clergy two of whom walked in front and wore black cloaks; then came the bier supported by four soldiers wearing white sashes trimmed in black; these were followed by the following veterans of the Revolution similarly attired: Captain Herron, Colonel Neville, General Neville, Major Kirkpatrick, Major Craig and General Gibson; then came other officers of the Revolution, members of the Order of Cincinnatus, Masonic orders, county and civic officers, professors and students of the academy and citizens generally. The procession began to march promptly at twelve o'clock. The way led over the principal streets and to the court-house, into which the bier was carried. Religious services were conducted by Rev. Sample. To Colonel Neville was accorded the honor of delivering the funeral oration. After that an anthem was sung, whereupon the bier was taken out and placed in front of the court-house. The orders of President Adams and of General Alexander Hamilton were then read and the services ended by firing three volleys from the small arms.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Whiskey Insurrection.

The Whiskey Insurrection forms a very interesting chapter in Pittsburg's early history and became moreover a question of national importance. The lawlessness which characterized it was confined almost entirely to four counties of western Pennsylvania, namely, Allegheny, Westmoreland, Washington and Fayette. Serious in its aspect at the time, it benefited the western section in the end and furthermore added strength to and faith in the government which finally interfered to suppress it. The entire trouble originated from the method adopted, mainly by the government, in raising money by taxation. This tax was known in the language of that day as an excise tax, a term that was extremely opprobrious to the English speaking people of all ages. In Scotland the inherent hatred of the excise duties had become proverbial before the days of Robert Burns, for in his age, as is indicated in his songs, the peasantry regarded the killing of an excise tax collector as almost, if not quite, a virtue. The predominating nationality among the early settlers of these four counties was Scotch-Irish. If they brought nothing else to America with them they came with a hatred of the excise system of taxation in England. They were not particularly opposed to paying a tax if it were levied, for example, on real property and collected in the usual way, for then it was at least supposed to be based on an equitable valuation of the land. Nor did they seriously object to a tariff which is primarily a duty collected by the government on all articles brought in from foreign countries. But an excise tax is one levied on home manufactures and collected either when the material is produced or when it is first exposed to sale in the open market. If fairly and honestly collected, its very nature demands that the government imposing and collecting the tax shall take charge to a very great extent, of the labor and raw material which produces the commodity to be taxed. This system of espionage, of close inquiry into the private affairs of the people, was extremely distasteful to our ancestors and perhaps was rendered more so because of their natural hatred for everything which savored of Great Britain.

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But the reader will much better understand the nature and causes of this very important epoch in Pittsburg's history if he will glance at the social and financial condition of the people in southwestern Pennsylvania in the years which closely followed the close of the Revolution.

The four counties mentioned as the principal ones engaged in the Insurrection were by nature, a grain producing community. When the eighteenth century closed our state was the only one in the union that was producing more grain than its inhabitants consumed. For this surplus, particularly in the western section, there was but a limited market. Flour could not with profit be carried a long distance on pack horses, even though the East had great need of it. Every section in that age had learned, because of the limited facilities of transportation to produce enough of each commodity to supply its own needs. Nevertheless we had a surplus of grain and this brought about the manufacture of whiskey. Furthermore, the country merchant purchased skins and furs from the Indians and from white trappers, who in return desired liquor more than any other commodity. We have preserved to us many letters written by agents from this vicinity to houses in the East, stating that they are handicapped in securing furs and skins by not having whiskey to offer in return for them, and that those who had whiskey secured all the peltry trade. All these things superinduced the manufacture of whiskey.

In 1784 the firm of Turnbull, Marmie & Company, who were iron producers in Philadelphia, sent a few stills to Pittsburg and vicinity. They were at once set up and the business grew rapidly. In a few years the Philadelphia company opened up in Pittsburg with the main purpose of making stills, but they afterwards engaged in the general iron business. They were among the first, if not the first, iron producers in the city which has since controlled the iron market of the world. Our people now could find a market for their whiskey and by distillation get rid of their rye and corn. As early as 1792 stills were very numerous all over Western Pennsylvania. Judge James Veach says that there were only a few less than six hundred distilleries in the four western counties of the state. Every community had them. In some sections, there was a still in every fourth or fifth house. All of them were small affairs compared with the mammouth distilleries or our generation, but they made whiskey. The pioneers frequently traded land for stills. The farmer who did not have a still took his grain to his neighbor who had one and the distiller took part of the product in payment for distilling it. Most of the farmers necessarily engaged in rye culture and those who had no money could convert their rye into liquor, which found a more ready sale. These stills were so small that they could be put into a cellar or into a one-roomed log house, perhaps not even built for that purpose, but which has since been known by the pretentious name of "still house." Very few of them had mills connected with their stills but they had their grain ground at a neighboring grist mill. The farmer took his grain to the mill and after it was properly

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ground hauled it to the distillery. It was practically the only market he had for his grain.

As a result the use of liquor became very general, though the almost universal testimony is that but few of our ancestors drank to excess. Store keepers took whiskey regularly in exchange for goods and sold it to their customers. It was not unusual, indeed it was quite common for the country merchant to have a barrel of whiskey on his counter and to give each customer a dram, the women and children as well as the men. There were few farmers who did not have a barrel in their cellars, to which all of the members of the family had access. This custom was prevalent among the best of families and was kept up as late as 1840. They generally drank it "straight," but sometimes it was mixed with tansy or mint or sweetened with maple sugar. Taken in moderation in the absence of modern medicines, it was probably a preventative of fever, ague and colds, and of many other diseases in their incipiency. Davy Crockett said it made a man warm in winter and cool in summer, but it is difficult to believe both of these propositions. It was used by the barrel at raisings, parades and musters. It was common to pass it around at weddings and other gatherings. Ministers did not preach against it, and often at funerals in cold weather it was heated and given in tin cups to those who had a long ride or walk to the graveyard. In this connection it must be remembered that they drank it as a tonic or medicine as we of a modern age drink coffee, and not as a beverage. Clergymen frequently drank it openly. Rev. Dr. MacMillan was certainly a man of high character and of many virtues, yet his biographers all relate of him that when on his way to Presbytery in company with Rev. James Patterson, they stopped at a tavern to get a drink. When the liquor was poured into the glasses, Patterson, being a very devout man, proposed to ask a blessing before drinking. The invocation being a somewhat protracted effort, while it was in progress and while Patterson's eyes were closed, the old doctor drank both glasses and then admonished the young preacher that he must thereafter "watch as well as pray." But doubtless the young preacher did not go away thirsty. In 1756 Rev. James Beatty, who has been spoken of as chaplain in the Forbes army, and as preaching the first sermon at Fort Duquesne, after its capture, accompanied Benjamin Franklin and his forces to Fort Allen. Franklin in his auto-biography says that Rev. Beatty complained to him that the soldiers did not attend prayers with any degree of regularity. Thereupon the great philosopher told him that each soldier was entitled to a gill of rum each day and advised the reverend to act as steward in dispersing the rum and to distribute it each morning after the sermon. The sedate preacher took kindly to the advice and told Franklin afterward that it worked to a charm, saying that the prayers were never more generally attended. Yet he was a man of high character and, as the reader will see, figured largely in the early church history of Western Pennsylvania.

The government, though economical by necessity, purchased a great deal of whiskey for the Revolutionary soldiers and issued it to them as regular

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rations. The reader will recall the "gill extraordinary" which General Irvine gave to the soldiers of Fort Pitt when he announced the surrender of Cornwallis. It was not uncommon in that day for a young man to engage to work during the winter for his board and "three drams per day." In fact, whiskey was used in those days somewhat like coffee is now. Favorite proverbs of our liquor-using ancestors were, "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish and wine unto those that be heavy of heart," and "Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more."

Whiskey, furthermore, in Western Pennsylvania, became almost a measure of value, a medium of exchange in place of gold, which did not circulate, or in place of continental or state money, which had no fixed value. Corn, rye, etc., were valued by the quantity of whiskey a bushel would make or bring in the market. "John Barleycorn" was always a ready sale and with it the pioneer could procure by barter all groceries, household goods or almost anything else in the market. Indeed land was often purchased with whiskey. The old records show that farms and lands now of great value were once sold for a few gallons of whiskey. Even subscriptions to clergymen's salaries were sometimes paid in whiskey, and not infrequently it was used in paying off church debts. From the first, as the reader has seen, the manufacture and sale of liquor was under the control of the courts and in the earlier day they fixed the rates that the landlord might charge his customers for accommodations, but this rule did not apply any more to whiskey than it did to meals, night's lodging and horse-feed, and the sale of liquor in large quantities was not limited by the law as it is with us at present. By the law, however, in that day a justice of the courts could neither make nor sell liquor. Several times Edward Cook, one of the justices and a man of the highest character, was returned for distilling liquor, but the informations were always quashed by the judges or ignored by the grand jury. In 1784 several men of Westmoreland county were convicted and fined for both making and selling liquor without a license. The council in Philadelphia remitted the fines because of "the peculiar distress to which the frontier inhabitants had been subject during the Revolution." While a justice could not sell liquor, he could grant permission to his relatives, and so Robert Hanna, a justice, had his daughter licensed repeatedly to keep a public tavern. Many smaller matters now paid for by the county or by the civil authorities, were then done without the thought of pay except a free supply of whiskey. On election day the constables of that age served at the window of the election room and never received any remuneration more than as much whiskey as they cared to drink. Jurors served regularly without pay or mileage, but the county commissioners supplied them with free whiskey while at the county seat; still later they arranged to pay for their dinner at the hotel, but their principal compensation was free whiskey.

These four counties, as we have said, were moreover well adapted to the product of grain and could, in that day of limited markets, produce but little else that was salable. It is true we have frequently referred to the skin and

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fur trade as a product of the West, but that was necessarily the business of but few of the earlier pioneers. It could not be depended on by the people in general and was growing less and less each year as the country became more densely inhabited by the white race. To the mind of the western farmer, who could really produce but little else, there seemed to be an injustice in the excise tax on whiskey for the reason that it was based on the quantity of the commodity and not on its value. Owners of lands of lesser value today could with reason object to a system of taxation that would levy the same amount of tax on every acre of land in the state. Land in the mountains may be assessed at $1.00 per acre and lands near our cities at $1,000.00 per acre and the tax based on these valuations may be entirely equitable and just. The leaders in the Insurrection imagined that the very opposite of this equitable adjustment was brought about by the excise tax on distilled spirits. Their view of the situation may be further illustrated: Whiskey in any of these four grain producing counties could be purchased in large or small quantities at from twenty to twenty-five cents per gallon, and an excise tax of seven cents per gallon was a little more than one-quarter of its value. But the same whiskey if taken to Philadelphia, or if a liquor of equal grade were purchased there, would readily sell for fifty or sixty cents per gallon, and the excise duty of seven cents per gallon levied and collected in the East was therefore less than one-eighth of its value. So they theorized and reasoned that if a farmer on the banks of the Monongahela raised one hundred dollars' worth of rye and made it into whiskey he paid to the government twenty-five dollars tax on it, but if he lived in the East and by the same labor produced the same amount of rye in value he paid but twelve dollars tax on it. There was no public market for the rye at that time except by transporting it east of the mountains on pack horses. A good strong pack horse could carry about five bushels of rye, but if it were made into whiskey the same horse would carry the product of from fifteen to twenty bushels of rye. Those who framed the law had in view, of course, the greater value of the land in the East than in the West, a question which did not appeal readily to our ancestors. Accordingly the apparent injustice was very potent to those who, while they could not understand the finely spun theories of political economy could see the difference between giving the government the one-fourth in value of their grain product raised on the Ohio and the one-eighth of its value if raised near Philadelphia.

An excise law in Pennsylvania had been passed by the legislature in 1772, but had never been executed, particularly in the western section, largely because there were but few products here to tax. But the state still owed considerable money on the Revolutionary debt which had been provided for by an appropriation but had never been paid. The law of 1772 was greatly opposed by the counties west of the Allegheny mountains. It was complied with in a measure by the eastern counties who, however, rightfully complained bitterly at the glaring injustice of forcing them and not the western counties to pay the excise tax. It was therefore concluded in 1785 to raise the money with

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which to pay the Revolutionary debt by a rigid enforcement of the excise law of 1772 in all parts of the state. This, they reasoned, was such a debt that the patriotic men of the West who had done so much and fought so nobly for the cause of freedom, would gladly help to pay, regardless of the mode of taxation. Accordingly, in June, 1785, an excise collector named Graham was sent out to enforce the obnoxious law. He met with much opposition in all of the counties but succeeded in collecting some tax in Fayette and in Westmoreland counties. When in a hotel in Greensburg in the night-time he was awakened by a man in disguise who told him that he was Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils, and that he had called for him to hand him over to a legion of smaller Devils who were outside awaiting the collector, it being his pleasant duty to conduct him to them. Assisted by the landlord of the tavern he managed to escape from the mob that night. He tried to prosecute a citizen of Greensburg whom he thought he recognized as the "Prince," but the defendant proved an alibi and was discharged. Graham accordingly left Greensburg and went over to Washington county, where he received still rougher treatment. They took his pistols from him and broke them into pieces before his eyes. They then relieved him of his commission and papers, threw them in a muddy part of the street and compelled him to walk back and forth over them and trample them still deeper into the mud. They also shaved the hair from the one side of his head, fixed his hat so that it looked ridiculous, and compelled him to wear it wrong end foremost, for the cocked hats of those days were made with a well defined front and back. They shaved his horse's tail, put him astride of the animal and started him eastward toward the county line. The Washington county citizens followed him and as they progressed the crowd increased. They stopped at each still house on the way and compelled the collector to drink of the liquor he was sent there to collect a tax on. When the county line was reached he was allowed to go free with a fair warning that the treatment he had just received was mild in comparison to what would be meted out to him should he ever return to their county again. This demonstrated that the West would not pay the tax willingly, and, rather than engage in an open war with the people, the legislature repealed the law. The citizens of these four counties felt confident that they had won the battle by this opposition and gloried a great deal over the result.

But in 1791 congress passed a law levying four pence per gallon on all distilled spirits. There were three members of congress from these four counties, namely: General William Irvine of Pittsburg, John Smilie of Fayette county, and William Findley of Westmoreland county. All of them knew the pronounced feelings of their constituents in the matter and strongly opposed the passage of the law in the halls of congress. Upon their return they were heartily endorsed by their constituents for this action. Albert Gallatin, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest intellectual forces of his day, was then a citizen of Fayette county and opposed the law with all his power. But when the government came to appoint a collector, no one in the

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four counties would accept the position. Congress, hoping to amend matters, then changed the law by reducing the tax and modifying its terms, the new law to take effect with the fiscal year of 1794. The first public meeting held in the western section to oppose the enforcement of the measure generally, was held at Redstone, near Brownsville, on July 27, 1791. It was there arranged that the county committees should meet at the county seats of the four counties, namely: Allegheny, Westmoreland, Washington and Fayette, on August 23. The committee for Washington county passed resolutions and published them in the *Pittsburg Gazette*. These resolutions, among other things, provided that "Any person who had accepted or who might accept an office under Congress in order to carry the law into effect should be considered inimical to the interests of the country." Delegates from the four counties met at Pittsburg on September 7, 1791, and passed equally severe resolutions against the execution of the law. The state had been divided into districts for the purpose of collecting this tax, and an inspector was appointed for each district, or "survey," as the districts were denominated in the act. By the terms of the law each distiller was to furnish the inspector nearest his works, with a full description of his establishment. His distillery was at any time to be opened to a visit and examination on the part of the inspector. This may not seem remarkable to us now but it appeared to raise the wrath of the pioneer to its highest pitch. For the purpose of opposing the law the four counties were most thoroughly united and worked almost as one force. The general terms of the resolutions adopted at a Pittsburg meeting advised the people to treat any person accepting the office of collector with contempt, to absolutely refuse all kinds of communication or intercourse with him, and to withhold from him all aid, support or comfort. Nevertheless, Benjamin Wells, of Fayette county, accepted the office of collector for the counties of Fayette and Washington, and Albert Johnson, of Allegheny county, accepted the office for the counties of Allegheny and Westmoreland. Wells, according to the character given him by Judge Addison, was a most contemptible and unworthy man, whom his neighbors would not want to see in any office of trust. Johnson was said to be an honest man, of inoffensive manner and kindly bearing. Johnson established an office about nine miles southwest of Pittsburg. Wells' office was at his residence on the southern bank of the Youghiogheny river near Connellsville. These were the only offices in the four counties. On September 6, 1791, a party, armed and disguised, assaulted Johnson near Pigeon creek, in Washington county. They stripped him, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, took his horse from him and then started him on the way on foot in that condition. The marshal at once sent an officer to arrest them or to arrest the supposed offenders, but he was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered, his money and horse taken from him, and then blindfolded and tied to a tree in the woods, where he remained helpless for five hours. In May, 1792, a few alterations were made in the law; the rates per gallon were slightly lowered and the distillers were allowed to pay for monthly instead of yearly licenses,

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but the penalty for not reporting a still was increased from one hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars. Efforts were in the meantime put forth to secure offices for the collectors in Westmoreland and Washington counties, but none could be obtained. Wells tried to open an office in Greensburg and one in Uniontown in June, 1792. The one at Greensburg was soon abandoned, after having done but little business. He did not appear at Uniontown on the day announced and this only made the distillers more confident in the contest. Some of the distillers in Western Pennsylvania made the proper return of their places and some quit the business, but there being no offices in two of the largest counties, fully two-thirds of the distillers were entirely exempt from taxation. Many others shipped their product down the Ohio river, but the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela rivers were pretty closely watched by the officers of the law. On August 21, 1792, a meeting was held in Pittsburg which assembled the most prominent men in the four counties. John Cannon was made president of the meeting and Albert Gallatin was appointed clerk. Others present were: William Wallace, Shesbazar Bentley, Bazel Bowel, Benjamin Parkinson, John Huey, John Badollet, John Hamilton, John McClelland, Neel Gillespie, David Bradford, Thomas Gaddes, Rev. David Phillips, Matthew Jamison, James Marshall, Robert McClure, Peter Leslie, Alexander Long, Samuel Wilson, and Edward Cook. They passed resolutions, an important clause of them being as follows: "Resolved, that David Bradford, James Marshall, Albert Gallatin, Peter Leslie and David Phillips be appointed for the purpose of drawing a remonstrance to Congress, stating our objections against the law that imposes a duty upon spirituous liquors distilled within the United States, and praying for a repeal of the same, etc."

"'And whereas, some men may be found amongst us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distress of this country as to accept offices for the collection of the duty.

"'Resolved therefore that in the future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve, and that it be and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them."

A committee was appointed to confer and correspond with committees and with those interested throughout the four counties. On September 15, President Washington issued a dignified and commanding proclamation admonishing all citizens of the district of the trouble they were making for themselves and demanding in the firmest terms that the people cease all unlawful combinations and stop all proceedings which tended to obstruct the operations of the law.

The act passed had fixed the month of June of each year as the time for "entering a still," that is, for filing the statement concerning it with the collector.

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When the month of entry, June, 1793, following, approached, the great question with those interested in the execution of the law was to get officers and offices for them. On June 1 the inspector of excise for the district, General John Neville, who had recently been appointed, gave notice in the *Gazette* that an office would be opened at the house of Johnson, the collector for Allegheny county; at the house of Benjamin Wells in Fayette county, and at Philip Reagan's house in Westmoreland county. Alexander Hamilton made a report concerning the Insurrection and it has been used as a basis of nearly all articles written on the subject. He says that up to 1794 he was unable to establish any regular office in Washington or Westmoreland counties. Wells was the most persistent in holding his office. He was insulted and personally abused wherever he appeared, and his family were likewise ostracised and looked down upon. As early as April, 1792, a disguised band attacked his home in the night and terrorized his family, he being away from home. On November 22, they again attacked his house and finding him at home, compelled him to surrender his commission and books. They also exacted a promise from him to publish a resignation from office in the papers within two weeks, and, on his failure to do so, they warned him that they would burn his house. In 1794 John Wells, a son of Benjamin, was made deputy under his father and opened an office in the house of Philip Reagan, near the Big Sewickley creek. The office was under the joint care of the deputy and Reagan. They were both men of courage and seemed to understand what was to be expected from the public. They at once converted the house into an old-time block-house, with port holes and a door and window that could be closed and barred from the inside. They had, in addition to this, a number of men to defend and protect it and all were supplied abundantly with arms. It was promptly tested and withstood several night attacks in June, one of them being from a very large and well armed body of people. This mob which had collected fired repeatedly on the house from the outside and the fire was promptly returned from the fortress within, though no one was wounded on either side. Seeing that they could not take the stronghold, they set fire to his barn and then returned to their homes. Not to be defeated in their scheme to capture the officers of the law, they returned two or three nights after with a crowd of about one hundred and fifty men and renewed the attack. After considerable parley, Reagan, who knew it was useless to defend his castle against such a mob, proposed to surrender if they assured him that they would not molest his person nor destroy his property. Should they grant him these honorable terms he promised to surrender his commission and never again act as an excise collector. These terms were put in writing, whereupon Reagan came out and brought with him a keg of whiskey, which was promptly put to use by the besiegers. Unfortunately for Reagan, many of them imbibed too freely and became intoxicated. Not a few who were in this condition said that Reagan had gotten off too easily and proposed that he should be set up as a target to be shot at. The besiegers had brought with them a good quantity of tar and several pillows

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filled with feathers, and it was proposed that Reagan be supplied with a new coat from these. Others claimed that he should go unpunished and be allowed to go home unmolested as they had agreed. But these conciliatory arguments gave umbrage to several of the party and a fight ensued. After this was settled it was proposed, voted on and carried that Reagan should be court-martialed and that they should go at once to Wells' house, take him prisoner and try both him and Reagan together. When they arrived at Wells' house he was not there, whereupon they set fire to it and burned it to the ground, with all its contents. They then detailed a party to lie in ambush until Wells should return to the smoldering embers of his home, when he should be captured by them. During the night Reagan escaped, and when the effects of the liquor died on those who were to capture Wells, he was also allowed to escape. The mob did not always vent their wrath on those who were really upholding the law, as will be seen from the following extracts from a letter written by Alexander Hamilton under date of August 5, 1794:

"Nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to officers; they extended to private citizens who only attempted to show their respect for the laws of their country. Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the county and manifestly disordered in his intellect, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, etc. This man was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five miles to a blacksmith shop, stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burned, and having been himself inhumanely burned in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about daylight dismissed, naked, wounded and otherwise in a very suffering condition. The unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty."

The same mob which had attacked Reagan, or practically the same, then sent a detachment to capture Captain Webster, who had been appointed an excise collector for Somerset county. Over one hundred men surrounded his house, took his commission from him and made him promise never to act as a collector of excise tax again. They took him with them several miles on their way homeward and had frightened him so that his conduct was submissive in the extreme. When they came to part with him they compelled him to mount a stump and cheer three times for "Tom the Tinker." This term had come into popular use to designate the opponents of the excise law. Brackenridge claims that it originated with a certain John Holcroft, who first used it at an attack on William Cougran, whose still was cut to pieces. This cutting or breaking of a still was popularly called "mending" the still and the menders were called "Tinkers," so that the name given to those collectively who broke up stills and who opposed the law, was "Tom the Tinker." The reader will understand that not infrequently the still of a man who complied with the law was destroyed by

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disguised insurrectionists. Notices threatening prominent citizens, admonishing them to desist or to leave the county were understood thoroughly if signed "Tom the Tinker." Letters were sent to the *Pittsburg Gazette* signed "Tom the Tinker," and they frequently closed with a threat against the person of the editor if he failed to publish them. The following may throw some light on the manner of proceeding; it was a notice given to John Reed and is taken from the *Gazette*:

"Mr. Scull, Editor, and one of the proprietors of the *Pittsburg Gazette*: I am under the necessity of requesting you to publish the following in your newspaper. It was found posted on a tree near my distillery. July 23, 1794.
John Reed."

ADVERTISEMENT.

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent excise man, John Neville, I find there were a great many delinquents among those who are carrying on distilling. It will therefore be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded from the service of this, my district, when notified to attend, on any expedition carried on, in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law and obtain a repeal thereof.

I do declare on my solemn word that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm with equipments and give their assistance, such as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies, and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident in Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburg, called Reedsburg, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburg, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, has, by delinquency, manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding and diminishing, to be published in the *Pittsburg Gazette* the ensuing week, under no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.

Given under my hand this nineteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. Tom the Tinker.

The reader has doubtless noticed that the entire community seemed to be interested in overthrowing the law. There were many distillers in comparison to the whole number of inhabitants, though all distilleries were small. But these could not have held up as they did in opposition to the law had they been unaided by others. The sequel to this public uprising lies in the fact that nearly every man in the community was engaged in producing rye and to each and every one of these the law seemed to apply directly. It is difficult now to appreciate the extent of this uprising or the rapidity of its growth. Reason was thrown to the winds. Many ministers took the side of the people boldly,

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though the conservative discouraged all mob violence. Findley, Smilie, Brackenridge, Cook, Young, Ross, Bradford, Holcroft and others were all in sympathy with all legitimate methods used in opposing the execution of the law. They probably laughed at the head shaving demonstrations and were not entirely cast down in gloom when the excise man was clad in a coat of tar and feathers. No minister taking the opposite side could have retained his pulpit. He alone was orthodox and popular with his hearers who sustained the people in their "great strike for liberty," as they called it. The lawyer was in good standing only when he defended the rabble when one of them was accused. No man's property in these four counties was safe, if there was the least suspicion that he was disloyal to the insurgents. The people were first undoubtedly instigated by such men as Gallatin, Findley, Smilie, Brackenridge, Cook, Young, Cannon, Ross, etc., and were afterwards led on to greater deeds of outlawry by such men as Bradford and Holcroft.

In 1794 the law was again modified by congress, but nothing short of a general repeal would satisfy the people. Some of the lawbreakers were indicted before the courts, but able lawyers defended them and no jury could be found in this community to convict them, no matter what the evidence was. A large number of distillers who had not complied with the law were finally summoned to be tried in the United States courts in Philadelphia. General John Neville, the inspector, in company with the marshal of the district, went to serve a summons on a distiller named Miller. A furious outbreak followed, which was due more to Neville's presence than to the serving of the summons, for others had been served before this. Men came from the surrounding harvest fields, fired at them and chased them out of the country. The same day a military meeting was being held at Mingo Creek, in Washington county, to raise a company of men for service against the western Indians. The report of the chasing of the marshal and Neville soon reached this meeting, which was seven miles away. A mcb at once took across the country for the marshal's house. When they arrived they demanded a surrender of his commission, his papers, etc., which was promptly refused. A general battle began at once. The inmates of the house were better armed and better protected than the attacking party. Six of the besiegers were wounded and one was shot dead. On this the law-breakers retired to their homes, but only to better prepare themselves for another attack. A meeting was called and all good citizens were warned "to strike for freedom" or "be forever enslaved," etc. In response to the call a large meeting was held at Mingo Creek Meeting House, the purpose of which was to avenge the outrages of the previous day. This meeting appointed three men as their leaders and elected Major James McFarlane, an old and experienced Revolutionary officer, as commander of the forces. In the meantime United States soldiers were collected to guard General John Neville's house. The mob marched at once to his place and demanded his papers and commission which, of course, were refused. Then the women of the house were allowed to pass out unmolested, immediately after which a battle

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ensued. The regular soldiers defending the house were in command of Major Kirkpatrick. It is hardly fair to say that McFarlane commanded the insurgents, for they very soon reached that degree of excitement that the commander was entirely impotent. Early in the fight Major McFarlane stepped from behind a tree to confer with Major Kirkpatrick, intending to try to bring about a settlement of the difficulty. As he did so he was shot, and died immediately. His death only added fuel to the fire. The barn and outhouses, with all their harvested crops, were at once set on fire, and Kirkpatrick and his soldiers were allowed to retire. When this became generally known, lawlessness became the rule over all of the four counties. The United States mail carrier was waylaid within a mile of Greensburg by two men who perhaps had no other motive in view than to show their contempt for the authority of the government of the United States, though they searched for orders concerning the Insurrection. They broke open the bags and rifled their contents, not for financial gain, but to show that the people and not the government held complete sway. After this trouble at Neville's and the mail robbery, a public meeting was called for by David Bradford, of Washington, who claimed to be the leader of the united forces of the four counties. This meeting was held at Braddock's Fields, as it was then called, the location of which is well known to the reader. The call was that all should come armed and provided with four day's rations. About seven thousand citizens (some reports give many more) actually came on the day appointed, though many came through idle curiosity, others because they were afraid to remain away, and perhaps more than half of the number were without arms. David Bradford was chosen commander-in-chief of the forces and Edward Cook was made chief lieutenant. Bradford's idea was to besiege the town of Pittsburg and burn the homes of the leading citizens interested in sustaining the law, such as Neville, Gibson, Bryson, Kirkpatrick, etc. Had this been done the town would have protected itself and blood would have flown freely with the probable result that Pittsburg would have been laid in ashes.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge was then the most gifted and eloquent lawyer in Western Pennsylvania. He had defended, free of charge, many of the ringleaders of this Insurrection who had been indicted heretofore, and was thoroughly trusted by all of them. When he and his friends saw that no power could prevent them from marching to Pittsburg, they tried to induce them to go in a peaceable and orderly manner. In his address to them he said: "Let us go there by all means if for nothing else, to show to them that the strictest order can be observed by us; that we are not the rabble they take us for but that we are the people; that we are asserting their rights. We will do them no danger nor put them in fear. We will march through the town, take a turn, come out again upon the fields by the banks of the river, and after drinking a little whiskey with the inhabitants who will gladly receive us, the troops will cross over to the other side of the river, then we will have won the people of Pittsburg to our side." Cook advocated the same behavior, and with the

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standing of these men the mob could not well turn a deaf ear to the advice of either of them, and particularly to the eloquent appeal of Brackenridge. The inhabitants of Pittsburg were greatly alarmed but their fears were allayed on the arrival of the army, for they had no doubt been very largely influenced by Brackenridge's advice. There was little harm done. Some one in the night set fire to Kirkpatrick's barn, and we believe this was the only damage done to the town. In a day or so the greater part of the army was disbanded or had disbanded itself, and peace and quiet again reigned in the four counties.

About this time the more conservative citizens of the West began to see the inevitable result of this opposition if not in some way gotten under control. A meeting was therefore called at Parkinson's Ferry, to convene on August 14, 1794. This was attended by two hundred and sixty delegates from the four western counties. Edward Cook was made chairman of the meeting and Albert Gallatin was made secretary. They as usual persisted in a series of resolutions against the excise law, and particularly against the taking of offenders to Philadelphia, three hundred miles away, for trial. The meeting was the most conservative yet held in the four counties. There were some very eloquent speeches made by such men as Gallatin, Brackenridge, Edgar and others, and a slow procedure by purely legal methods was the trend of their addresses. It is now generally supposed that these men and many of the delegates were there for the purpose of manipulating the convention and to thus gain, by a clever management and by wholesome advice, what could not be gained by open opposition to the rabble. The whole force of the Whiskey Insurrection was here represented by the two hundred and sixty delegates, and by the management of Brackenridge and his friends, their power was delegated to one representative from each township, which reduced them to sixty delegates. From these sixty delegates were then appointed a committee of twelve who would thereafter represent them and serve as a standing committee. The newly constituted committee could therefore bind the four counties and could be much more readily managed by the conservative leaders than a large body could be. It was certainly a wise move on the part of the managers and went far toward the re-establishment of order in the excited community. The committee of sixty met at Redstone on September 2, and the standing committee was ready at any time to meet a similar committee appointed by the government or the state. About this time Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, ordered that the Pennsylvania troops be equipped for service at once, and issued a call for an extra session of the general assembly. The capital of the United States was then in Philadelphia, and President Washington was not slow to act in a matter of this magnitude. On August 7th he issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to lay down their arms before September 1 or abide the consequences. He also began to raise an army, and in a few days had 12,950 men ready to march at a moment's notice. Many of them came from the drilled soldiers of the Revolution and were recruited from Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. The president

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appointed James Ross, Jasper Yates and William Bradford to represent the government and to confer with a like delegation should one be appointed representing the insurgents. Governor Lee, of Virginia, commanded the troops raised in that state by Washington and the governors of the several states commanded the troops sent out by them. The president himself, as commander-in-chief of the army, under the then new constitution of the United States, arranged to accompany the troops, and with him were General Henry Knox, General Alexander Hamilton, secretary of war, and Judge Peters, the latter being judge of the United States district court of Pennsylvania. The army set out from Philadelphia on the first day of October; President Washington, leaving the capital a few days after, joined them at Carlisle. It is probable that Washington learned for the first time at Carlisle, from delegates sent to meet him, of the conciliatory movements that were then in progress, and of the actions of the committees appointed to secure a cessation of hostilities in the West. He came on west with the army as far as Bedford, where he arrived on October 19. There he remained two or three days, then went back to Philadelphia, reaching the latter city on October 28. It is often claimed that he came on west and was in Allegheny county, but the claim is entirely unfounded. From the fact that he journeyed a part of the way with the army and then returned without coming near the seat of the war, it is supposed that he learned on the way that the backbone of the Insurrection was broken by the people realizing the injury the general uprising was effecting. The loyal citizens had then begun to manifest an interest in the matter. It will be remembered in this connection that news travelled much slower then than now. On August 8, 1794, Washington had appointed James Ross, Jasper Yates and William Bradford to go at once into the western district with instructions and power to confer with the citizens in revolt, or with those representing them. Previous to this, on August 6, the governor had appointed chief justice McKean and General William Irvine to go to the western section representing Pennsylvania and there ascertain the facts concerning the turmoil, report the result of their findings to him and make known the will of the authorities of Pennsylvania to those in opposition. The meeting at Parkinson's Ferry which convened on August 14, perhaps knew nothing of the proceedings in the East concerning the appointment of these committees, the calling out of the army, etc. The committee of sixty, that is, one from each township in the district, was to meet at Redstone on September 2, and the committee of twelve, which was called the standing committee, was to meet and confer with any committee that had been or that might be appointed by the government, and they were to report the result of their conference. The commissioners appointed by Washington arrived at Pittsburg about the middle of August, and the commissioners on the part of the state reached Pittsburg on August 17. On August 20 all these commissioners met the standing committee of twelve. This last committee was composed as follows: From Allegheny county were Thomas Morton, John Lucas, and H. H. Brackenridge; from Westmoreland

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county were John Kirkpatrick, George Smith, and John Powers; from Washington county were David Bradford, John Marshall, and James Edgar; from Fayette county were Edward Cook, Albert Gallatin, and James Lang. All these seventeen men met at Parkinson's Ferry. The commissioners on the part of both the national and state governments made it known distinctly that they could only exercise the powers vested in them to suspend prosecutions or to agree to a general pardon for crimes and irregularities already committed, when those in opposition to the law had given full and satisfactory assurance of a change of sentiment and of a fixed determination among the entire people in rebellion to obey the laws of the United States. The committee of twelve on the part of the people presented their causes of complaint, dwelling greatly on the disadvantages and hardships of being indicted and tried in a court distant across a range of mountains and three hundred miles to the east, before a strange judge and strange jurors. They also advanced every argument of the day against the excise laws. This conference was in session about a week and adjourned on August 28, to meet at Redstone. There they held a session of two days in which both Gallatin and Brackenridge spoke long and eloquently in favor of law and order. Bradford, on the contrary, spoke against both law and order, but the committee was carried against him. So strong was the sentiment of the people in favor of proceeding in the lawless manner he set forth, that great difficulty was experienced in getting men to vote openly lest the popular frenzy be brought down upon them. Nor would they vote "yea" or "nay," for fear that their handwriting might be discovered on their ballots. The expedient was at length devised by which the words "yea" and "nay" were written by the secretary on the same piece of paper, and these were distributed among the delegates. Each voter could then destroy the one-half of the ballot and put the other into the ballot box. This resulted in the appointment of another committee who, in conference with the state and national commissioners, were empowered to appoint a day upon which the sentiment of the people could be taken on the question "Whether the people would submit to the laws of the United States upon the terms proposed by the commissioners of the United States." This submission, the commissioners prescribed, was to take the form of signatures to a paper circulated throughout the four counties, pledging the people who signed the papers to be loyal to the government, and pledging their intention to abide by the terms of the excise law. It was, moreover, to be signed on or before the 11th of September. The time was undoubtedly too short, for but ten days remained and four of these elapsed before the test papers to be signed were printed, allowing but six days to circulate them over a region about a hundred miles square. After this was agreed upon, all of the commissioners returned east while papers were being printed, except James Ross, who was delegated to remain in the district and take the report of these signatures to the president. At many places designated as signing places, the people were not notified and did not meet at all. Some few polls were broken up by a lawless assemblage. Marshall and

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Bradford, the ringleaders of the insurgents, both signed the paper, the latter urging the people to follow his example. The report carried east by James Ross, because of the shortness of time, was a very meagre one so far as a universal expression of loyalty was concerned, and particularly was it meagre when compared with the large and growing population of the four counties in the Insurrection. It impressed the president so unfavorably that he determined to send the army, which by this time had collected at Carlisle, on its original mission over the mountains.

The delegates from the townships who had been appointed by the Parkinson's Ferry meeting on August 14, met again at that place on October 2. They adopted resolutions which set forth that the meagre number of signatures was not caused by a disposition to oppose the law but because of a want of time to collect the true sentiments of the community. They resolved to submit to the revenue laws without further opposition, and appointed William Findley, a member of congress, and David Redick of Washington county, to carry their resolutions to the president and governor, and to explain the condition of the country. These commissioners met the president at Carlisle on October 10 and after that had several interviews with him. They represented that the great body of people remained quietly at their homes, being engaged in their work, and were latterly everywhere organizing for the suppression of disorder. The president listened to them attentively, censured them for the part which they had taken in the inception of the trouble, but decided that as the army was already under marching orders on its way to the disaffected country, the orders would not be countermanded. He assured them, however, that no violence would be used and that all he desired was that the people should return to their former allegiance to the government. After Findley and Redick returned from their conference with the president, they called a meeting of the committee of safety at Parkinson's Ferry for October 24, so that they could report to it. In the meantime many meetings were held all over the district and this

ESPY HOUSE; WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, OCTOBER, 1794: BEDFORD COUNTY

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assured the delegates that the inhabitants were rapidly changing their opinions and were now in favor of a restoration of law and order and of submitting to the revenue laws without further opposition or complaint. Findley and Redick were again delegated to visit the president and express to him the growing sentiment manifested at the meeting on October 24. The delegates started at once to lay the matter before the president at Bedford, but found when they reached there that he had already gone east. From there the commissioners went to Uniontown to confer with General Lee, who by this time had his army headquarters at that place. He had full power to treat with them and assured them that his army would neither injure the people nor destroy their property. He advised them to induce the people to be as active in restoring order as they had shortly before been in bringing about dissension. The report of this conference with General Lee was published and widely circulated. General Lee further published an address to the people of the four counties, advising them to subscribe to and support the constitution and to obey the laws. Books were promptly opened at the offices of all justices of the peace which gave notice that they would receive the test oaths of allegiance of all who wanted to come out on the side of law and order. Notice was given as to the place and time of entering the stills, and the distillers at once came forward and made the proper entry. In fact, they seemed anxious to enter them, and the people, as General Lee requested, were actually as enthusiastic in sustaining the law as they had formerly been in opposing it. All was quiet in Pittsburg when the army arrived and had been all the way west. Thousands were daily taking the oath of allegiance. While the army was passing through the western section it became its duty to hunt up and arrest men who had been most active in raising this disturbance, as well as distillers who had failed to make their reports as required by law. Most of those who were arrested were really guilty, but Judge Peters, perhaps in every case where he could do so without stultifying himself, ruled that they were guilty of no offense against the government. Some who had been arrested were released after a hearing, and others were sent to Pittsburg. While confined there some were released because they had influential friends, it was said, while others, no more guilty than they, were sent to Philadelphia for trial. There they were unfortunately confined nearly a year before they were tried. This was a great injustice to them, and particularly does the injustice appear when it is learned that nearly all were finally acquitted. Probably by a fair construction of the law, many might have been found guilty of treason, for they had levied war against the United States and had incited and engaged in rebellion and insurrection. John Mitchell was the leader of those who robbed the mail near Greensburg. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged, but was afterward pardoned by the president. The other conviction was for arson, the defendant being the principal one who had set fire to Wells' house. After being sentenced to be hanged it was learned that he was a very ignorant and impetuous man and

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was subject to epileptic fits. Washington at first reprieved and then pardoned him.

The Insurrectionists were not as evilly disposed as they have generally been represented. They had perhaps no legal reason for opposing the excise law, but there were many reasons why it bore with great severity on them, and these should in some degree palliate their actions. To tar and feather an officer was a more common punishment in those rude days than now. True, they burned General Neville's residence, but only after their leader was needlessly shot down. They frightened a marshal by shooting, but certainly shot purposely over his head, for the skilful marksmen of that day who could pick a squirrel from the highest tree, could easily have sent a ball unerringly. had they desired to injure or kill him. Those who will compare the several acts of the Insurrectionists with those of the mob which took possession of Pittsburg after nearly a century of civilization (July, 1877), will conclude that the former, in almost all their actions and meetings were comparatively well controlled and deliberate. The masses in those days were uneducated. Acting under the advice of fanatics and adventurers, whom they looked up to they were led into error, but there is no evidence whatever that they seriously contemplated the taking of life or the wholesale destruction of property. The evidence, indeed, is all on the other side.

On the 17th of November general orders were issued for the return of the troops, except one detachment under General Morgan, which remained for the winter in Pittsburg. One company of this detachment was stationed at Uniontown and another at Greensburg. The march of the army eastward may be fraught with interest to those who are accustomed to the rapid mobilization of soldiers in our present day. The first day's march was to Hellman's, fifteen miles east of Pittsburg; the second day's march was to a point near Greensburg, marching fourteen miles; the third day the army marched to Nine Mile Run, near Youngstown, eleven miles; the fourth day they marched to an encampment two miles east of Fort Ligonier, marching eleven miles; the fifth day they crossed Laurel Hill and encamped near the foot of the eastern slope, having marched nine miles; the sixth day they reached Stony Creek, a mile beyond where Stoystown now stands, making eleven miles; on the seventh and eighth days they marched respectively eleven and twenty-four miles and reached Bedford. From Bedford they marched to Carlisle, a distance of about ninety-five miles.

In former chapters we have given brief sketches of the lives of General John Neville, and Edward Cook, and these need not be repeated here. General Neville's son, Presley Neville, also figured with his father in the Whiskey Insurrection. He was born in 1756 and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. He entered the Revolutionary War as an aide to General Lafayette and was taken a prisoner at Charleston. Later he was connected with the militia of Allegheny county and was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. His wife was a daughter of General Daniel Morgan. During most of his

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life he was engaged in Pittsburg in the mercantile business. He died in Ohio on December 1, 1818. Captain James McFarlane was also a soldier in the Revolutionary War and was a man of exemplary character and conduct. The day following his unfortunate death he was buried at Mingo Creek graveyard and on his mossy headstone may yet be read the following inscription: "Here lies the body of Captain James McFarlane of Washington County, Pennsylvania, who departed this life July 17, 1794, age 43 years. He served during the war with undaunted courage in defense of American independence against the lawless and despotic encroachments of Great Britain. He fell at last by the hands of an unprincipled villain in the support of what he supposed to be the rights of his country, much lamented by a numerous and respectable circle of acquaintances."

John Marshall was a Virginia settler who came to Washington county. He was register, sheriff and a member of the legislature from Washington, and also county lieutenant of that county during part of the Revolution, and always one of the strong and conservative men. He had come originally from the north of Ireland.

Benjamin Parkinson was born in Pennsylvania. He was a Federalist and had been a justice of the peace before the constitution of 1790, during which time he was therefore entitled to sit on the common pleas bench of the county. He had for long years been a supporter of General Neville, but in the Whiskey Insurrection he assisted in superintending the operations when the general's house and home were attacked.

John Cannon had come from Chester county and settled south of the Monongahela near the town of Cannonsburg, which still bears his name. He sided with Virginia in the state boundary disputes and afterward favored the formation of a new state. His name has been clouded because of his participation in the murder of the Moravian Indians.

David Bradford was a native of Maryland. He was an able member of the western bar, living in Washington county, where he was district attorney in 1783. He was a Federalist also and one of the leaders of the Whiskey Insurrection, which accounted for his election as commander-in-chief of the forces at Braddock's Fields. He was the only one not included in the Amnesty Proclamation issued by the government of the United States after the close of the Insurrection. He accordingly went to Louisiana Territory, which was then owned by the Spanish government. There he became a planter and made great financial gains. Before going south he had built a large stone house in Washington which was not only said to be the first pretentious stone structure of the county but is standing to this day. He was respectably connected, being a brother-in-law of Judge James Allison, who was a grandfather of John Allison, afterward register of the United States Treasury.

Albert Gallatin was a native of Switzerland and after a thorough education which the high standing of his family secured him, he came to America during the Revolution, in which he took an active part. Though an able talker he was not a professional man. He was opposed to the federal constitution

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and this perhaps led him into the Whiskey Insurrection. In after life he became one of the great men of the United States, by far the greatest of all who were concerned in the Whiskey Insurrection.

David Redick had come from Ireland and settled in Washington county, where he was admitted to the bar in 1782. In 1786 he was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and in 1788 was vice-president of that body, which position he filled until June 19, 1789. In 1791 he was prothonotary and clerk of the courts of his county. He was also a surveyor and was frequently appointed to lay out lands in and around Pittsburg. He died in Washington in 1805.

At the time of the Whiskey Insurrection the most noted man connected with it was William Findley. He was born in the north of Ireland in 1742 and came here in 1763, settling first near Carlisle. Entering the Revolution as a private he was promoted to a captaincy, and after its close settled in Westmoreland county, purchasing land near Latrobe. He was a weaver by trade and plied the shuttle for years after he came west. He was elected to the Assembly of Pennsylvania and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1789. In 1790 he was elected to the second congress and remained there until 1799. In 1802 he was again elected after an absence of four years, and remained there for seven terms, that is fourteen years. He was a very industrious man and though he had perhaps a limited education in his youth, became, in after years, a man of wide information. He was the author of several books which, though now out of print, show considerable research and ability. Like many others he sided with the people at the beginning of the Insurrection but saw to what lengths his theories would lead them when free from legal restraint; he therefore promptly admitted his error, turned around and became a leader of the element which strived to undo the unlawful work already accomplished. He died April 5, 1821, and is buried near Latrobe.

The Whiskey Insurection is generally regarded as affecting but a narrow district of Pennsylvania and as such has been widely written of. In a wider sense it was fraught with great good to the American people. It was the first attempt on the part of the people to overthrow the national authority. It came, too, when the new government was in its infancy, struggling for its first footholds among the governments of the world. It seems like a small affair to us, but it was in reality a very dangerous one, and in proportion to the population of the United States, those in rebellion and those who would have followed their lead on the same issue, had it not been effectually checked, were a very important element in the new republic. It is well for us that Washington was president of the United States and that he met the Insurrection in its inception and with that unbending and dignified bearing which was characteristic of his every official act. Those who would know more of this subject will be abundantly repaid by reading "The Lattimers," a novel of great strength, by McKook, founded on the Whiskey Insurrection and in the main true to its history.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Manufacturing—Early Industries in Pittsburg.

Manufacturing in its many varied forms is the chief industry of Pittsburg. The manufacturing of iron, as every one knows, largely predominates in the city which has long since earned the title of the "Iron City." This branch of its industry is so important that we shall consider it in special chapters and in this chapter shall give more particular attention to other industries and their origin. Nature seems to have specially designed Pittsburg as a suitable place for manufacturing. Standing practically at the head waters of inland navigation at the "Gate-way of the West," with an abundance of all kinds of fuel, there was no place in Western Pennsylvania that equalled it in natural advantage when the infant city first began to turn its attention towards supplying its neighbors with the simple results of its handiwork. Nor is the situation changed after more than a century of busy manufacturing, and after a progress such as the world has never seen equaled. Pittsburg still maintains its former pre-eminence as a manufacturing center. Previous references have been made to the boat building industry, which was indeed a very important one in former days. It, like all other important industries of Pittsburg, began on a small scale and became great by a slow and steady growth. The demand was confined at first almost entirely to the West, which was at best but sparsely settled for many years after Pittsburg began to build up. But Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan were gradually filled with an industrious and thrifty people, and this accounts for the slow but sure growth of Pittsburg. The first factories, if such they could be called, turned out but little else but the products made by hand, and each in turn was brought about by the necessities of the day. Tanneries came first, for there were skins of animals that could not be easily transported east and the people were in constant need of leather. Harness making, shoe making, wagon making were among the first industries, and all were carried on in the most primitive manner. Blacksmiths and their ringing anvils were found in Pittsburg almost from its beginning and with them came stone masons, carpenters and brick layers. Stone masons came before brick layers, for the surrounding hills afforded an abundant supply of reasonably good building stone which was of easy access, and this

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rendered the making and burning of bricks for a time unnecessary and brought about the substantial stone houses of the pioneer days. Hatters also came early and were probably followed by tailors, clock and watch makers, and by other tradesmen who were necessary to supply the wants of the growing population. These did not depend specially upon the natural advantages of the place. Coal was mined from Coal Hill, now known by the more dignified name of Mt. Washington, as early as 1760, but was used only for domestic purposes for at least a generation, nor was it used extensively for that purpose, for fire wood was then abundant and was both cleaner and cheaper than coal. A distillery had been started on the Allegheny river northeast of Pittsburg, in 1770. It was but a small affair but undoubtedly found an abundant demand for all its products. A glass factory, to which we have referred as having been erected by General James O'Hara and Major Isaac Craig, was erected in 1797, though Albert Gallatin was a pioneer of glass making in Western Pennsylvania, having started a factory in New Geneva, on the Monongahela river, in 1787. It will be seen that the eighteenth century closed with Pittsburg especially noted for but little else in the manufacturing line than boat building, which was begun in 1777. Early in the nineteenth century the town laid claim to a standing as a manufacturing center, and in fact was rapidly becoming so, considering the population and the scarceness of factories generally. Cramer's Almanac, published in 1804, says somewhat boastingly: "Do not be surprised when you are informed that the aggregate value of the articles manufactured in Pittsburg in 1803 amounts to upwards of $350,000.00." The population of Pittsburg in 1803 was about 2,500 and the output, as given, was not only remarkable for the size of the town but was prophetic of the future greatness of the manufacturing interests of the city. Nearly all its products were shipped west on the Ohio and north and south on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, for the only method of transporting products to the East was by wagons over a very imperfect highway. The sale of the products of Pittsburg's primitive factories brought other business, so that the population did not depend on the factories alone. It was the age of barter. The West, which purchased the greater part of the output of its factories, was then producing wheat and grain of all kinds, flour, bacon, skins, wool, hemp, flax, whiskey, etc., and these came up the Ohio and similar products came down the other rivers to exchange for dry goods, hats, shoes, harness, wagons, iron, glass, furniture, etc. These exchanges were all made practically by barter. Thus manufacturing contributed directly to the general commercial interests of Pittsburg, and perhaps made it a jobbing center for which it has since been noted. Many hundreds of merchants in all parts of Western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio supplied their shops from Pittsburg's wholesale institutions. Cramer's Almanac, as above quoted, gives also a statistical table of Pittsburg's industries for 1803. The town was then less than twenty years old, yet the table makes a showing that many thrifty towns today would be proud of, for it must be remembered that

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these are all goods manufactured in Pittsburg, not goods purchased elsewhere and retailed here. The table is as follows:

Glass and glass-cutting, $13,000; tinware, $12,800; bar-iron, axes, hoes, plow-points, etc., $19,800; brass, andirons, still-faucets, etc., $2,800; cutlery, augers, chisels, hackles, planing-bits, etc., $1,000; cut and hammered nails, $16,128; cowbells, $200; guns, rifles, etc., $1,800; clocks and silversmith work, $3,000; grain-screens, $120; scythes and sickles, $1,500; grindstones, tomb-stones, $2,000; cabinet-ware, Windsor chairs, etc., $16,700; carpenter's planes, $850; wagons, carts, etc., $1,500; barrels, tubs and buckets, $1,150; boats, ships, keel- and flat-boats, $40,000; spinning-wheels, pumps, etc., $1,700; carpenter-work, $13,500; candles, soft soap, etc., $5,600; beer and porter, $4,500; flour, 1,400 brls. @ $6, $8,400; boots and shoes, $12,365; saddles, bridles and harness, $9,500; buckskin breeches and dressed skins, $2,300; clothing, price of labor only, $5,950; cigars, snuff and tobacco, $3,000; ropes, cables and bedcords, $2,200; matresses, 19 @ $20 each, $380; dyeing, cotton and flaxen yarn, $450; carded and spun cotton and woven striped cotton, $6,500; linen, tow-linen and linsey-woolsey, $3,675; rag carpets, woven stockings, coverlid and diaper weaving, $1,900; weaver's reeds, $200; hats, wool, fur and chip hats (chip hats, $675), $14,675; leather, tanned, $10,000; brushes, all kinds, $2,500; bricks, 1,250 M @ $4, $5,000; crockery-ware, $3,500; mason-work, $10,500; plastering and painting, $3,500; books, printed, $1,000; total, $266,443.

From the same source we get the following as the principal articles of barter in the trade carried on in Pittsburg during the same year:

Whiskey, 2,300 brls. @ $12 per brl., $27,600; linen, 700, 28,000 yards @ cts. a yard, $11,200; linsey-woolsey, 4,000 yds @ 50 cts., $2,000; tow-, 9,000 yds. @ 25 cts., $2,250; twilled bags, 3,000 @ $1, $3,000; striped n, 3,000 @ 80 cts., $2,400; raw cotton, from Tennessee, 30,000 lbs. @ cts., $7,500; maple-sugar, 15,000 lbs. @ 12 cts., $1,800; lake salt, Onondaga, brls. @ $12, $12,000; castings, 50 tons @ $100, $5,000; bar-iron, 80 @ $160, $12,800; flax, hemp, oats, cheese, etc., say $5,000; total, $92,550.

The Almanac also boasts that a cotton factory, a foundry and a wool carding establishment are soon to be located in Pittsburg. In 1807 it again speaks boastingly that "the town is growing rapidly in its importance," and makes mention of the following manufactories and their output:

O'Hara's Glass Works, annual product, $18,000.00; Kerwin & Scott's Cotton Factory; McClurg's Foundry; Potters, Stringers and Stewart's Foundry of hammered nails, produces 40 tons a year; two breweries—O'Hara's and Lewis'—"whose beer, it suggests, and porter was equal to that so much celebrated in London"; 2 rope walks—Irwin's and Davis'; 3 copper, and tin factories—Gazzems, Harbison and Bamtin & Miltenberger's. In 1810 there were three glass works which produced $30,000.00 worth of flint glass annually and $40,000 worth in bottles and window glass. There were two cotton mills, which though driven by horse power, produced $20,000 worth of goods yearly. There was one foundry, which the same authority says, has but recently cast seventy tons of cannon balls for the United States; 1 iron grinding

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mill, one white metal button factory which was making from forty to sixty gross of buttons per week. There were several nail factories which unitedly produced 200 tons of hammered and cut nails per year, one factory making bridle-bits and stirrups, and six copper and tin factories producing $30,000 worth of material annually. Only the large ones are mentioned, yet they alone produced more than the entire city, by the boasted figures of the almanac, had produced in 1803, but seven years before. The town was, therefore, in truth—"a town growing rapidly in importance." Cramer says further that 52,800 yards of linsey-woolsey were manufactured in Pittsburg in 1810, this product being worth $40,000, and that 80,000 yards of flax linen were brought to the Pittsburg markets yearly. Nor is the almanac silent on the product of whiskey. It says—"that a vast and unknown quantity of flour and whiskey are made yearly throughout the country," and adds, "There is too little foreign demand for the former, and too great a home consumption of the latter." The town had then grown enough to warrant Owen, Oliver & Evans to erect a steam flour mill with a capacity of 100 barrels of flour per day. The census of 1810 was taken by a marshal, and his report shows that the factories are steadily increasing in number and that they are growing more varied. This report is as follows:

"The steam grist mill, using 60,000 bushels of grain yearly, output $50,000; 3 carding and spinning mills producing $14,248 annually; one flat iron mill, product $2,000; one button factory, product $3,000; 2 distilleries producing 600 barrels of whiskey valued at $60,000; 3 chandlers, product $14,500; 4 brick yards, product $13,600; 3 boat and ship builders, product $43,000; 1 rope walk, $2,500; 2 foundries, product $40,000; 10 silversmiths, and copper, tin and brass factories, $35,000; 3 red lead factories, product $13,100; 6 nail works, product $49,890; 2 wagon makers, product $3,000; 3 glass works, product $62,000; 2 potteries, product $3,400; 2 gun smitheries, product $2,400; 16 looms producing 19,443 yards of cloth yearly, valued at $12,000; 3 tobacconists, product $11,500; 6 tanneries, product $15,500; 17 turneries, product $34,400; 4 cooperies, product $2,500; saddles, boots, shoes and hats annually produces $144,485. The total of these products as enumerated is $625,773.

In 1813 there were five glass factories, three foundries, a new edge tool factory, Cowan's New Rolling Mill, a new lock factory built by Patterson, two steam engine and boiler works, one steel factory and a goodly number of small concerns manufacturing various articles. In 1817 the city councils appointed a committee to collect and publish a list of all the large factories in the city. This was done perhaps to let the world know of the industry and thrift of Pittsburg, and is valuable because it is an official list and is to be relied upon. It must also be remembered that these figures represented the industries of Pittsburg when barely emerging from the panic of 1815-17, a financial depression that has scarcely been equalled in Western Pennsylvania in all its history. The report made by the committee is as follows:

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BUSINESS	No.	Hands	Amount Produced	BUSINESS	No.	Hands	Amount Produced
Auger-maker	1	6	$ 3,500	Pattern-maker	1	2	$ 1,500
Bellows-maker	1	3	10,000	Planemakers	3	6	57,600
Blacksmiths	18	74	75,100	Potter, fine ware	1	5	8,000
Brewers	3	17	72,000	Ropemaker	1	8	15,000
Brushmakers	3	7	8,000	Spinningwheel maker	1	6	6,000
Button-maker	1	6	6,250	Spanish-brown maker	1	2	6,720
Cotton-spinners	2	36	25,218	Silver-plater	1	40	20,000
Copper- and tin-smiths	11	100	200,000	Engine-builders	2	70	125,000
Cabinet-makers	7	45	40,000	Gristmills	2	10	50,000
Currier	1	4	12,000	Saddlers	6	60	86,000
Cutlers	2	6	2,000	Silversmiths	5	17	12,000
Iron — Founders	4	87	180,000	Shoe- and boot-makers	14	109	120,000
Gunsmiths	3	14	13,800	Tanners	7	47	58,860
Glass—factories, flint	2	82	110,000	Tallow-chandlers	4	7	32,600
Glass—factories, green	3	92	130,000	Tobacconists	4	23	21,000
Hardware merchants	2	17	18,000	Wagon-makers	5	21	28,500
Hatters	7	49	44,640	Weavers	2	9	14,562
Locksmiths	1	7	12,000	Windsor-chairmakers	3	23	42,600
Linseed-factory	1	20	25,000	Woolen-manufacturers	2	30	17,000
Nail-factories	7	47	174,716	Wire-drawer	1	12	6,000
Paper-maker	1	40	23,000	Whitelead-maker	1	6	40,000
Total					148	1270	$1,957,166
Estimated by committee					111	357	700,000
Grand Total					259	1627	$2,657,166

The *Gazette* of November 19, 1825, gives a partial list of the industries of Pittsburg for that year, with their products. It enumerates seven rolling mills, 8 foundries, 6 machine factories and one wire mill. The glass product during that year was 27,000 boxes of window glass worth about $135,000, and of flint glass about $30,000 worth. In 1829 the same paper states that nine foundries, 8 rolling mills, 9 nail factories and 7 engine factories are in operation in Pittsburg. The same year the iron mills consumed 6,000 tons of pig iron and an equal number of blooms. In 1830 there were 9,280 tons of iron rolled and 100 steam engines built in Pittsburg. In 1831 there were eight glass factories and four window and flint glass factories, and these used 7,000 cords of wood, 700 tons of sand, 1,000 barrels of salt, 40,000 pounds of potash and 150,000 bushels of coal, producing about $500,000 worth of glass. There were twelve foundries with a yearly product of about $190,000 worth of material.

Touching the manufacturing interests of Pittsburg, a traveler who visited the city perhaps a year later, took a different view. He says: "Pittsburg was hidden from our view until we descended through the hills within half a mile of the Allegheny river. Dark, dense smoke was rising from many parts, and a hovering cloud of this vapor, obscuring the prospect, rendered it singularly gloomy. Indeed, it reminded me of the smoking logs of a new field." Later on in his "Diary of a Journey," he regards the smoke as not an unmixed evil, for he says: "The peach, the plum, the apple and the cherry

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abound on the branches, though the frosts have been severe. Much of this exemption ought to be ascribed to the smoke, which constantly, day and night, loads the atmosphere over the place. But this benefit is not without its counterpoise. Often descending in whirls through the streets, it tarnishes every object to which it has access. The gloomy appearance thus imparted to the houses, especially to those of wood, whether painted or not, is such as instantly to fix the attention of a stranger." Later in his writings he says:

"The slitting and rolling mill, together with the nail factory of Stackpole & Whiting, is moved by steam engines of seventy horse-power. These we visited with much satisfaction. On entering the southwest door, the eye catches the majestic beam, and at the same instant nine nailing machines, all in rapid motion, burst on the view. Bewildered by the varying velocity of so many new objects, we stood astonished at this sublime effort of human ingenuity. The plate to be cut into nails is fixed in an iron cramp with a short wooden handle. The workman is seated, and with a motion of the arm, like a smith who turns his iron under the hammer, he alternately inverts the plate to keep the end square. The breadth of the nail is accurately gauged, as in other nailing machines, but at the instant of its separation, and before it can move, it is clamped to the spot by a strong iron jaw, which leaves the brooder end to project, while an iron mallet at one blow completes the head. While J. R. held his watch, I made several attempts to count the number of strokes in a minute, but the motion was too quick. The nails would ascertain it, but we never saw the workman keep pace with the machine for a minute. Knowing, however, that between three and four may be counted in a second, I compute the strokes at 240. The smaller nails are cut cold, but the plates for brads are heated. The quantity made is about one and a half tons per day, and twenty cents a pound is the common retail price. Two cotton factories, one woolen factory, one paper mill, two saw-mills and one flour mill are all moved by steam in this city and its suburbs across the Monongahela. Four glass factories, two for flint and two for green, are very extensive, and the productions of the former for elegant workmanship are scarcely surpassed by European manufacture. It is sent in many directions from this place; one of the proprietors assured me that Philadelphia receives a part, but the great outlet is down the Ohio.

"The vast advantages that accrue to this place from its coal will be appreciated when we consider that almost every manufactory owes its existence to this article of fuel. The glass-house, the furnaces for castingss, the steam engines, and every domestic fireplace are supplied from the mines. These are situated near the top of the hills, in every direction from the city, and the vast mass of earth that once buried this plain appears to have been removed by the waters. A correct idea will be had by supposing (and even believing) that the stratum of coal once extended across from hill to hill, several hundred feet above where the city now stands. The shafts of these mines extend far into the hills. The pick-axe and the shovel are the instruments used; on wheelbarrows the coal is removed to the entrance, where it is placed on scaffolding, from which wagons are conveniently loaded. The citizens are supplied in their yards for seven or eight cents a bushel."

Who the above traveler was we are unable to determine. His book is a valuable one but the title page is missing and we are also unable to give the name of the publisher or the date of publication. His visit to the mills of

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Stackpole & Whiting, however, fixes the date as prior to 1819, for during that year the firm failed and the factory took a new name. The writer was a painstaking and a very careful traveler, a close observer, and we think, a Quaker from Cayuga county, New York.

At all times urging that their city was a great manufacturing center, the early Pittsburger was rather proud and boastful than otherwise, of the smoke which continuously overhung it. They pointed the casual observer to the dark clouds as the most conclusive proof of their greatness in this direction. The stranger noticed and wrote of these clouds of smoke, even though he said nothing else of the city. There is something that is difficult to understand about the renowned darkness of Pittsburg's atmosphere in the early days. Major Foreman wrote of the smoke of Pittsburg as early as 1789, when the town consisted of perhaps one hundred houses and had no factories whatever, as we know factories now. Yet he says the coal smoke is so dense in Pittsburg that "it affects the skin of the inhabitants." He writes of it being a manufacturing town and attributes the smoke to the coal which is daily consumed as fuel. The factory of that day did not make more smoke than a blacksmith's forge, and there were at best but few of them. For a fact, coal was used for domestic purposes because it became cheaper than wood, but it is unreasonable to suppose that a hundred or more dwelling houses would contribute materially to the dinginess of the atmosphere. Zadoc Cramer, publisher of the *Navigator,* in 1808 says that on "entering the town the stranger is rather offended with its dark and heavy appearance. This arises from the smoke of the coal, which is used as a common fuel and of which about one hundred and seventy thousand bushels are consumed annually. It costs six cents a bushel at your door and is said to be equal to any in the world." By his reasoning and figures, 365 bushels of coal consumed in Pittsburg in a day made the atmosphere dingy and gloomy. So with James Stuart, the author of "Three Years in North America," who visited Pittsburg in 1832. He says: "Pittsburg is well known as the great manufacturing city of Western America, and would be a very delightful place of residence but for the clouds of coal smoke which cover it and give a gloomy cast to the beautiful hills which surround it and to all the neighboring country." The consumption of coal in Pittsburg prior to the introduction of natural gas was about 3,000,000 tons per year, which amounts to over 200,000 bushels per day.

The first great venture in manufacturing in Pittsburg was the Glass Works, built by General James O'Hara and Major Isaac Craig in 1797. The factory was located on the banks of the Monongahela above the present Smithfield street bridge. The investment of the money necessary to erect such a plant by a man of General O'Hara's well-known shrewdness in business circles, gave Pittsburg an air of permanency as a manufacturing center. The works were probably begun in 1795 and finished so as to begin manufacturing in 1797. Glass making was new in the West and the projectors brought William Eichbaum from the Schuylkill valley, where he had had considerable ex-

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perience in the business, to superintend the erection of the buildings. On the day the works were started General O'Hara made this note in his diary: "Today we made the first bottle at a cost of $30,000."

They advertised that they had brought skillful glass workers from Europe and having a superior quality of raw material, could furnish a splendid quality of glass of any size from 7x9 to 18x24 inches. They offered to furnish glass of a larger size for coaches, pictures, clock faces, etc. They further advertise bottles of all kinds, pocket flasks, pickling jars, apothecary shops' furniture at a price 25 per cent. lower than the same goods can be purchased in any of the seaport towns in the United States. In May, 1802, they offered publicly $100 to any one who would discover clay from which they could make melting pots, the clay to be within one hundred miles of Pittsburg and not over ten miles from the upper rivers. They also advertised for other materials, such as potash, alkaline, salts, etc. Zadoc Cramer's Almanac for 1804 gives the product for 1803 at $12,500. For the reason that this was the only glass factory in the West and that transportation from the East was very difficult, they were enabled to charge high rates for their products, as may be seen from the following quotations made in April, 1804:

Hollowware gallon bottles, $4.00 per doz., $2.40 per half dozen; quart bottles, $1.60 per doz.; pint bottles, $1.20 per doz. Porter and claret bottles, $1.33 per doz. Window glass, 7x9 inches, $11.00 per box; 8x10 inches, $12 per box; 10x12 inches, $13.00 per box. A box of window glass at that time contained 100 pieces, which would make the wholesale price of 8x10 panes $1.62½ per dozen. There were but few glass used in windows up to the close of the eighteenth century in the common house in Western Pennsylvania; instead of glass they used greased paper. It is likely that the industry was not very successful at first, for the reason that the managers experienced great difficulty in procuring the proper material and for the further reason that Major Craig retired from the firm in September, 1804, leaving General O'Hara alone in the business. General O'Hara owned and operated the factory until his death in 1819. His success in the glass industry induced others to engage in the same business. After his death the management of the works passed into other hands and they were increased with the population of the city until they employed about fifty hands in 1825 and produced $37,000 worth of glass per year. The works were then known as the "Pittsburg Glass Works." In 1808 Bakewell, Page & Bakewell built a new glass factory on the Pittsburg side of the Monongahela river near the foot of Grant street. This became the largest and the most noted works in the city, for they manufactured a higher grade of work than had been attempted before. Their specialty was flint glass, and they were the first to manufacture cut glass and did all kinds of ornamenting and engraving in glass work. The reader will learn that Lafayette visited the works and took to France specimens of their work which he thought equal to Bacarat glass. They sold their product in almost all parts of the world, but particularly in the West and in Mexico.

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Another glass works was built on the south side of the Monongahela b Sutton, Wendt & Co. They seem not to have prospered at first, for there wer several changes in the firm. In 1825 it was owned by Wendt, Ensel and othe partners, and their product was window glass and green glass hollow-war They employed about forty hands and their yearly product was about thirt thousand dollars' worth. These successes induced a man named John Robi son to erect a fourth works on Ross and Second streets in 1823. It was know as the Strawbridge Glass Works and was like the Bakewell Glass Works in th grade of its product. All this time the manufacturers were clamoring for pro tection or more protection on home industries. From the *Mercury* (1832) w learn that "President Jackson has ordered from Bakewell, Page & Bakewel of the city of Pittsburg, a set of glass for his own use. It consists of large an splendid bowls, with and without stands, celery glasses, pitchers, quart and pi decanters, tumblers, wine and champaign glasses, salts, etc., all executed in th very best style of workmanship. The glass is as pellucid as crystal and th beautiful cuttings give a brilliancy of effect not easily described. We unde stand the order is valued at about $1,500." They also made a full set fo President Monroe and received a medal from the Franklin Institute awarded t the producers of the best work in cut glass.

The glass business grew rapidly until 1837, when stringent times, know since as the panic of 1837, came. There were then sixteen glass factories an eight or nine glass cutting establishments in and near Pittsburg, which em ployed about 500 men. The best authority accessible places the yearly produc of these factories at $520,000, and the capital invested at $58,000. Thes figures may seem small when compared with those of the glass industries i the Pittsburg district in our day, but they were large enough then to entitl the city to rank among the leading glass producing centers in the Unite States. It will thus be seen that Pittsburg, very early in the last century, ac quired a name as a manufacturing city. If this seems strange to the reade he has but to remember that other cities and manufacturing centers wer equally infantile in that day, and that Pittsburg, though small in its outpu compared favorably with them. Again in 1817 a census of the manufacturin establishments of the city was taken by order of the city councils. The repor shows 248 factories of various kinds and that they employed 1280 workmer It also shows 111 smaller industries which it enumerates as trades, these latte employing 357 workmen. It is evident that many of them would not b counted at all now in estimating the manufacturing strength of the city, for th larger class employed an average of less than six hands and the smaller clas but little more than an average of three.

In 1817 Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman traveling in America, visite Pittsburg. In his account of his travels he says, concerning this city: "Here expected to have been enveloped in clouds of smoke issuing from a thousan furnaces and stunned with the din of a thousand hammers. I confess was much disappointed in Pittsburg. A century and a half ago, perhaps

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Birmingham might have admitted a comparison with Pittsburg." It will be seen, therefore, that before this the fame of Pittsburg as an iron city, as the "Birmingham of America," had reached England, for in reality the city was not slow in those days in boasting of its strength. It was, for a fact, the Birmingham of America though it presented almost as ludicrous a spectacle in comparing itself with Birmingham as the English city does now, when it compares its iron product with that of Pittsburg. Mr. Birkbeck, however, says that he found the city "a very interesting and important place." In his notes he says that a journeyman in the mechanical arts earned about two dollars per day, but that they were not economical of their earnings, spending them, not so much in dissolute practices as in excursions and entertainments. He says: "Ten dollars spent at a ball is no rare result of the gallantry of a Pittsburgh journeyman."

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CHAPTER XXIV.

The State Road—The Philadelphia and Pittsburg Turnpike—Plank Roads—The National Road.

On September 25, 1785, the legislature passed an act providing for the construction of a road, the western end of which, when built, was known as the State Road. The act appropriated two thousand dollars to open this road from the western part of Cumberland county to Pittsburg, a distance of over one hundred miles, or less than twenty dollars per mile. It also authorized the council to appoint a commission to lay it out and provided that it should be made as straight and in as direct a line as the hills and mountains in Western Pennsylvania would admit. The right of way was to be sixty feet wide. The council had unlimited authority to refuse all locations determined on by the commission. This road was surveyed and laid out at once and the report of the commissioners for that part of it lying east of Bedford was confirmed on November 24, 1787. The part of the road from Bedford to Pittsburg was refused a confirmation and a resurvey was ordered. The people of Western Pennsylvania, particularly those of Allegheny and Westmoreland counties were greatly in need of the road. A second and indeed a third survey in part was ordered and the western end of the road was finally approved on May 26, 1790, and was soon afterward opened up for public travel, so that its date of construction may properly be said to be 1791. It passed over the Allegheny mountains and over Laurel Hill on a line that is almost parallel with the more modern turnpike. It may be asked why a new road was needed from Bedford to Pittsburg when the Forbes Road traversed that very locality the explanation is very simple. The Forbes Road was a military road pure It was made for the sole purpose of transporting the army through a wilderness infested with a stealthy and barbarous enemy. As such, a precursory glance at the topography of the country will show that it was very wisely laid out. What Forbes most earnestly desired was to avoid the possibility of ambuscades or surprises on the part of the Indians and to do this most effectually he kept on the highest possible ground. So his road, which was often called in those days the King's Road, was not suited for a public road in many

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places in times of peace. It was so steep in sections that wagoners tied trees to their rear axles and these by dragging on the ground enabled them to pass down more slowly. Braddock's Road was laid out according to the same principle in engineering and was for the same reasons, equally objectionable as a highway in times of peace. It was on the State Road, completed in 1791, that transportation by pack horses reached its highest point. The road must necessarily have been very imperfect for, with the amount appropriated for its construction scarcely twenty dollars per mile, they could do but little else than fell the timber in the way. The State Road served its purpose, however, and over it came many new settlers, both for this section and for the boundless West. In 1805 a mail route was established and carried over it regularly by express riders on horseback. Mail was often sent by private individuals who chanced to be passing over this road. Many a letter now important to us as indicating the early condition of our people, was carried across the mountains in the pocket of a casual passer-by on this road to the East.

It may be a surprise to some to learn that prior to and even after the building of the turnpike, which leads from Pittsburg to Harrisburg, a very common way of travelling between the eastern cities and Pittsburg was by foot. Many hundreds of men walked the entire distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburg on a westward journey each year. Walking was of necessity more of an art then than now and many who found it necessary to go east made the journey in the same way. The average pedestrian could walk thirty or more miles per day and could thus journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in nine or ten days. We need not say that this mode of travel was not undertaken by the wealthier people, nor was it done in those days for pleasure or exercise. Wagoners were hauling freight each way most of the time and their demands brought good country inns all along the way so that the foot passengers could find good eating and comfortable night's lodging every few miles between Pittsburg and Philadelphia. Pack horses, it is true, were sometimes used for carrying passengers but were most generally used in the transportation of freight. Wagons superceded them but the State Road was never piked and except in the summer and fall was almost impassable for heavy wagons or carriages. There were but few carriages that passed over the mountains, indeed there were but few in the country in that day. Colonel Morgan, the Indian agent, referred to in the Revolutionary chapters as having been appointed by Congress for this section, is generally regarded as the first man who crossed the Allegheny mountains in a carriage, but he did not traverse the State Road. Perhaps the second carriage to reach Pittsburg was that of Dr. Schoef, who was a German physician and naturalist. He crossed the mountains mainly by the Forbes Road in 1783. After returning to Germany he published an account of his trip which was printed in 1788 and has been translated. From it we learn that his carriage was a great curiosity all the way westward. As he passed the lonely cabins in the wilderness the women and children came to look with wonder and admiration at this new and peculiar

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method of travel. When he arrived in Pittsburg his carriage was for days the chief object of interest in the village. He says that "many well dressed gentlemen and highly adorned ladies came to his tavern to see it." All wagons and carriages of that early period were necessarily clumsy affairs. The tires of the wheels were put on in sections, each section being about the one-eighth of a circle, and they were bolted to the felloe, or wooden part of the wheel. This method of construction alone necessitated very heavy wheels and all other parts of the wagon were made in proportion.

In 1805-06 a regular stage line over the State Road was started from Pittsburg to Chambersburg where it connected with a similar line which had been operated for some years and which carried passengers from there to Philadelphia. The western line then was a primitive one indeed but it was the embryo of the stage-coach of a later period which played an important part in the history and development of Western Pennsylvania. The stage in 1806 carried the mail and was a great convenience to the people of Pittsburg. A journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg over the State Road made in 1808 is graphically described in a letter which came under the observation of the writer and is herein given. The letter is dated from day to day, beginning on September 14, 1808, and reads; "We left Philadelphia in the Mail Stage for Pittsburg with one through fellow passenger, Mr. Bell of Steubenville, Ohio, and two passengers for Lancaster, which city we reached at five P. M. After taking in two more passengers the stage drove ten miles further and brought us to a stopping place where we had comfortable quarters for the night. Thursday, the 15th, we passed through Elizabethtown, Middletown and Harrisburg, crossing the Susquehanna in twenty minutes. After a ride over excellent roads which led through Carlisle and Shippensburg, we reached Chambersburg by night-fall. Before breakfast on Friday, the 16th, we started on our passage over the mountain range. The next fifteen miles our stage-coach was drawn by six horses over rough and steep roads. It was dark when we reached our quarters for the night. We started at three o'clock Saturday morning, the 17th, and after six miles ride crossing the Juniata, reached Bedford. Here we met Mr. and Mrs. Zachary Biggs of Steubenville on their wedding journey; they were accompanied by the bride's sister, Miss Wilson of Chester county. All this day our road lay across the Allegheny mountains and we often got down from the stage to foot it at places where the road was steep in ascent and descent. At five o'clock we reached Somerset where we rested over Sunday. Monday, the 19th, we made an early start and by five P. M. reached Greensburg. On the road we passed Henry Stouffer in charge of four wagon-loads of 'store goods' for Pittsburg merchants. It was court week in Greensburg and the town was crowded. An elephant was on exhibition there. Here we were glad to meet our friend Mr. Ross of Pittsburg. In spite of rain and rough roads we reached Pittsburg by five o'clock Tuesday afternoon on the 20th. Pittsburg is a lovely place and extensive business and manufacturing are carried on. We visited Mrs. Butler and her daughter Mrs.

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Mason, and called on Mrs. Addison's family and took tea at her house." Pittsburg's population was perhaps 4,000 in 1808.

A journey made to Pittsburg by Mrs. Mary Dewees on her way from Philadelphia to Kentucky was described in her journal published in the Pennsylvania Magazine and will be fraught with interest to Pittsburg people. She came over the State Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg as far as it was finished in October, 1787. They took a boat at the place where McKeesport now stands and her letter says: "We pushed down the river very slowly, intended stopping at Fort Pitt where we expected to meet the wagons with the rest of our goods. Our boat resembled Noah's Ark not a little. At sunset we got fast on Braddock's upper ford where we stayed all night and until ten o'clock the next day. Our boat is forty feet long; our room is sixteen by twelve with a comfortable fire-place; our bed-room partitioned off with blankets and is far preferable to the cabins we met after we crossed the mountains. We are clear of flees which I assure you is a great relief, for we were almost devoured when on shore. The Monongahela with its many colored woods on each side is beautiful and in the Spring must be delightful. We are now longing for rain as much as we dreaded it on the land, for it is impossible to get down until the water rises. About three o'clock we passed the field just about Turtle Creek where Braddock fought his famous battle with the French and Indians and we got fast on the lower ford. October 20th: We expect to reach Pittsburg tonight. We are just off the hill where General Grant fought his battle with the French and Indians. As the sun was setting we had a sight of Coal Hill and the country opposite Pittsburg. This hill is amazing huge and affords a vast deal more coal than can be consumed in that place; what a valuable acquisition it would be near your city (Philadelphia). October 21st: We are now lying about a mile from Pittsburg and have received several invitations to come on shore. We have declined all as the trunks with our clothes have not arrived and we in our travelling dress are not fit to make our appearance in that gay place. Just received an invitation from the French lady we travelled with to come up. Mr. Tilton called on us with Mrs. Tilton's compliments. Would be happy to have us to tea. Then three French gentlemen and an Englishman came on board and expressed a great deal of pleasure to see us so comfortably situated. In the afternoon Mr. & Mrs. O'Hara waited on us and insisted on our going to their house which in compliance to their several invitations, we were obliged to accept and find them very polite and agreeable. We stayed up and supped with them nor would they suffer us to go on board while we continued at this place. October 22nd: Mrs. O'Hara waited on us to Mrs. Tilton's, to Mrs. Nancorrow's and Mrs. Odderong's, and engaged to tea at Mrs. Tilton's. Colonel Butler and his lady waited on us to the boat, was much delighted with our accommodations, took a bit of biscuit and cheese with a glass of wine and then returned to dine at Captain O'Hara's. Spent the afternoon at Mrs. Tilton's with a roomful of company and received several invitations to spend our time with the ladies at Pitt.

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Called on Mrs. Butler and saw a very handsome parlour elegantly papered and well furnished; it appeared more like Philadelphia than any I have seen since I left that place. October 24th: The town is all in arms. A report prevailed that a party of Indians within twenty miles is coming to attack the town. The drums beating to arms with the military collecting from every part of the town has, I assure you, a very disagreeable appearance. October 25th: Left our hospitable friends Captain O'Hara and lady not without regret as their polite and friendly entertainment demands utmost gratitude. They waited on us to the boat where we parted forever. At eleven o'clock we dropped down the Ohio, at a distance of a mile had a full view of Captain O'Hara's summer house which stands on the banks of the Allegheny River about one hundred yards from the bottom of their garden. It is the finest situation I ever saw. They live in the upper end or rather out of the town. Their house in the midst of an orchard of sixty acres, the only one at that place, from the front of which they have a full view of the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers. At the close of the day we anchored at the lower point of McKees Rocks under a large rock nearly sixty feet high having the appearance of just falling in the water."

The building of turnpikes from the east is a very interesting period in the history of Pittsburg. Not only is there a glamor of romance which surrounds the turnpike travel of 70 to 80 years ago, but they were of great commercial interest to the city and to the country through which they passed. The first to be constructed has been popularly known as the Pittsburg and Harrisburg or Pittsburg and Philadelphia Turnpike, though its corporate name was "The President, Managers and Company of the Harrisburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Road." Its history dates back to the act passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature on the 24th of February, 1806, when the Governor of Pennsylvania was authorized to incorporate a company to build a turnpike from the west bank of the Susquehanna at Harrisburg to Pittsburg. The pike between Harrisburg and Philadelphia had been built before that, indeed it was the first great road built in the United States. The Act of 1806 appointed commissioners in each county to look after and put under way the project of building the pike. Those appointed from Allegheny county were Nathaniel Irish, Thomas Beard, James O'Hara, Adamson Tannehill, John Woods and George Robeson. The route laid out in this act was so worded that the road when completed, should begin at Philadelphia and pass through Lancaster, York, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Chambersburg, Bedford, Somerset, Greensburg to Pittsburg. By another act, a turnpike known as the Northern Turnpike, was also to be built from the East to Pittsburg. This pike left the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river and came to the Conemaugh river and thence across Westmoreland county into Pittsburg. It was originally called the Harrisburg, Lewistown, Huntingdon and Pittsburgh Turnpike Company. Its course was almost over the route of what was known earlier as the Frankstown road, and was opened up for travel in 1819. These roads naturally became rivals in

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their construction and this very much delayed the building of either of them, for it was plain that the sparsely settled community at that time could not afford two roads almost parallel with each other. By an act for the construction of turnpikes generally within this Commonwealth, passed on the second day of April, 1811, the governor was authorized to subscribe $300,000 in stock of any company as soon as $150,000 should be subscribed to it by the citizens along the route or by those interested in its construction. The rivalry between these two turnpikes was of course to secure the capital stock to be subscribed by the governor and this delayed their construction. By the supplemental act of 1811 a committee of five men, composed of Wilson McCandlass, Adamson Tannehill, Nathan Beach, Robert Harris and John Schoch, was appointed to determine which was the better route of the two. These men went over and examined both routes and made a report in which they favored the southern route, that is, the route by the way of Bedford, Somerset and Greensburg. By an act of November 8, 1815, this route was changed so as to pass through Stoystown instead of through Somerset. By a supplement passed on March 31, 1807, a number of separate companies were incorporated in the several counties through which the road was to pass, the western section of the road being known as the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Company. The intention of these divisions was to facilitate the subscription of stock along the way, and the act itself provided that when the work was completed they should be united under the one name as above given. The act of April 2, 1811, also extended the time for the building of the turnpike for three years from that date. All along the route books for the subscription of stock were opened and the farmers, merchants and smaller capitalists subscribed their share of the entire stock. This pike was finally completed to Pittsburg in 1817 and 1818, though parts of it along its entire length were built and in use a year or more earlier. The legislature passed acts from time to time authorizing the governor to draw warrants in favor of the company for such parts of the road as were finished, and of course as soon as a section was finished it was put to use.

The name "Turnpike" as applied to a road originated from the fact that a pike or pole was placed across the road at the toll-house which prevented the traveler from passing until he paid his toll when the pike or pole was swung around and he was allowed to pass through. As its name indicated, this was a toll road and from the proceeds thus taken in, the stockholders were to be paid their dividends. The toll gate keeper collected toll from all who passed over the road except from the officers and others who were entitled to free travel. Toll gates were located from ten to twelve miles apart and though the rates may have varied somewhat under different management, the following list of rates does not vary much, if any, from the amounts charged throughout the entire life of the road. They are taken from an old rate bill now in the possession of Mr. James M. Shields of Pittsburg.

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Rates of toll on the Turnpike Road for every 10 miles on said road:
For swine, sheep and cattle: For every score of swine, 6 cents.
For every half score of swine, 3 cents.
For every score of sheep, 6 cents.
For every half score of sheep, 3 cents.
For every score of cattle, 10 cents.
For every half score of cattle, 5 cents.
For every horse or mule, laden or unladen, led or drove, 6 cents.
For every sulky, chair or chaise with one horse, 12 cents.
For every chair, coach, phaeton, chaise, sulky and light wagon with two horses, 25 cents.
For either of them with four horses, 50 cents.
For every other carriage of pleasure it may go to like sum according to the number of horses drawing the same.
For every sleigh or sled for each horse, 6 cents.
For every cart, wagon or other carriage of burthen, the wheels of which do not in breadth exceed 4 inches, per horse, 12 cents.
For every cart, wagon or other carriage of burthen, the wheels of which do exceed in breadth 4 inches, per horse 8 cents.
And when any such carriage aforesaid, the whole or part is drawn by oxen, 2 oxen shall be estimated as equal to 1 horse in charging the aforesaid toll.

EXCEPTION.

No toll shall be demanded from any person or persons passing or repassing from one part of their farm to another, nor for any persons attending funerals, or going to and from places of worship.

The last clause exempting certain persons from paying toll was incorporated in an Act of Assembly authorizing the company. The stockholders never received dividends and the road was eventually put in sequestration. The shares of the state were sold to private individuals in the seventies and under the act of 1879, the greater part of it was thrown on the several townships through which it passed.

Section 20 of the Act of February 24th provided that all drivers, whether of burden or for pleasure, should keep to the right side of the road in the passing direction, except when overtaken and passing carriages of slower draft, leaving the other side of the road free and clear for wagons and carriages to pass and repass, and imposed a fine not exceeding $10.00 on any driver who should disobey this provision, the fine payable to the driver who should be obstructed by disobeying this clause.

The building of a turnpike road was quite an undertaking for that day and generation, fully as much so as the building of a railroad across the state is today. It was morever of great importance to the people of Pittsburg and improved the city and the country through which it passed, all of which was made to contribute to Pittsburg, more than any other means of transportation built prior to the construction of the Pennsylvania railroad except the Pennsylvania canal. Next to the National road advocated so long by the eloquent Henry Clay, it was the most complete road of any extent in Pennsylvania in its day.

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On the old State road it required six horses to haul a wagon laden with three thousand pounds from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, and required from twenty to thirty days to make the journey, but on the pike the same team could haul six thousand pounds and could make the trip in from fifteen to twenty days.

The funds for the construction of the turnpike were limited. The road was made throughout its entire length about 25 feet wide and at some places was even wider. There were stone bridges over rivulets and creeks and these were arched and made of solid masonry which is, in most instances, yet in good condition. When one considers, therefore, that this pike of two hundred miles, the distance from Harrisburg to Pittsburg was completed for $450,000, he will understand that the funds for its construction had to be applied in the most economical way. The bottom of the road was generally made of large stones laid according to the Telford plan of road building, with finer broken blue rock and limestone on the top. The stone thus composing the road was about a foot and a half thick for its entire length. All along the turnpike sprung up little towns, villages and hamlets, and these partook somewhat of the improvements of the day. The pike was so thoroughly constructed, carrying with it every evidence of permanency, that the builders thought they might well expend enough on their new houses to have them in keeping with the progressive age that had suddenly come upon them. Prior to this the houses had generally been built of logs, but with the new age came brick and stone houses, and especially did this apply to the public houses or taverns which were built on the new pike. Many specimens of these are yet standing, having withstood the storms of nearly a century. They were built in advance of the style of their day and are yet in good condition.

When a village was laid out along the pike there was usually a public square in its center, and at least two corners of this public square were set apart for taverns. This square generally called a diamond, was not intended as a place of ornament as it usually is now, but was for special purposes. There the wagons laden with freight stood over night, and as a general rule in all kinds of weather, the horses were blanketed, fed and bedded in the public square. Upon these wagons were transported nearly all of the goods between Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

There was almost a continuous stream of four or six horse wagons laden with merchandise, going west and returning with the product of the Ohio Valley to supply the eastern cities. These wagons journeyed mostly between Pittsburg and Philadelphia and Baltimore. The wagoners generally stopped at a wayside inn which was less expensive than at the inns in the villages. Wagoners cared little for style but demanded an abundance while the stage-coach passengers demanded both. The wagoner invariably slept on a bunk which he carried with him and which he laid on the floor of the big bar-room and office of the country hotel. Stage drivers and their passengers stopped at the best hotels and paid higher prices. For the purpose of feeding his horses in

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the public square, the wagoner carried a long trough which at night he fastened with special irons to the tongue of the wagon, the end of the tongue being held up by a prop. It was rarely ever that a team was fed in the middle of the day, the morning and evening meals being regarded as sufficient. There are few of our old public squares which have not thus been filled to overflowing with wagons and horses. An old gentleman told the writer that he had once seen 52 wagons in an unbroken line going towards Pittsburg on this pike. They were Conestoga wagons with great bowed beds covered with canvas,

SIX HORSE TEAM USED IN EARLY TURNPIKE DAYS

and none of them were drawn by less than four, while many of them had six horses. The old fashioned public square which kept them over night must have been a good sized one. The public squares on this turnpike were usually from three to four hundred feet long and from two to three hundred feet wide. Some of the older villages had two squares separated a short distance from each other, but this was generally brought about by a rivalry among two factions when the town was first laid out.

A requisite of the old-fashioned wagon or stage town hotel or of the wayside inn was a large room used as an office and bar-room and as a sleeping place for the wagoners. In it was a large open fireplace which was abundantly supplied with wood in the early days, and later with coal. Around this, when the horses were cared for and the evening's diversion was over, the wagoners spread their bunks in a sort of semi-circle with their feet to the fire, for they were said to be much subjected to rheumatism, and this position was taken as a preventative. Colored men drove wagons sometimes but never became stage drivers. They stopped at the same hotel with white wagoners but never ate at the same table. Wagoners drove in all kinds of weather and the descent of a mountain or large hill was often attended with great danger, especially

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when it was covered with ice. The day's journey of a regular wagoner when heavily laden, was rather less than over 20 miles, and 100 miles in a week was a fair average. To urge his horses on or to compel a lazy one to pull its share, the wagoner would use a tapering wagon whip of black leather about five feet long with a silken cracker at the end. The best whips were called Loudon whips, made in a little town of that name in Franklin county. The average load hauled was about 6,000 pounds for a six horse team. Sometimes four tons were put on, and even five tons which the wagoner boastfully called "a hundred hundred," were hauled, but these were rare exceptions. The wagons were made with broad wheels, four inches or more, so that they would not "cut in" if a soft place in the road were passed over. The standard wagon for heavy work was the "Conestoga." The bed was low in the center and high at each end. The lower part of the bed was painted blue. Above this was a red part about a foot wide which could be taken off when necessary, and these with the white canvas covering, made the patriotic tri-color of the American flag, though this was probably unintentional. Bells were often used in all seasons of the year though not strings of bells such as were afterwards used in sleighing. The wagoner's bells were fastened to an iron bow above the hames on the horses and were pear shaped and very sweet toned. Perhaps they relieved the monotony of the long journey over the lonely pike. Wagoners always preferred to stop with a landlord who was a good fiddler, not a violinist as an old wagoner recently said to the writer, but "just a plain old-fashioner fiddler." Then when the evening work of the wagoner was over, a dance in the dining or office bar-room was not an infrequent occurrence. Gathered together at one place were the young maidens of two or three nearby taverns or other neighbors, and then to the music of the landlord's fiddle came the Virginia hoe-down, the memory of which makes the old wagoners' eyes sparkle with joy, even to this day. The young wagoner who saved his money did not always remain a wagoner. Very soon he could own a team of his own, then another and another until he could finally purchase a farm with a "tavern stand" on it, or engage in other business. Some of them became men of prominence as merchants and manufacturers in Pittsburg or elsewhere. One of the best known wagoners between Pittsburg and the East afterward became a business man of high standing and wealth in Pittsburg. On one occasion he said that he had "driven over the road many times and knew every man, woman and child on the way. I was welcome everywhere and had plenty of enjoyment." "Indeed," said he, "those were the best days of my life." Gears, not harness, was the name used in that day, and they were so large that they almost covered the horse. The backbands were often a foot wide, and the hip-straps as much as 10 inches in width. The breeching of the wheel horses were so large and ponderous that they almost covered the hind quarters of a large horse. The housing was a heavy black leather and came down almost to the bottom of the hames. It required the strength of a man to thrown them on the back of a large horse. The wagon-

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er's saddle was made of black leather with long wide flaps or skirts made square at the bottom.

With the Conestoga wagons originated our modern "stogie" cigars which have become so common in Pittsburg and which have been in recent years, sent from Pittsburg to every section of the Union. They were made in that day of pure home grown tobacco and being used very largely at first by the Conestoga wagoners, took the name "stogies" which clings to them yet. There was no revenue on them then and labor being cheap, they were retailed at 3 and 4 and even 5 for a cent. The wagoner smoked a great deal which perhaps relieved the monotony of his life, but he very rarely drank liquor to excess, though whiskey was only worth 3 cents per drink, and was free to him at most tavern stands. The landlords kept liquor, not to make money out of it, but to really accommodate the traveling public. There was on this pike, it is said, an average of one tavern every two miles between Pittsburg and Bedford, yet all put together outside of the city, did not sell as much liquor as one well patronized house does now. In a corner of the bar-room of the country tavern, was a small counter and back of this were kept several bottles labeled with the name of the liquor they contained.

It may be surprising to the modern reader that the best wagons in the early days of this pike were not supplied with brakes or rubbers to enable the wagon to move slowly going down a steep hill. They were not in use at all until later in the history of the pike, and were invented by a man named Jones of Brownsville on the National road. They were never patented but came into general use soon after the inventor put them on his own wagon. In place of this the wagoner tied a flexible hickory pole across his wagon, so that the one end bore heavily on the wheel. Sometimes he cut a small tree which he tied to his rear axle and allowed it to drag behind and thus descended the hill slowly and safely. In winter when the pike was covered with ice, he used a rough-lock, which was a heavy link chain which he tied around the wheel and then tied the wheel when the chain touched the ground, so that the rough-lock would drag on and score the ground and thus hold the wagon back. Wagoning as a business between the East and the West began about 1818, and reached its highest point about 1840, or perhaps a year or so later. With the building of the Pennsylvania Canal the wagoning was greatly crippled, but in a few years gained all it had lost by the increase of the population of Pittsburg and the West. The business of the pike declined very rapidly when the Pennsylvania railroad was built so that in 1853 it was almost a feature of the past. Most of the elderly men of the past few years fix the highest point of travel and transportation on the pike at about 1840. This was the year of the greatest political campaign in the Nation's history, the Log Cabin Campaign, and is likely fixed by that event in the minds of the older inhabitants. There is no reason why more business should not have been done on the western end in 1842 or 1846. After wagoning a few years in the method we have described, the times demanded a faster method of transportation between the

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East and the West, and this was brought about by the Pittsburg and Philadelphia Transportation Company. They introduced a system of relays, that is, a change of horses about every 12 or 15 miles, by which they kept the wagon going day and night from the beginning to the end of the trip. When the tired team entered the relay station, a new team and another driver took the wagon and moved on at once. The tired horses rested and in a few hours took the returning wagon of the same company back over the route. These relay wagons were never heavily loaded, 4000 pounds being about the heaviest they carried. The driver was expected to make on an average two miles per hour. For freight thus delivered in less than half the time consumed in the old way, the merchants of both Pittsburg and Philadelphia were willing to pay a much greater rate per ton. To approximate the extent of the wagoning on the pike it is hardly fair to take the record of a gate keeper close to Pittsburg or close to any populous community or growing town, for in such places the local travel undoubtedly amounted to considerable. But the gate keeper on the Chestnut Ridge, about 43 miles east of Pittsburg, reported the following for the year ending May 31st, 1818, which was the first year after the road was completed. Single horses, 7,112; one horse vehicles, 350; two horse vehicles, 501; three horse vehicles, 105; four horse vehicles, 281; five horse vehicles, 2,412; six horse vehicles, 2,698; one horse sleighs, 38; two horse sleighs and sleds, 201; making a total of 38,599 horses for the first year of the pike. From March 1 to March 29, 1827, 500 wagons passed a gate about midway between the gate mentioned and Pittsburg. On March 1, 1832, 85 wagons passed through the same gate and on March 12, 1837, 92 wagons passed through it, but this was one of its best days. Wagoners often drove in companies of 6 or 8 and sometimes more. In this way they could assist each other in any misfortune that might befall them and they were thus company for each other at night. It was not unusual for a wagoner with a heavy load to get two additional horses, making 8 in all, to help him up Laurel Hill or up any steep grade. These were furnished at regular rates by a farmer or tavern keeper who lived nearby and who sent a boy along to bring the team back.

Another feature of the old pike days was driving horses, cattle, sheep and sometimes hogs to the eastern market. Then, as now, the West raised more live stock than they needed and they were made to walk east in droves. By the West of that day is meant Ohio and Indiana and later Illinois. Men in the live stock business were called drovers. They bought up all kinds of stock in Western Pennsylvania and further west and drove them east on the pike for Philadelphia and New York markets. Horses were taken east by the score and even by the hundred in this way. They could be taken east almost any season of the year for they could be stabled and fed at night. They were always led, that is, a man rode on one and led five or six others with halters. Hogs moved more slowly and droves of them were not so common, for they could move only eight or ten miles per day. Droves of

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cattle or sheep were more numerous and during the summer months could be seen almost daily on the pike as they passed through the city, all going east. Sheep were taken in droves of from three to six or even ten hundred. They walked further each day than hogs but not so far as horses or cattle. The average drove of cattle was about 150, sometimes many more but oftener less. They at first paid toll by the score and less than a score passed free; so occasionally a drover took east a herd of nineteen to avoid the payment of toll, and this brought about a change in the rates which provided for the collection of toll for a half score. But small droves were the exception for a large number could be driven with about the same help. The cattle were generally full grown, that is from two to four years old. One large steer having a rope around his horns, was led by a boy and the rest followed him. After a few days driving they followed the leader as though they had been driven all their lives. In that day oxen were used more or less instead of horses, for heavy drawing and for farm work. When a yoke of oxen became old they were frequently fattened and sent east with other cattle, so that a drove often included a number of very long-horned steers. Behind the drove followed a driver who kept the lazy cattle from lagging behind. The owner of the drove usually rode on horseback. In the afternoon he rode on ahead to look out a good field of pasture where his drove could be kept all night. They paid the farmer a price which varied, but it was generally about three cents per head for the night. A drove of cattle, particularly if they were heavy animals, could not make more than 10 to 12 miles per day. They plodded along and at length reached the markets of Philadelphia, New York or Baltimore, and if they were fat enough, were slaughtered at once. As a general rule they gained weight rather than lost on the way east, particularly if the pasture was good and the drover a careful one. The drover was paid in cash for his cattle and was generally paid in gold which he put into his saddle bags and rode home to purchase another lot. The young man who drove for him generally walked all the way home, and tried to reach there by the time the drover had collected another lot of cattle and was ready for the long journey eastward.

The plank theory of road making was the prevailing one in Southwestern Pennsylvania in the late forties and early fifties. Most country roads then led through regions abounding with good timber. Small streams that are now almost dry for a greater part of the year because the country has been denuded of its forests, then gave an abundant supply of water power to run a small sawmill. Labor was cheap and the trees were a complete bar to agriculture, and had to be disposed of. The result was that plank roads became popular. They were made generally of two or three inch plank laid cross wise and resting on three sleepers of plank laid lengthwise. The plank road was rarely ever as wide as sixteen feet, the plank usually being cut twelve or fourteen feet long. For a short time the road was splendid but soon the plank, warped by the sun became very uneven in most places. They were made

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largely of oak which soon rotted and by that time timber was too scarce to repair them. They were rapidly abandoned and for many years afterwards the decaying plank could be seen lying in piles by the road side. The first plank road to reach Allegheny was the road to Perryville. It began with Federal street and led by the Franklin and Harmony road about seven miles to a point a mile north of Perryville. It was planked in 1849. About the same time a corporation was formed called the Allegheny and Butler Plank Road Co. This road led to Butler and was planked all the way. The Braddocks Field Plank Road Company opened up in 1851. The Temperanceville and Noblestown Plank Road Company had been incorporated in 1849 and issued 800 shares of stock at $25 each. It was not finished for a year or so. The Allegheny and Manchester Plank Road was incorporated a year later and had an authorized capital stock of 600 shares at $25 each. One was also built to New Brighton, another through East Liberty north to Apollo and the longest of all from Pittsburg up the river to West Newton and thence across Westmoreland, Somerset and Bedford counties to intersect the National road at Cumberland. All these roads were toll roads, the idea being that the stockholders should thus receive dividends on their investment. Some of them, notably the one leading to Cumberland, were laid on roads which had formerly been piked. None of them, so far as we can learn, ever paid dividends worth speaking of.

The National road to which we have referred, did not touch Pittsburg but passed through Washington and Fayette counties. The reader may marvel that Henry Baldwin, the Pittsburg congressman, opposed its construction most bitterly and was very popular because of this opposition. Pittsburg people were thoroughly united in its opposition. The building of the road was the pet idea of Henry Clay. It undoubtedly diverted trade from the Southwest, taking it to Baltimore, which otherwise would have come up the Ohio river to Pittsburg and have been taken thence by the pike or the canal to Philadelphia. All the states through which the National road passed, including Pennsylvania, had helped to build it. Pittsburg claimed that the state should equip its own road more perfectly, viz., the pike leading from Philadelphia westward; rather than assist in building a road which passed only through the extreme southwest corner of the state, and the main object of which would be to divert trade from Pittsburg and from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The Pittsburg people called mass meetings, signed petitions and sent all manner of memorials to congress in opposition to its completion and did this purely as a matter of self defense. The bill providing for the National road was passed by congress in 1806, but it was not completed rapidly, in fact did not reach a point west of the Allegheny mountains till 1818. It was opened from the first free from toll, yet Pennsylvania in common with other states, had helped to construct it, and had, at about the same time, completed a pike three hundred miles long, without any assistance, but on which they were compelled to charge toll. Toll, it must be remembered, was a very important matter,

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in wagoning at that time. From Pittsburg to Philadelphia and back, the toll for a narrow wheeled wagon with six horses, was $29.30 and was $19.20 for the same team with a broad wheeled wagon, for our ancestors knew better than we in that respect, how to preserve roads. On the other hand Wheeling was overjoyed with the National road scheme, for there it crossed the Ohio river. They expected the trade of the West to come up the Ohio and then take the National road to the eastern cities. They claimed that Wheeling would thereafter be at the head of navigation on the Ohio and that Pittsburg had seen its best days. A Wheeling paper of that day said editorially: "Poor Pittsburg; your day is over; the scepter of influence and wealth is to travel to us." It is not to be wondered therefore that Pittsburg became a unit in its opposition to the National road, the first of our great internal improvements, and demanded and applauded the same hostility on the part of her representative in congress.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Early Descriptions of Pittsburg—Brackenridge, Royal, Cumming, Pope, etc.

Justice Hugh Henry Brackenridge in 1786 wrote a beautiful but overdrawn description of the town of Pittsburg. While we shall not reproduce it here there are parts of it that cannot but interest the reader and we shall quote them indirectly. He says he arrived in Pittsburg from Philadelphia having crossed the Allegheny mountains in the spring of 1781 and found the town to consist of a few old buildings under the walls of the garrison which stood at the junction of the two rivers. Nevertheless it appeared to him that it would one day be a town of note which might be pushed forward by the usual means that raise such places. Two or three years elapsed, some improvements had been made, when the *Gazette* was established and one of his earliest contributions to the *Gazette* is the article we are following, written to induce immigration to this particular spot:

At a distance of about four or five hundred yards from the head of the river is a small island lying to the northwest side of the river at a distance of about seventy yards from the shore. It was covered with wood and at the lower point was a lofty hill, famous for the number of wild turkeys which inhabited it. The island was about one-fourth of a mile long and in breadth about one hundred yards. A small space at the upper end of it was cleared and overgrown with grass. The savages had cleared it during the Revolution, a party of them attached to the United States having placed their wigwams and raised corn there. The Ohio, at a distance of about one mile from the source (the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers), winds around the lower end of the island and disappears. It is pleasant to observe the conflict of these two rivers when they meet. When of equal height the contest is equal and a small rippling appears from the point of land at their junction to a distance of about five hundred yards. When the Allegheny is master, the current keeps its course a great way into the Monongahela before it is overcome and falls into the bed of the Ohio. The Monongahela having the mastery, bears away the Allegheny and with its muddy waters discolors the crystal current of that river. This happens frequently, inasmuch as the two rivers coming from different climates of the country are seldom swollen at the same time. The flood of the Allegheny rises perhaps the highest. "I have observed it to have been at least thirty feet above the level by the impression of the ice on the

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branches of the trees which overhang the river." The current of the Allegheny is in general more rapid than that of the Monongahela, and though not broader nor of greater depth, throws forward a greater quantity of water in the same space of time. About a mile above Pittsburg in the Monongahela is a beautiful little island.

The fish of the Allegheny are harder and firmer than those of the Monongahela or Ohio, owing, it is supposed, to greater coolness or purity of the water. The fish in general are good. There are pike, weighing frequently fifteen or twenty pounds; the perch are much larger than I have seen in the Bay of the Chesapeake. There are also sturgeon and many more kinds of fish. It is high amusement to those who are fond of fishing to angle in these waters, more especially at the time of a gentle flood when the frequent nibbles of the large and small fish is very gratifying. When fish of a greater size are taken it is necessary to play them a considerable time before it can be judged safe to draw them in. "I have seen a canoe half loaded in a morning by some of those expert in the employment." You will see in a spring evening the banks of the river lined with men fishing at intervals from one another. This with the stream's gentle gliding, the green woods at a distance, and the shadows lengthening towards the town, forms a deligtful scene.

McKees Rocks is at a distance of about three miles below the head of the Ohio and is the end of a promontory where the river bends to the northwest, and by the rushing of the floods the earth has been cut away through several ages. so that the huge overhanging rocks appear hollowed beneath so as to form a dome of majesty and grandeur nearly one hundred feet high. There the names of French and British officers are engraved. The town of Pittsburg is scarcely visible from these rocks because of an intervening island, the lower end of which is nearly opposite the rocks.

At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburg on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle. Just at the point stood, when I first came to the county, a tree, leaning against which I have often overlooked the wave, or committing my garments to its shade have bathed in the transparent tide. On this point stood the old French Fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under General Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound with the salient angles and bastions still remains so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has long been overgrown with the finest verdue and depastured on by cattle, but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed and buildings are erected. Just above these works is the present garrison built by General Stanwix and said to have cost the Crown of Britain sixty thousand pounds. The fortification was regularly constructed according to the rules of art and about three years ago was put into good repair by General Irvine, who commanded at this point. The savages come to this place for trade, not for war, and future contests that we may have with them will be on more northern rivers that flow into the Mississippi. The bank of the Allegheny on the northwest side of the town of Pittsburg is planted with an orchard of apple and pear trees brought and planted, it is said, by a British officer who commanded at this place. The fruit is excellent and the trees bear in abundance every year. On the Allegheny bank were formerly the King's Artillery Gardens, highly cultivated, the soil favoring the growth of plants and flowers equal with any on the Globe. On the west side of the Allegheny is a level of three thousand acres reserved by the state to be laid out

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in lots for the purpose of a town. The situation is not so convenient as the side of the river where Pittsburg is built, yet it is a delightful grove of oak, cherry and walnut trees.

The bank of the Monongahela is closely set with buildings for the distance of half a mile and behind this range the town is chiefly built. To the eastward is Grant's Hill from which two crystal fountains issue which in the heat of summer continue with limpid current to refresh the taste. In 1781 a bower covered with green shrubs was erected on Grant's Hill. The sons and daughters of the day assembled, joined in the festivity, viewing the rivers at the distance and listening to the music of the military on the plains below them. To the northwest of Grant's Hill is another still higher at a distance of about a quarter of a mile which is called Quarry Hill, from an excellent stone quarry opened on it. From Quarry Hill you have a view of four or five miles of the Allegheny, along which lies the fine bottom with enclosures and farm houses, the river winding through the whole prospect On this a strong redoubt might be placed to command the commerce of the Allegheny river while opposite on the Monongahela side to the southeast stands a hill equally high known as Ayers Hill, named after a British engineer who advocated the building of a fort there.

At the junction of the rivers, until eight o'clock in the summer mornings, a light fog is usually incumbent but it is of a salutary nature inasmuch as it consists of vapor not exhaled from stagnant water, but which the sun of the preceding day had extracted from trees and flowers and in the evening had sent back in dew so that rising from a second sun in fog and becoming of aromatic quality it is experienced to be healthful. Pittsburg stands chiefly on the third bank above the Allegheny. The first bank confines the river; three hundred feet is the second bank, the third at a distance of about three hundred yards, and lastly the fourth bank all of easy inclination and parallel with the Allegheny river. These banks would seem, in successive periods, to have been the margin of the river which has gradually changed its course and has been thrown from one descent to another to the present bed where it lies. The town consists at present of about three hundred dwelling houses with buildings appurtenant. It is improving with continual pace. The inhabitants, men, women and children, are about fifteen hundred. There is no more delightful spot under heaven to spend any of the summer months than this place. I am astonished that there should be such repairing to the Warm Springs of Virginia, a place pent up between hills where the sun pours its rays concentrated as in a burning glass and not a breath of air stirs and where the eye can wander scarcely half a furlong, while here we have the breezes of the river, the gales that fan the woods and are sent from the refreshing northern lakes; the extensive hills and dales whence the fragrant air brings odors of a thousand flowers and plants or of corn and grain upon its balmy wings. Here we have the town and country together. The winter season is equally enjoyable, the buildings are warm, the fuel abundant, consisting of coal from the neighboring hills, or ash, hickory or oak firewood.

In the fall and winter season there are usually many strangers in this place from the different states about to descend the river to the westward. They spend the evenings with the inhabitants in parties at different houses or at public balls, where they are surprised to find an elegant assemblage of ladies not to be surpassed in beauty and accomplishments perhaps by any on the continent. It must appear like enchantment to a stranger, who, after traveling a hundred miles from the settlements across the dreary mountains

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and through the country where in many places the spurs of the mountains still continue, to see at once and almost on the verge of the inhabitated globe, a town with smoking chimneys, halls lighted up with splendor, ladies and gentlemen assembled, various music and the mazes of the dances.

The above extravagant sketch has been very much shortened but an effort has been made to give its most important points, and furthermore the language of the writer has been preserved almost entirely. It is the first pen and ink sketch ever written of Pittsburg and when we remember that it was prepared in his youthful days, the somewhat magniloquent style may be overlooked. He afterward became one of the most noted men of Pittsburg. The island he describes in the Allegheny river was known as Wainright's Island and the one in Monongahela river as Buckwheat Island, for on it buckwheat was grown as late as 1798. Both of these islands were but little more than sand bars and have long since been washed away by the floods. The island he describes between McKees Rocks and Pittsburg is now known as Bruno's Island.

An Irishman named Thomas Ash came to Pittsburg over the old Forbes road in October, 1806. From his book "Travels in America in 1806" it is learned that he was a tourist whose main object it was to explore the Allegheny, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi rivers and to ascertain the products of the valley and the nature of the rivers generally. In some ways he left an unsavory name in Pittsburg where he passed under the name of Arvil. A writer of that day sarcastically says of him "that he assumed the manners of a gentleman." From Pittsburg he made journeys into various parts of the country but always came here again for this had been established as his headquarters. He thus remained in and about Pittsburg until the spring of 1807. His description of the town as he found it is more complete than any other we have of that age, yet he was so unreliable that many of his statements have been seriously doubted. He refers to the beautiful valley which surrounds Pittsburg than which nothing could be more interesting. It extended three miles, he says, on a perfect level and was cultivated in the highest degree; bounded by rising ground on the left and by a transparent river on the right. He doubts if any town in the world could boast of a position superior to that of Pittsburg both as to its beauty and as to the many advantages it enjoyed. He says, it contained about four hundred houses, many of them large and elegantly built of brick, and that the population was over 2,000. He says that many industries were carried on, particularly referring to the manufacture of glass, nails, hats, tobacco and to ship building. Goods for the Kentucky and Louisiana trade were brought across the mountains in wagons and here loaded on boats on the Ohio. He speaks of the commercial industry of Pittsburg and of the good breeding and hospitality of the people. Both of these qualities he attributes to the Irish origin of the principal inhabitants of the town. He mentions several gentlemen of Pittsburg who were distinguished for their liberality and their generous attention

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to strangers. The influence of these and others of similar sentiments "hindered the vicious propensities of the general American character from establishing here the horrid dominion which they assume over the Atlantic states." He also speaks in the most glowing terms of praise when he speaks of the ladies of Pittsburg.

The market house, he said, stood in the square in the center of the town and while it was daily frequented, on two particular days of each week it was over crowded by vast numbers of country people who brought produce of all kinds to the market. First class beef was often sold, he says, for three cents per pound, good veal at seven cents and pork at three cents. Fine fowls sold for a shilling a pair, while partridges, pigeons and all kinds of game were sold at equally reasonable prices. A haunch of venison was sold for fifty cents and a flitch of bear meat at about a dollar. Butter, he says was fourteen cents a pound, eggs five cents per dozen and milk three cents per quart. Vegetables and fruit were abundant. Whiskey sold at two shillings per gallon and the best taverns charged but fifty cents per day, while boarding, washing and lodging could be had at one hundred dollars per year. In winter sleighing was a favorite amusement, and every young man of a certain standing possessed a horse and sleigh with which they drove with great dexterity through the streets, calling on their acquaintances and taking refreshments, "at many an open house where excellent porter was brewed at a very cheap rate." The summer amusements of the people of Pittsburg—he said—consisted principally of "concerts, evening walks and rural festivities held in the vicinity of Clear Springs and under the shade of old odoriferous trees." In April, 1807, he left Pittsburg and went down the river in a boat, which he purchased for $40.00. "In turning into the stream from Pittsburg," he says, "I found the scene instantaneously changed and become peculiarly grand. In ten minutes I got into the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela waters. For half an hour I steered my boat in this confluence being able to dip up whitish water on one side and perfect green on the other. The hills on the right hand were nearly 1,200 feet high, those on the left something less lofty, each clothed with sumptuous and increasing timber from the base to the summit, the garb of many thousands of years, each tree perishing in an imperceptible progression, and each as imperceptibly renewed. The whole and the individual, still appearing the same, always conveying a grand idea of the munificence of nature and the immutability of all her works."

Another who wielded a facile pen was John Pope, who visited Pittsburg in 1790 and afterwards published his journal called, "A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States." He did not flatter the people generally very much, for he says, "I stayed ten days. Here I saw the celebrated Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in whose company I viewed the fort and the neighboring eminences in Pittsburg, which will one day or other employ the historic pen as being replete with strange and melancholy events. The town at present is inhabited, with only some few exceptions,

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by mortals who act as if possessed with a charter of exclusive privilege filch from, annoy and harrass their fellow creatures, particularly the cautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from many parts Kentucky can verify this charge. Goods of every description are dea in Pittsburg than in Kentucky, which I attribute to a combination of pension scoundrels who infest the place. Was a Spaniard to reside among Pittsburg only one week, he would be apt to exclaim in the words of Nuevedo:

"'Tis not for thee but for thy bread
Tray wags his tail and shakes his head.'"

Another interesting writer on early Pittsburg was Mr. F. Cummi who came in 1807, and his writings prove that he was a close observer a a fearless critic. He says it "is inhabited by people who have fixed h for the express purpose of making money." He did not deny that the peo were celebrated for their hospitality, but concluded that the reason might due to politics. Speaking of old settlers, who had purchased property wh it was very low in price, and had seen it grow valuable, "assumed airs superiority even over the well-born and well-bred part of the communi who had been reduced from a more affluent situation by misfortune, or w had not been so fortunate as themselves in acquiring what stands the posses a lieu of a descent and all the virtues and accomplishments." It was perha time in 1807 that, as he says, everyone seemed bent on making money, l is no doubt whether they were more so inclined than the people of other tow at that time, or more so than they are now. There was then and there ways will be in all communities of even comparative wealth, a well mark line between the old resident who had an abundance of property and established reputation and a new-comer who had but little property and well earned good name. He states also that in 1807, not a street in Pittsbu except Market was paved, but wrote afterwards that during the next thi years the greater parts of Wood and Front streets, Third street betwe Market and Wood, and Chancery Lane from the river to Second street w paved, and that considerable grading had been done, particularly on Diamo Alley. He wrote that Pittsburg was a very unprepossessing place in 1807- because of the bad condition of the streets; also said that because of t extensive use of coal the houses were black from soot and smoke. Coal w sold and delivered any place in Pittsburg at five cents per bushel. He ref to McCullough's Inn, which was one of the principal taverns, and sta that mail came from Philadelphia and Baltimore twice each week. F Duquesne had then entirely disappeared but the ditch and ramparts of F Pitt were still in existance and beyond were "a few straggling apple and p trees, being all that remained of the King's artillery gardens, planted a cultivated by the first British garrison, and now laid out in streets a towns." Two miles up the Allegheny from the town stood Hill's tave while farther down as the traveler approached, he first caught sight of t belfy of the court house, the brick octagonal Episcopal Church, a handso

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Presbyterian brick meeting-house, and the roofs of the dwelling houses, surrounded with Lombardy poplars and weeping willows. Mr. Cumming also refers to Grant's Hill, saying it was one hundred feet high and covered with a delightful short, green herbage, and was a favorite resort of the people for parades and out-door exercises. "It lies," wrote he, "within the bounds of the borough, but it is to be hoped that General O'Hara, who is the proprietor, will, with true patriotism, reserve it for its present use, and not permit one of the greatest ornaments of Pittsburg to be destroyed by having it cut down and leveled for building lots. Was General O'Hara to fence it in, terrace it, which could be done at a small expense, ornament it with clumps of evergreens and flowering shrubs, and erect a few banqueting-houses, in the form of small temples, according to the different orders of architecture, it would be one of the most beautiful spots of which not only America, but perhaps any town in the universe could boast." Further he says, "the eye looks over a fine level of three thousand acres once intended as the site of a town to be called Allegheny to be the capital of the county, but the situation of Pittsburg being very properly judged more convenient, it has eventually became the seat of justice of the county and the most flourishing inland town in the United States." Pittsburg at this time contained about four hundred houses, but in 1810 it had increased the number to 767. Mr. Cumming observed and wrote of the houses too. He says, "In seventeen streets and four lanes or alleys, in March, 1808, there were 236 brick houses, of which 47 were built in the last twelve months, and 361 wooden ones, 72 of which were added last year. There are twenty-four taverns, four or five of which are excellent ones, and the rest of every grade."

Mrs. Ann Royal was a great woman in her day. She was born in Maryland, but for many years resided in Washington City, where she made her name a famous one by editing and publishing "The Huntress" and "Paul Pry." Though a woman of superior mind and keen perception, she was extremely eccentric and conceited. Traveling a great deal over Pennsylvania by stage coach in the late twenties, she visited Pittsburg in 1828, and the year following published two volumes of her travels. A great deal of space is given by her in these books to descriptions of her quarrels with stage drivers and landlords, but aside from this her works are of considerable value. She describes the towns, scenery and people of Pennsylvania in a style that is fresh and interesting, even after a period of eighty years. Her descriptions are accurate in the main and in their line they are classics. She visited the little city of Pittsburg in one of its most fortunate periods. It had recovered from the long financial and business depression which followed the war of 1812; it had reaped ten years of stimulated industry brought by the completion of the pike between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and was just pluming itself in the enjoyment of a still greater commercial thrift resultant to the West from the building of the Pennsylvania Canal. In some matters she may have been unduly enthusiastic concerning Pittsburg, but from the fact that she thoroughly

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and systematically investigated its most interesting features for two weeks, and that she does not generally write in flattering terms, but rather the reverse, of other places, her picture of the city as here given may be taken as a true one of that day.

She says: Of all towns in our country, Pittsburg excites most astonishment. Everything pursued in other towns is thrown into the shade in Pittsburg; even in the building of steamboats it excels, by a long way, our great city, New York. You see nothing but columns of smoke rolling out of these manufactories in every part of the city and in every street. Go to the river Monongahela, and you see nothing but steamboats, two-stories high, many of them, and two tiers of windows, precisely like a house with gable ends.

As we drove down the Allegheny river we were closely hemmed in by a vast hill on our left. This hill makes a sudden stop as you draw near the city, and runs across in a steep, perpendicular precipice to the Monongahela river, forming a perfect wall in its rear seventy feet high. This hill takes different names in its progress; that part opposite the point or the great body of the city is called Grant's Hill, so named from Col. Grant, who was defeated at its summit by the French and Indians in 1758; that part of it on the Monongahela is called Boyd's Hill, from one Boyd who hung himself there; the part extending to the Allegheny river is also distinguished by the name of Quarry Hill, being 440 feet high. From each river there are also seen vast hills so that you are in the city before you can see it. Its situation is much lower than I expected to find it. The city runs up the banks of both rivers beyond its limits in the center, running much farther up the Allegheny however. The two rivers and the point give it the form of a triangle. It is about one mile on the one river and one and three-quarters on the other. The whole city sits on an even plain, about 30 to 40 feet above the low water mark, higher, however, on the Allegheny side. On the opposite side of the Allegheny river is a steep hill called Hogback Hill. On the opposite shore of the Monongahela river is another called Coal Hill. Coal Hill is 465 feet high and very rugged. The height of Hogback Hill is unknown. It is a barren eminence of unsightly appearance. In all these elevations coal is found except on Grant, Boyd and Hogback Hills, their altitude not being sufficient to bring them within the range of the great strata of that mineral which pervades this region.

The scenery around Pittsburg is very beautiful, highly delightful in summer and when viewed from some points presents the most interesting association of nature and art. The view from Coal Hill is not surpassed in any country, earth, air, rocks, water, woods, town and sky break upon the vision in forms the most picturesque and deligthful. Coal Hill affords another point of interesting observation where the eye at a single glance takes in a hundred beauties that might vie with the purest and brightest of the other hemispheres.

Pittsburg has several suburban villages that contribute to and are supplied from the great center with which their strength and prosperity are intimately connected. On or nearly adjoining the northeastern boundary of the city and on the flat between Quarry Hill and the Allegheny river the Northern Liberties are situated and are intended as a continuation of the city. They were laid out in 1816 by George A. Bayard and James Adams and are now improving rapidly and contain the Phoenix Cotton Factory, the

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Juniata Iron Works, etc. Adjoining the southeastern boundary of the city on the north stands Kensington, or as it is some times called—Pipetown, deriving its name through one of its early settlers, an eccentric little gentleman still well known among all classes for his odd humor and the universality of his mechanical business, Mr. William Price, who established a pipe manufactory there. Kensington is partly on a steep hill side, the houses, which are low, seem to stick to Boyd's Hill by magic. Over the Monongahela is another considerable village called Birmingham; it is incorporated into a borough and sits at the base of Coal Hill on the bank of the river and here the celebrated Birmingham glass is manufactured. It also contains several steam mills and an extensive lock manufactory. It is well built and makes a handsome appearance from Pittsburg. Over the Allegheny river, directly opposite the city, is another very handsome and flourishing town called Allegheny. The Western Penitentiary is built here, one of the most splendid buildings in the United States and the site of the town is by far one of the most pleasant of any in the vicinity, not excepting Pittsburg itself. It is unrivaled in scenery and soil. There are two superb bridges, one over the Allegheny and one over the Monongahela of the first architecture and are the finest ornaments belonging to Pittsburg.

Two miles above Pittsburg is the village of Lawrence, the seat of the United States arsenal on the Allegheny. The Allegheny river is 1,100 feet wide at Pittsburg and the Monongahela is 1,400 feet wide. No language can convey the beautiful appearance of these rivers. I should say the Allegheny was the handsomest of the two; it is equal in beauty to the Ohio and the bridges constitute one of the handsomest sites, beyond doubt, in the Union, where beauty alone is considered.

I read so much of the steam manufactories and coal and smoke of Pittsburg that I tried to form some idea of them, but was greatly disappointed. More smoke than I could have conceived, and the manufactories were far beyond my conception in skill of workmanship and amount of capital.

Pittsburg City has a population of 10,600, Northern Liberties 711, Kensington 390, Birmingham 459, Allegheny 711, miscellaneous 260. Of those born in foreign countries there are 3,000 nearly. Pittsburg at the last enumeration contained, dwelling houses 1,140, churches 12, public buildings 7, stores 60, groceries 146, banks 2, taverns 16, factories, mills and shops 440, ware houses, etc., 76. This number, however, has greatly increased and the buildings are going up at the same time in all parts of the city. Most of the houses are brick, and some of them are lofty, fine buildings, but all of the houses are colored quite black with the smoke. The interiors of the houses are still worse. Carpets, chairs, walls, furniture are all black with smoke; no such thing as wearing white; the ladies mostly dress in black and a cap or white ruff put on clean in the morning is tinged quite black by bed time. The ladies are continually washing their faces. Many times the smoke, particularly in the absence of the sun, is quite annoying to the eyes of strangers, and everything has a very gloomy, doleful appearance at first (excepting always the interior of the work shops). But in a few days the stranger becomes so familiar to it that the novelty of the thing is completely worn off and your walks and rambles through the city are pursued with the same pleasure common to others.

In all the towns of Pennsylvania the public buildings and offices are built on squares in the center of their towns. These squares are uniformally called the "Diamond." I had often heard the word but from haste and in-

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attention never stopped to ask what it meant, and that it meant the public square is one of the last things I should take it to apply.—"You will find such a man on the east, west, etc., of the diamond," said my friend, Mrs. Roberts, and "what is the diamond?" I asked. "Where the market house is."—The diamond is about the center of the town, is large and contains the market house in the center and the public buildings, attorneys' offices and a few oyster cellars. The public buildings are large and well built of brick. The churches are small and make no show except one just rebuilt, touched off in great gothic style. The streets of Pittsburg are not regular, running in all directions; most of them, however, angle with the Monongahela. They are paved but not lighted. The side walks as a whole are dirty and in wet weather very muddy in some parts of the town. The citizens are now engaged in furnishing the city with good water and have sunk a very handsome reservoir upon the top of Grant's Hill for the purpose, but for some cause, to me unknown, the pipes have mostly bursted and filled the streets with water, which I find very unpleasant.

There are in Pittsburg thirty-two attorneys and counselors and 16 physicians, a museum, the Western University, a high school, an academy and 40 smaller schools. The manners of the people of Pittsburg, as in all other large towns, some are liberal and polite and others quite the reverse. The University exists only in name and cannot be said to be in operation though it has a long string of professors. Miss Parry is at the head of an academy for young ladies. Misses Roberts and Campbell have a large school of both sexes. The Sisters of Charity also have a very large school. The high school is by far the best conducted seminary in that place. It is kept in the Unitarian Church. The name of the principal is E. Worthington, Esq. He has 54 students.

Lambdin's Museum and gallery of paintings was established September 8, 1828, and now contains a valuable collection of paintings from ancient as well as modern masters. Fine land sketches by Doughty, Birch, Lawrence, etc.; pictures from the collection of Baron Muller, portraits of distinguished characters by Stuart, Sully, Peale and Lambdin. The museum contains about two hundred foreign birds among which are the "Birds of Paradise," 20 quadrupeds, 500 minerals, 300 fossils, 300 marine shells, 1,200 impressions of medals, 100 ancient coins and a handsome collection of articles from the South Seas Marine Protection, Indian articles, etc. Mr. Lambdin is himself an artist and his museum is the one specimen of taste or amusement in the city. No library, no atheneum, no gardens, no theaters. I understand there was an Apprentice's Library gotten up by a few liberal gentlemen, Messrs. Holdship, Eichbaum and several others. There are, however, many liberal and enlightened men in Pittsburg. The whole city is a perfect work shop and the most remarkable fact in regard to the character of the city of Pittsburg, and one that excites astonishment and pleasure, is that the mechanics and artificers are by far the most enlightened part of the city. There is not a more honorable, orderly, well behaved class of men, doubtless, to be found on the globe of their calling. I was not prepared for this part of the history of Pittsburg, never having heard it mentioned by any other writer. They appear to form an exclusive city of gentlemen. By far the most interesting portion of my description of Pittsburg, and without which such would have but little weight, is its trade and manufactories. In this it excells any city in the Union, either in kind, excellency or variety of the articles. Every article manufactured out of iron, copper, brass, tin, leather or wood is made in

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Pittsburg in a superior style; besides glass, delft, pottery and paper are also manufactured there as well as sheeting, shirting, coverlets, carpets, clothes, cassinets, plaids, checks, etc. But what distinguishes Pittsburg from every other part of the Union is the fame she has acquired from her steam engine factories. Another distinguished trait in the character of Pittsburg is the polite, chaste and gentlemanly deportment of her workmen and mechanics, which, joined to their skill, sobriety and industry, surpass any set of mechanics in America or perhaps in the world. They as a body are the only gentlemen in the city. In all the manufacturing establishments I have visited in the United States I never fail to find the mechanics more or less depraved; even in New England you too often find the workmen, and very often the principals, vicious, idle and impertinent, with a total want of respect to strangers—not so with Pittsburg. I spent thirteen days in the manufacturing houses and factories in the city, where, but in three cases, I found none but mechanics and never saw or heard the most distant indelicate look or word among the whole of them; on the contrary I was treated with marked respect. I was more astonished with this than with anything else in the wonder working city. Why Pittsburg should differ so widely in this respect from all other manufacturing towns I am unqualified to say, but it is a well known fact that both in this country and in Europe, I am told, those manufacturing houses exhibit a lamentable picture of low, vicious manners. During the whole of my visits to these manufactories I never saw an instance of intoxication or the smallest indication of drinking. The workmen were almost as black throughout as the coal of their pits but this disguise could not conceal the noble mien, the chaste smile and manly deportment for which they are unequalled. Had they been looking for me I should have thought their manners assumed, but to recur to my own axiom—"No one can affect what they do not possess, least of all politeness."—and nothing was farther from them than the thought of receiving a visit from a female, and though some time accompanied, I mostly stole a march upon them.

The Sligo Rolling-mill is situated on the south side of the Monongahela river, opposite the mouth of Market street. It was built in 1825 by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyen. It is a branch of the iron works on the Juniatta, and all the iron they use is brought from there in blocks called blooms, which are ready for rolling. They use in the Sligo mills 1,400 tons each year. The engine of 130 horse power—the largest in Pittsburg—was made by Mark Stackhouse. Their machinery weighs 120 tons. Fifty hands are employed and they consume 14,000 bushels of coal per year. The value of the iron made per year is $150,000. The Juniatta Iron Works on the Allegheny river in Northern Liberties are owned by Dr. Peter Shoenberger and were erected in 1824. They are also a branch of the Juniatta works. The establishment in Pittsburg is a very extensive one and was put up under the superintendence of M. B. Belknap. The engine, 120 horse power, was built by Matthew Smith, of the firm of Binney & Smith. One thousand tons of blooms are used by them annually, and the mill contains six nail machines, making six tons of nails a week. Eighty men are employed. The Grant's Hill Iron Works, owned by William H. Hays and Daniel Adams, were erected in 1821. The engine, built by the Columbia Company, is of 80 horse power. The works employ thirty hands. Last year they used 800 tons of pig metal and 400 tons of blooms. They use 90,000 bushels of coal per year. They produce $80,000 worth of iron. The Union Rolling Mill in Kensington is owned by Baldwin, Robinson & McNickle and is the largest and most

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extensive establishment of its kind in the western country. The machinery is driven by two engines of 100 horse power each, built by the Columbia Company in 1819. They convert 1,500 tons of metal into merchantable iron, which at $100 per ton is worth $50,000. Attached to the mill is an extensive nail factory. They employ 100 hands, consume 182,000 bushels of coal yearly. Their capital is $100,000. The Dowler Iron Works, erected in Kensington by Mr. Lewis in 1825, has a 100 horse power engine and makes 600 tons of iron per year. The Pittsburg Rolling Mill, on the corner of Penn and Cecil's alley, is owned by R. Bowen. It has a 120 horse power engine built by the Columbia Company, which drives one pair of rollers and ten nail machines. They use only bar iron. From the blooms, three tons per day, are reduced to rods, sheets, etc. The nail machines make one and three-fourths tons per day, besides hoops and sheet. Their capital is $40,000, and they employ 80 hands. Mr. Bowen was for a long time a common sailor. The Pine Creek Rolling Mill, owned by Elkins & Ludlow, is on Pine Creek a few miles above Pittsburg, and has a 100 horse power engine. They employ both steam and water power and manufacturing axes, scythes, sickles, shovels, etc. Forty hands are employed and about 600 tons of bar iron is used each year.

The Pittsburg Foundry was erected as early as 1804 by Joseph McClurg, and was the first of its kind west of the mountains. The opposition that Mr. McClurg met with from his friends shows how limited the views of the citizens of that period were in relation to the important situation of Pittsburg, and the great sources of wealth that lay around it. They thought he would be ruined, that a foundry was useless and that he could not succeed. He persevered and showed the fallacy of human prognostications. He realized a fortune, retired from business and left the old foundry to fill the pockets of his successors with better stuff than pig metal. The foundry is at the present time carried on by A. McClurg, Cuthbert & Company, on an extensive scale. There are two furnaces in daily use which produce some 600 tons of castings a year. The cannon used by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie were cast here, and the United States government still uses it as a source of supply of cannon balls. The Jackson Foundry on the corner of Sixth and Liberty streets is owned by Messrs. Kingsland, Lightner & Sowers. It makes stoves, grates, wagon-boxes, plow-plates, machinery and all kinds of heavy castings. It employs 20 hands and turns out 500 tons of castings annually. The Eagle Foundry in Kensington is operated by the same men but was erected by A. Beelen. Its annual product is 300 tons. The Pheonix Foundry is on Scotch Hill, at the corner of Ross and Third streets, and is owned by Freeman & Miller. It was established in 1821 by one named Clark; it makes a high order of castings, sad-irons, grates, stoves, wheels, etc. Its annual product is 200 tons. The same owners have just established Washington Foundry with a nail factory attached. Stackhouse's Foundry is attached to the Columbian steam engine factory on the corner of Front and Redoubt alley. It casts mostly for steam machinery. Its annual product is 400 tons. The Allegheny Foundry is near the Allegheny river on McCormick's alley, and is owned by William Franklin. Its annual product is 150 tons. Stackhouse & Tomlinson's Foundry is on the corner of Liberty and Second streets, and is attached to their steam engine foundry. It produces 120 tons annually. The steam engines here produced are mainly for steamers. Price's Cupalo Foundry is situated one-fourth of a mile east of Pittsburg and is a brass as well as an iron foundry, as both articles are produced. The Birmingham Foundry is carried on by Sutton & Nicholson, and produces 200 tons of

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castings annually, as well as screws for tobacco presses and paper-mills and fulling-mills. The Union Rolling Mill nail factory has 14 nail machines, producing 360 tons of nails a year. The Sligo nail factory has four machines and produces 200 tons a year. The Pittsburg Nail Factory has ten machines and produces 400 tons a year. It produced last year, 5,804 kegs of cut nails and 22,000 pounds of wrought nails. The Grant's Hill Factory has five machines and yields 250 tons annually. The Juniatta Factory produced the same amount with five machines. The Pine Creek Factory with four machines, produced 228 tons.

In manufacturing steam engines, Pittsburg has acquired great celebrity. No place in the world can surpass it as to means and materials for these powerful machines. There are six steam engine factories in Pittsburg—the Columbian owned by Mark Stackhouse; the factory of Warden & Arthurs on Second and West streets; that of Stackhouse & Tomlinson, corner of Liberty and Third; that of Smith & Benney, on Grant's Hill; that of M. B. Belknap at Pine Creek, and that of Mahlon Rogers, corner of Grant and Hewith streets. The steam wire manufactory of Mr. Arnold Eichbaum is in Kensington near the Union Rolling-mill. It manufactures wire from No. 1 to No. 16, and employs seven hands. The Steam Cotton-factory of James Arthurs & Sons is on Strawberry near Cherry alley, runs 288 spindles, and is principally employed in manufacturing fine yarns, from No. 16 to No. 20. They employ 13 hands. The Phoenix Steam Cotton-factory is owned by Adams, Allen & Grant. It is in Northern Liberties and runs 2,700 spindles, producing daily 700 pounds of yarn, from 5 to 22, and 450 yards of cotton cloth. It employs 170 hands, and its annual product is over $100,000. John McLeroy, on Wood, between Front and Second streets, has in operation 80 hand looms, producing 1,200 yards of plaids, stripes and checks, and employs 155 hands. Their yearly product is 363,600 yards. James Shaw, Wood street, between Sixth and Liberty, has 80 hand looms, producing 300,000 yards of cotton cloth yearly. Thomas Graham, Market, between Fifth and Liberty, has 34 hand looms, and Telford & Sons, near Pittsburg, have 8 looms. There are also 47 looms which are engaged in various kinds of weaving, such as coverlets, carpets, etc., producing over 200,000 yards yearly. James Arthurs & Sons, in connection with their cotton factory, have a woolen establishment where they last year made or dressed 12,800 yards of broad cloth, cassinette and country cloth. Headrick & Gibb, corner of Liberty and Diamond alley, produced last year 4,200 yards of cassinette. The Fleecedale Woolen factory, on Chartiers Creek near the Steubenville pike, owned by A. & J. Murphy, produced last year 1,500 yards of broad cloth and 9,600 yards of cassinette.

Bakewell's Glass House is owned by Bakewell, Page & Bakewell, and is on Water street above Grant. Erected in 1811. It is entirely devoted to the manufacture of white or flint glass. Everything in the glass line and every grade of workmanship is made here. Their output last year was $90,000. The Birmingham Glass Works were built in 1812 by Sutton, Wendt & Co., but are now conducted by Wendt, Eucel Ihmsen & Co. This establishment makes window-glass and green hollow-ware entirely. Its product last year was 4,000 boxes window-glass, 100 gross bottles, and 10,000 dozen hollow-ware. The Pittsburg Glass Works are on the south side of the Monongahela, opposite the Point, and are conducted by Mr. F. Lorens. It was the first of the kind established in the western country. It was built early in 1797 by General O'Hara and Major Craig. For a few years their

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success seemed very doubtful, so much so that Major Craig withdrew and left O'Hara to make the best of what was then termed a losing concern. But the General, who had a happier knack of seeing a few years before him and drawing deductions from the nature of things than any of his contemporaries, persevered with his glass house, made large additions, prospered, and conducted it until his death in 1819. It produced last year, 7,500 boxes of window glass, 160 gross bottles and 3,160 dozen hollow-ware. The Stone Bridge Glass Works, near the corner of Ross and Second, were erected by John Robinson in 1823, and manufacture white and flint glass only. Besides these, there are window glass factories at Bridgeport, New Albany, New Boston, Williamsport and Geneva up the Monongahela, producing 17,000 boxes of window glass yearly.

The Anchor Steam Paper Mill on Ross street owned by Mr. Holdsipe; the Pittsburg Steam Paper-mill, in the Northern Liberties; the Clinton Paper-mill at Steubenville; the Franklin & Big Beaver at Beaver; the Sewickley at West Newton; the Redstone at Brownsville and various other mills, are all engaged in making paper, producing about 30,000 reams per year. There are four steam grist mills in operation: The Pittsburg, corner of Water and Redoubt alley, established by Oliver Evans in 1812, now operated by George Evans; the Allegheny on Irwin's alley, operated by John Herron; the Eagle at the mouth of Dukes run, owned by Mr. Henderson, and the Birmingham by Sutton & Nicholson.

Besides there there are in Pittsburg four brass foundries, 24 blacksmith shops, 6 white smith shops, one lock factory, 4 gunsmiths, 8 silver-smiths, 9 tanneries, 3 saddle factories, 45 boot and shoe makers, 8 chair makers, 14 cabinet makers, 2 coach makers, 7 wagon and plow makers, 2 wheelwrights, 360 carpenters, 140 boat builders, 3 potteries, one rope walk, 3 white lead factories, 4 distilleries, 3 breweries, 11 tobacco factories, 2 wire-weaving establishments, 5 salt works, one sickle maker, 3 brush makers, 7 hatters, 2 dyers, 11 painters, 11 plasterers, 12 coopers, 44 tailors, 8 bakers, 4 confectioners, one organ maker, one button maker, 2 saddle-tree makers, 2 chemists, 5 chandlers, one comb maker, 2 reed makers, 4 wood turners, 2 sash makers, one rigger, 2 bellows makers, 3 pattern makers, and two cutters.

The value of the annual product of factories, $3,400,000; value of total imports, $2,119,000: value of total exports, $2,781,276. There is a city for you, without a parallel in manufactories, in proportion to the inhabitants, perhaps in the world.

A description of Pittsburg written by a gentleman from Wheeling and published in Sears' Treasury of Knowledge in 1847 may be fraught with interest to the reader. After speaking of its location at the junction of the two rivers he correctly gives its latitude as forty-six degrees twenty-six minutes and twenty-five seconds, and its longitude west from Greenwich as seventy-nine degrees and fifty-nine minutes.

"It is," he says, "three hundred miles by pike west from Philadelphia and one hundred and twenty miles south from Lake Erie; eleven hundred miles by land and two thousand twenty-nine by water from New Orleans. The Allegheny comes down with a strong current from the northeast and sweeping suddenly around to the northwest secures the more gentle current of the Monongahela from the south, their combined waters forming the Ohio, or Beautiful river.

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The Aborigines and French considered the Ohio and the Allegheny to be the same stream, the Monongahela to be a tributary; Allegheny being a word in the Delaware Indian language and O-hee-o, a Seneca word, both meaning 'fair water'; hence the French term 'Belle Riviere,' Beautiful River, was only but a translation of the Indian name. The alluvial bottom on which the city is built is very limited, for immediately back of it and at less than a mile from the point, rises Grant's Hill on which the Court House stands, with Ayers Hill on the west and Quarry Hill on the east of Grant's Hill. At the foot of these hills there extends up the Allegheny a strip of alluvial land about a quarter of a mile wide, on which the suburb of Bayardstown is built, and on the Monongahela side is a still narrower margin. The city is rapidly pushing its eastern limits on the sides and summits of these hills. Grant's Hill is already occupied. Opposite Pittsburg on a beautiful plain on the north bank of the Allegheny is the large city of Allegheny. Below it a mile or two is the rival village of Manchester; while on the other side of Pittsburg, across the Monongahela, the smoky city of Sligo with its noisy manufactories is nestled under the precipices of Coal Hill, and about two miles above Sligo where the alluvial bottom spreads out wider, lies the large manufacturing town of Birmingham City. A Board of Inquiry visited Pittsburg in 1841 for the purpose of selecting a site for the United States Marine Hospital. They found a thriving place with numerous engines, furnaces and machinery; they found it with a rich and industrious population, a people that would work, and would thrive and prosper; at the same time they found them a hospitable, gentlemanly class of beings possessed of intelligence and willing to impart it. From the hills that environ the city they could have looked down on a sea of smoke that lay like the clouds upon Chimborazo's Base. No breath of air moved its surface, but a sound rose from the depths like the roar of Niagara's waters or the warring of the spirits in the cavern of the storms. They looked around about them, and saw no signs of light or human habitation. They looked above them and the summer sun, like a haughty warrior, was driving his coursers up the eastern sky. Then from the sea of smoke a vapor rose, another and another cloud rolled away, and a speck of silver sheen glistened in the sunbeams. Again a spire comes into view, pointing heavenward its long slim finger. Then a roof, a house top, a street, and lo, a city lay like a map spread out by magic hand, and ten thousand mortals were seen in the pursuit of wealth, of fame, of love, of fashion. On the left a noble river came heaving onward from the wilderness of the north bearing on its bosom the treasures from the forest. On the right, an unassuming but not less useful current quietly yielded to the vessel's prow, that bore from a more genial soil the products of the earth. They looked again, and extending downward through portly vales, checkered with gently swelling hills, they saw the giant trunk formed by the union of these two noble branches. Ruffling its mirrored surface they saw the noble steamer leaping like a bounding courser bearing the rich burden from the far sunny south; another gathering strength and rolling onward to commence its long journey past portly fields, high hills, rich and flourishing cities, and forests wide and drear, bearing the handiwork of her artisans to Mississippi, Texas, Mexico, the Groves of India and the hills of Pernambuco, nay, to every land to which the sun in its daily course gives light. Such they saw as Pittsburg and as such as citizens of the west we are proud of her. The villages on the left bank of the Monongahela are connected with Pittsburg by the Monongahela bridge, fifteen hundred feet in length

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and having eight arches rising on stone piers. It was erected in 1818 at a cost of one hundred and two thousand four hundred and fifty dollars. Over the Allegheny there are not less than four bridges to Allegheny City besides the splendid aqueduct of the Pennsylvania Canal. The first was erected in 1819 at a cost of ninety-two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. It is eleven hundred and twenty feet long, rising on six piers of stone and is elevated thirty-eight feet above the water. There are in Pittsburg and its environs, within convenient walking distance, seventeen Presbyterian Churches, three Cumberland Presbyterian, twelve Methodist Episcopal, three Protestant Methodist, four Baptist, four Roman Catholic, five Episcopal, two Associate, four Associate Reformed, two Evangelical Lutheran, two Congregational, two Disciple, one 'Church of God,' one Unitarian, one German Evangelical Protestant, one German Reformed, three Welsh, and four German churches of different denominations."

The writer gives the population of Pittsburg and Allegheny and suburbs in 1830 at twenty-one thousand nine hundred and twelve, and, including the same territory, in 1841, at thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-one. He further says "Pittsburg owes its prominence to the fortunate combination of several advantages. It is, with slight exceptions, at the head of steamboat navigation; it is also the terminating point of the main line of internal improvements. It is the mart of pursuits of Virginia and New York as well as of Western Pennsylvania, while the Ohio opens to the enterprise of its citizens the whole of the Mississippi Valley. The exhaustless banks of coal in the neighboring hills, and the excellent mines of iron ore found in great abundance in the countries along the mountains and on the banks of the Ohio below, together with the vast forests of pine timber on the headwaters of the Allegheny river, give to this city its pre-eminence over all others in the West for manufacturing purposes. The principal articles manufactured are steamboats, steam engines, and a great variety of machinery of both iron and wood; bar iron, nails, plows and agricultural implements; glass, cotton-clothes, leather and saddlery; flooring boards with a great number of articles of which the manufacture is prosecuted on smaller scales. The steam power exerted in these various departments is immense, probably greater in proportion to the population than any other city in the Union. For the stranger the manufactories are well worth a visit, especially those of glass, nails, bar and rolled iron. There is much moral power in this city; many men of talents in the learned professions whose light shines throughout the great valley of the West; many benevolent societies and institutions of learning."

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CHAPTER XXVI.

The War of 1812.

Few of the American people, even among those who are reasonably well informed, can give a definite idea of the causes and the questions involved in the War of 1812. It was a trivial affair to our Nation, particularly when compared with the Revolution and the reader probably has therefore paid but little attention to it. But it was a war of heroic deeds and by its successful termination we, as a Nation, not only won the rights for which we contended, but added greatly to our civil and military glory among the nations of the world. A brief review of the manner in which it was brought about is therefore in place here.

After the Revolutionary War was over, though we had fairly won our freedom from the mother country, yet England scarcely realized that we were one of the civilized powers of the world. For thirty years therefore England treated us as though we were a few struggling colonies, whose rights in America were conceded, but whose rights on the ocean were still retained by England. She accordingly assumed rights on the seas which, by the way, she did not presume to exercise in dealing with other governments. One of the many unwarranted powers which Great Britain assumed was that of overhauling American vessels on the ocean and searching them for men who had deserted the English naval service, and in doing this they necessarily committed many outrages upon our ocean trade. These may not have been specifically authorized by the English government but it was responsible for them and practically admitted its responsibility by defending them. For many years our government protested most vehemently against this right of search and the people of the United States were much aroused over it. In various other ways Great Britain advanced her presumed prerogatives on the seas and invariably injured our commerce in doing so. This was carried on until 1811 when because of the growing trouble, Congress was called together by President James Madison a month earlier than usual. On due consideration Congress sustained the President who at least declared England guilty of offensive actions and preparations were at once made for war. On June 12th the President laid before Congress the official corres-

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pondence relative to the subject and when it was known all hope of a settlement without war was practically dispelled. James Madison had drawn one of the best of his many strong papers in enumerating our grievances. Everything seemed to point to war and accordingly on June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain. Measures were at once taken to increase the regular army to 35,000 men, and a much larger volunteer army of one year enlistments was to be raised, equipped and put in the field.

Simon Snyder was then Governor of Pennsylvania. He was a man of more than ordinary courage and executive ability, having in his make-up much of the old time Revolutionary spirit. He organized the Pennsylvania Militia at once. Our state was to furnish 14,000 men on the one year enlistment plan besides our share of the number requisite to raise the proposed increase of the regular army to 35,000. Again the British, in opposing us, allied themselves with their old companions in uncivilized warfare, the American Indians. A large force of the English army and Indians appeared on Lake Erie, opposite the town of Erie. At this the whole of Pennsylvania was aroused for they expected an invasion, of the western part at least, to follow. Accordingly the militia of the western part of the state was sent there and partook in the glories of the world famous battle commanded by General Oliver Hazard Perry. This victory settled the Indians and the British in that section. It will be remembered that Perry, before he could fight the English on the water, had to cut trees and construct a navy. The main forces who guarded his soldiers were from Western Pennsylvania and they were ready to support him in any emergency either on land or sea. The English also had an army in the region of Baltimore and many Western Pennsylvania soldiers were sent there, particularly after the British army under General Ross had burned the National Capitol. But there was but little fighting done in that section by our troops. Others were sent to the northwest and placed under the command of General William Henry Harrison, afterward President of the United States. It was in this army that Pittsburg soldiers were called on to perform the most duty. In considering this war it must be remembered that we were yet at enmity with the Indians, though not situated as we were during the Revolution, for the race had been gradually driven westward and were then most numerous in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. The English had another army in the South where General Andrew Jackson defeated the English General Peckenham at the battle of New Orleans after peace had been declared between the two countries. So the reader will understand that war was raging in almost every direction.

General Hull was at that time Governor of the territory of Michigan and had under his command an army of volunteers who were warring with the northwestern Indians. When he heard that war had been declared against England, he foolishly and without any authority whatever, led his army from Michigan into Canada to invade the enemy's country. But the British immediately sent forces there, who, with superior skill and much more experience than Hull in military matters, so encompassed the field that Hull and his

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army were ignomiously forced to surrender seventeen hundred troops to about seven hundred British and six hundred Indians. This unfortunate affair also included great supplies, military stores and provisions, which were collected and sent west to him at an enormous expense and upon which he was supposed to support his army. It greatly weakened the American cause, for hundreds of troops became discouraged and deserted. So great was this disaffection that desertions were more numerous in the War of 1812 than in any other of the five wars in which we, as a Nation, have engaged. But, on the other hand, the surrender of Hull in a measure benefited the American cause. The memory of the Revolution was fresh in the minds of the people. Often in that war had a small, starving, poorly equipped army of American soldiers escaped from or taken captive a much more formidable body of men. But here the larger army had surrendered to the smaller and weaker one and it aroused the patriotic spirit of the American people in every section of the Union. As a result there were in Western Pennsylvania and in Pittsburg, after Hull's surrender, more able-bodied men who wanted to enlist than could be accepted. Refreshed in his memory of these events of the War of 1812, by these general observations, the reader, we trust, will better understand the part taken in it by the Pittsburg troops.

At the beginning of the war the advantages were all on the side of the English, for all along the Canadian border they had maintained a chain of military posts extending from Niagara to Sault Ste. Marie and all were well supplied with men and provisions. This region was moreover far in advance of the northwestern part of the United States in population, wealth and commerce. The Province of Canada furthermore had a navy which practically gave them complete command of the northern lakes. Added to these advantages was the constant war with the Indians in all the Northwest and by cultivating their friendship, the British were able to make this feature still more galling to the western settlers and to keep the whole Northwest in a constant terror and alarm. There still lurked in the Indian's mind the idea that they could yet exterminate the white man and perserve the hunting grounds for themselves. On the other hand the population of the United States in the Northwest was sparse, the settlements were small and widely separated and military posts, such as they had, were few and very poorly equipped. We had practicallly no regular army and no navy. Twenty-nine years of peace had passed since the close of the Revolution and the military spirit of that day had died out, so that we had at best a poorly equipped and insufficient militia. Pittsburg was far removed from the active hostilities but her soldiers were promptly sent to the front. A company of volunteers called the "Pittsburg Blues," composed of about sixty men and officers and under the command of Captain James R. Butler, a son of General Richard Butler who fell in St. Clair's battle in 1791, was the leading force from Pittsburg during this war. Another company under Captain Jeremiah Ferree enlisted, but were not in actual service, and the interest centers around the

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Pittsburg Blues. They were called out by the proclamation of Governor Snyder on August 25, 1812, though the company had been a militia organization before the war began. They were joined in their northern march by other regiments of Western Pennsylvania and General Adamson Tannehill was made commander. They first went to Meadville and from there on October 25th, started for Niagara. The enemy then lay on the Canada side across the Niagara river and it was their intention to go over and attack them, but so insufficient were their equipments that they were unable to cross the river. The Pittsburg Blues were then put under the command of General William Henry Harrison and in November a detachment of 600 men, including the Pittsburg soldiers, all under the command of Colonel John B. Campbell, was ordered to march from the headquarters at Franklintown in Ohio to destroy several towns on the Mississinewa river, a tributary of the Wabash. These towns were about fifteen miles above its junction with the Wabash. The journey connected with the battle of Mississinewa was an extremely severe one. On leaving the camp at Franklintown near Dayton, Ohio, General Harrison addressed the troops in a most patriotic vein and bespoke great things of them, for he said he considered them the flower of the army. It was extremely cold weather. The troops were warned that it was a hard march and withal a perilous venture, and were told if any felt timid about it they should remain in camp. They crossed the partly frozen Miami river with great difficulty. At New Lexington they received the last supply of forage. Each man was furnished with one bushel of corn to be carried on his horse. Great care was taken to instill in the army a spirit of caution, for they were now to penetrate a wilderness infested with Indians and the company was guided only by spies. In the same locality the army of the brave General St. Clair had been cut to pieces by the same treacherous enemy and in addition were now aided by the British. The weather grew colder, and most of the streams and swamps were crossed on the ice. The snow was about six inches deep. On the night before the battle, December 11th, they marched all night and in the morning attacked the Indian town of Mississinewa. With great difficulty they drove the Indians away and destroyed their houses. After the troops had returned from destroying the towns down the river they were compelled to encamp in the snow without shelter and the night was bitter cold. The officers feared an attack and were determined they should not be surprised by the enemy; so little rest was obtained by any one for half the force was on guard all night. At three o'clock there was an alarm and all were at once ready but it proved to be false. Shortly before day light the real attack came. It was a heavy volley from the Indians and was accompanied by the usual terrific yells. One company was closely pressed and almost surrounded, but were promptly relieved by the Pittsburg Blues under Captain Butler. Captain Markle's company from Westmoreland came in and all united in a charge against the Indians which drove them away. It was then about day break and they returned to find the dying and

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wounded lying in the snow and almost overcome by the cold. There were about forty killed and wounded and another attack with reinforcements was momentarily expected.

The situation was appalling. They were ninety-six miles from the settlement and the increasing cold had greatly reduced their rations. They proceeded at once to bury the dead soldiers in the frozen ground. Litters were made for twenty-seven wounded and they started for headquarters on the 18th of December. They fortified their camp at night with logs and brush and kept fires burning all night to keep the troops from freezing. They reached Dayton on December 24th, and were given a royal welcome. They had left the town in high glee but two weeks before, but were greatly weakened on their return. Though they had weakened the enemy it had been done at a fearful cost.

The American army had troops at Fort Wayne, and the object of these was to drive the Indians away from that section so that they could not interfere with a free passage from the settlement to the troops. The purpose was to break up parties and drive them to Michigan so they could not unite and surprise the troops at Fort Wayne or elsewhere. For this reason the Pittsburg Blues were united with the other Western Pennsylvania troops and sent away from the main army and this work was to a great extent accomplished by them. It was a very severe though brief campaign, for they suffered from cold, hunger and from hard marching. Nearly two hundred of them had their feet frozen. The loss to the Indians was very great in men, houses and property, and they suffered still more from hunger and cold. It was one of the ablest managed campaigns of the war.

On January 19, 1813, Butler's company was placed in the battalion commanded by Major John B. Alexander. A few weeks later General Harrison determined to capture the territory in Michigan which had been held by the English since General Hull's ignominious surrender referred to above. To do this he had to extend his line of forts and in furtherance of this scheme Fort Meigs was erected on the Maumee near where General Wayne had defeated the Indians in 1794. This fort was left in command of General Leftwich of Virginia with his own troops and two hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians, among whom were the Pittsburg Blues. Shortly after this enemy began to assemble in the region of Fort Meigs which was situated on rising ground and surrounded by timbered prairies. General Leftwich and his Virginia troops left the fort most likely because their time of enlistment had expired. There was as yet no concentrated army to prevent their going. The Pennsylvania troops though their terms of enlistment had also expired, determined to remain and defend the fort. When General Harrison learned of these matters he hastened forward with relief forces and these raised the strength of the army at the fort to about 1200 and all worked night and day to strengthen their position. On April 28th the British army appeared in a concentrated force. Orders were sent to General Green Clay, who was bring-

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ing on 1500 Kentucky volunteers, to hasten his journey to Fort Meigs. The British and their Indian allies began at once to entrench themselves, and the American army under General Harrison, was not idle by any means. On May 3rd, the armies began to storm each other with cannons but with little effect on either side. On May 4th the British were reinforced and General Harrison learned to his great joy that General Clay was approaching, coming down the river in open boats with his 1500 troops, which he hoped to land in front of Fort Meigs about four o'clock on the morning of May 5th. General Harrison was not by any means slow in strategic warfare. He sent word to General Clay to land about half his force as he came down the river and for them to quietly gain the rear of the British batteries. At the proper time, when the enemy would be naturally giving their attention to the remainder of Clay's forces, and when Harrison from his own fortress could be storming them, Clay's landed troops were to assault the English troops from the rear, destroy the wagons, spike their guns and do all the damage they could, and then take their boats and pull for Fort Meigs. Clay's main force was to come on down the river and enter the fort. Clay was delayed until about eight o'clock in the morning and his forces were severely attacked by a band of savages as they were entering the fort. This was on May 5, 1813. Major John B. Alexander and his troops were ordered to protect them when they should land. The Indians increased and Alexander's troops charged them with bayonets and forced them back about a half a mile while Clay's troops disembarked and entered the fort in comparative safety.

The part of Clay's forces which had landed down the river were under the command of Colonel Dudley, a daring officer of sufficient skill and executive ability to successfully carry out the scheme. They gained the rear of the enemy and at the proper time by a fierce attack had captured their four batteries and put them to flight before they realized the situation. Their guns were spiked, their carriages cut to pieces and the red cross of St. George was hauled down. Then Dudley, who was always cool headed, ordered an immediate retreat to the boats and to Fort Meigs as had been pre-arranged, but the soldiers under Dudley were by this time wild with joy and excitement over their unprecedented victory. In place of obeying orders they madly pursued the enemy whom they had driven away. The English soon recovered themselves and though driven from their fortification, they united with a band of Indians near by and quietly awaited the approach of Dudley's reckless and disobedient soldiers. They exposed a few Indians and British to draw them into the proper locality. The batteries taken by Dudley's men had in their excitement been left lightly guarded. By a quick movement on the part of the English and Indians these men were cut off from the fortress they had just taken and the British and Indians easily over-powered the guard left there. It was a victory fairly won by brave troops but thrown away through an almost criminal disobedience. The Americans in charge of the fortifications resisted bravely when the British came back, but fifty of them were

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killed and seventy wounded. About 500 of Dudley's troops were taken prisoners and only 150 of them escaped. These fought their way to the boats and entered Fort Meigs. Colonel Dudley himself while trying to get through the line and gain the boats was mortally wounded. After he fell he killed his Indian assailant and then expired.

The Indians by this time had reached a high pitch of excitement and began at once to murder prisoners, and this under the very eye of the British commander, General Proctor who had not manhood enough to even attempt to stop it. But in the midst of the slaughter fortunately came the greatest Indian warrior of his day, the savage who knew nothing of civilized warfare but who, next to Pontiac, was the greatest leader of the Indian race, Tecumseh, who had been engaged in another part of the battle. His ideas of the ethics of warfare far surpassed those of the British general and he stopped the bloody work of the Indians at once, saying that no defenceless prisoners should be killed where he commanded.

When Dudley began his attack on the batteries, Harrison was carrying out his part of the program to the letter. Alexander's battalion, which included the Pittsburg Blues, had acquitted themselves so nobly in protecting Clay's landing that Harrison at once sent them to Colonel John Miller's force to storm the British fortifications. Miller, therefore, commanded the Pittsburg Blues, the Peterson Rifles and the Pennsylvania Volunteers. A part of the fortifications which they meant to and did attack was the side next to the river, for in doing so they would not interfere with Dudley's men on their work in the rear of the fort. They were opposed largely by the Indians under the command of Tecumseh and his brother, and there were also with them five companies of British troops. The American army numbered only 350, for that was all General Harrison could spare from the fort for that part of the attack. They charged the British and Indians numbering about 1150, routed them from their concealment, wounded and killed many of them, and drove the remainder into the woods. The attack, though against great odds, succeeded admirably; they also took 43 prisoners.

The English under General Proctor sent a request to have Harrison surrender but this was indignantly refused. Proctor's army was in bad condition, for though it had provisions it had no wagons. Their four cannons which had been captured were rendered useless by Dudley's men before they were retaken. They had also lost more men than the enemy whom they attacked and whom they hoped to annihilate. An exchange of prisoners was asked for and granted by Harrison. On May 9th the British moved off under a heavy fire on the part of the Americans. Thus ended the siege of Fort Meigs, which had lasted about two weeks. Had Dudley's forces obeyed orders it would undoubtedly have resulted in one of the most brilliant victories of American armies. Even as it was our army did most glorious work. The American's loss was 131 killed and 259 wounded. General Harrison made special mention of the gallant conduct of the 350 men under Miller and Al-

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exander. Two of the Pittsburg Blues, James Newman and William Richardson, were killed during the seige by one bullet. Newman was standing up, while Richardson was behind him stooping down fixing the flint of his gun. A bullet fired by an Indian concealed in a tree passed through the body of Newman and into Richardson's body, killing them both instantly.

Another incident illustrating the coolness of one of the soldiers of the Pittsburg Blues is given in the language of the one who related it—"I had been in attendance on Captain Butler lying sick in one of the block houses at Fort Meigs during this siege, and starting out one morning to procure some breakfast, saw Sergeant Trovillo cooking coffee over some coals. I told him my errand and he told me to wait a few minutes and he would divide his coffee with me. I took a seat and in minute of two heard the peculiar singing of an Indian bullet that entered the ground a short distance from where I was sitting. I said to him—'Sergeant, what does that mean?'—he pointed to a tree at considerable distance from the pickets where I observed an Indian perched on one of the branches. He said with great good humor—'That rascal, George, has been firing at me ever since I commenced cooking my breakfast.' I swallowed my cup of coffee pretty expeditiously, during which, however, I think he fired once or twice, and told Trovillo I was not going to remain a target for the yellow skins."

A detachment composed of the Pittsburg Blues, Petersburg Volunteers and Westmoreland soldiers, in all about 160 men, was sent to the Lower Sandusky where there was a stockade fort commanded by Major George Croghan, an extremely youthful but brave officer, who was a son of Major Croghan, so prominent in the early history of Pittsburg. On August 1, 1813, the fort was surrounded by 500 British soldiers under Proctor and about 800 Indians besides a large number of Indians who were stationed outside to intercept any reinforcements to the fort. Proctor then sent a demand for surrender under a flag of truce, and warned them they would be butchered if they compelled him to take the stockade by force. Croghan, young as he was, had an abundance of the true soldier spirit and his soldiers were mostly young and spirited like their commander. He first learned that the sentiment of all his soldiers was to hold out as long as possible and then sent an answer declining to surrender. To the threat of butchery he answered—that when the fort was taken there would be none left to butcher, as it would not be given up while one man was left who was able to fight. The firing began at night from the enemy in boats on the bay. It was soon discovered that the enemy fired on one angle of the fort alone, intending doubtless to effect an entrance there when the fortress was sufficiently bombarded at that point. Croghan had only one cannon and this he placed in a position so that it would rake the ditch surrounding the fort should the enemy attempt to climb over the palisades. The firing was kept up all the next day, but Croghan's men put bags of sand and even bags of flour in the angle aimed at, so as to prevent any serious damage. At four o'clock they

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turned all their cannons on this one angle and made the assault amid the clouds of smoke which this heavy firing produced. Two attempts were made by 350 British soldiers, but each time their ranks were thrown into confusion by the active firing from the soldiers in the fort. They were then led on by a brave officer, Colonel Short, and actually jumped into the ditch. The port hole was opened at once and the six pounder within thirty feet of the man in the ditch was fired. By this enfilading shot Colonel Short and over 50 of his men were cut down, though some of them were only wounded. At the same time the rifles in the fort, perhaps 150 of them, opened on the men in the ditch and this soon compelled them to retreat leaving the wounded behind. By this time darkness came. The wounded begged for water but their friends dared not venture near enough to them to supply it. Major Croghan and his men handed them water from the pickets. He also opened a hole under the pickets to the ditch and many of the wounded crawled through it into the fort. At three o'clock in the morning Proctor and his men quietly retreated down the bay and in their haste left a boat load of valuable supplies behind. They also left seventy stands of arms and many braces of pistols. The Americans lost one killed and seven or eight slightly wounded. The loss to the British was estimated at 150 or more, over 50 of whom were left in the ditch.

In the fall of 1812 a brigade of militia was recruited in the western part of our state and stationed at Pittsburg where it was placed under the command of General Crooks in October. They afterwards made a part of the force of General Harrison in going up the Sandusky river where, with other troops, they were engaged in construction of fortifications. From that point they were marched to the rapids of the Maumee and remained there until the expiration of their term of service. In the summer of 1813, when Commodore Perry at Presq' Isle, now Erie, was, as we have said, engaged in building his ships, and with this navy on the 10th of September achieved his celebrated victory on Lake Erie. At that time all of the northwestern frontier was a wilderness and the timber for his large vessels was easily obtained from the unbounded forests. The rigging for the large vessels which he built was sent up from Pittsburg where Commodore Perry contracted for it in person with John Irwin and Boyle Irwin, each of whom carried on a rope manufactury to this city. This rigging was taken up the Allegheny river in keel boats. Fortunately the many rains of the summer had kept the water of the Allegheny at such a stage that this conveyance was possible even until August. By this means alone the fleet on Lake Erie was rigged in time for Perry's glorious victory which followed.

Nothing can better close this brief account of the work of the Pittsburg Blues in this war than to reprint the order by which they were discharged from further service. It is as follows:—

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Headquarters, Seneca Town, Aug. 28, 1813.
(After General Orders.)

The Pittsburg Volunteers, commanded by Captain Butler, and those of Greensburg by Lieutenant Drum, of Major Alexander's Battalion, having performed their service, the General hereby presents them an honorable discharge.

The General has ever considered this corp as the first in the Northwestern army. Equal in point of bravery and subordination, it excelled in every other of those attainments which form complete and efficient soldiers. In battle, in camp and on the march their conduct has been an honor to themselves and their country.—A. H. Holmes, Ass't. Adj. General.

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CHAPTER XXVII

Navigation on the Ohio River—Early Boat Building—The First Steamboat; Slackwater Improvements on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers.

It is so long ago since travel by steamboat was common among Pittsburg people that it is almost forgotten. The present generation can scarcely realize that there was a time when the only method for the traveler to reach or leave Pittsburg was by turnpike or steamboat, yet these methods of travel were only supplemented in part by the canal and finally by railroad building, which is a feature of comparatively recent years. Navigation at Pittsburg grew almost constantly from the balmy day in April in 1754 when the canoes bearing the French and Indians came down the Allegheny river to expel the forces of Fraser and Trent from the fort they were building at the Fork of the Ohio. John McKinney was a prisoner in Fort Duquesne in 1756 and has left a diary of the arrival of thirty batteaux which had come up the Ohio river from the Mississippi river bearing corn, peas, brandy, flour and pork. As early as 1761 a fur trader at Fort Pitt named James Kenney gave an account of a double keeled boat which was built at Pittsburg by William Ramsey. A peculiar feature of the boat was that it was propelled by a wheel, a primitive water wheel, which was turned by a man tramping on treadles. This simple craft was a long distance from the paddle wheel steam boat of the modern age, but the builder, Ramsey, had the idea lacking only the motive power, which was then not thought of.

When the Ohio country was opened up by the Ordinance of 1787, boat building on a small scale to supply the demands of western bound people, who came here to take passage by the Ohio river to the South and West, became an important, primitive industry in Pittsburg. These vessels were nearly all sailing vessels or were propelled by oars, and but few of them ever came back to Pittsburg when they once passed down the river. None of them were of great value except to illustrate the importance of the Ohio as a highway to the West, and to demonstrate that Pittsburg as it stood at the "Gateway of the West" could produce the crafts which the river trade de-

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manded. Many hundreds of these small boats, some of them being more or less pretentious, were built and sent from Pittsburg in the first ten years of last century.

Robert Fulton first proved that steam could be used as a power by which to propel boats in 1807. But the great inventor came to Pittsburg in 1811 to build the first steam boat ever built in the United States. This boat was named the New Orleans and its keel was 138 feet and was capable of bearing about 350 tons. "Her cabin was in the hold and she had port holes and a bowsprit eight feet in length in ocean steamer style, which was painted sky blue." It was constructed under the supervision of one of its owners, a man named Roosevelt, who with Chancellor Livingston and Fulton, the inventor, were its owners. It cost about $40,000.00, and was launched in March, 1811, on its first journey, which was to Natchez, Mississippi, where it was intended for the general trade between that place and New Orleans. Roosevelt was an engineer and before engaging in this enterprise he had surveyed the Ohio river. He reported to his friends in New York that steamboats could run from Pittsburg to New Orleans. The new steam boat, New Orleans, carried neither freight nor passengers when it left Pittsburg save Roosevelt and his wife, the engineer Baker and the pilot, Jackson, and five or six hands. It was intended only as a trial trip and to demonstrate the purpose for which it was built. The progress down the river was very slow for they had great difficulty in procuring fire wood along the route. They reached Louisville, however, on the fourth night after running about 70 hours of actual travel. The noise and the smoke of the new craft which came down the Ohio frightened the people of the city and many of them ran from their houses to determine what fiery monster had suddenly swooped down on them. There was a comet at that time in the Northern heavens which was creating a great deal of speculation among the less scientific people and many of the Louisville people thought that it had suddenly fallen into the Ohio river. They remained in Louisville for some time, for the water was so low that they could not pass over the falls opposite that city. In the meantime they plied back and forth between Cincinnati and Louisville until a freshet in the Ohio made it possible for them to pass over the rapids. Between Natchez and New Orleans the boat did splendid work, making the round trip in ten days, and it is said its owners secured a net profit of $20,000.00 from its work in the first year. The passenger fare from Natchez to New Orleans down the river was $18.00 and from New Orleans to Natchez was $25.00. The steamboat was kept in this trade until 1814, when she unfortunately struck a snag and sunk near Baton Rouge. While the boat was being constructed in Pittsburg, Fulton himself came across the Allegheny mountains to this place. He was in company with some gentlemen from Kentucky, and like all inventors was enthusiastic and perhaps somewhat communicative about the effects which steam power would have on navigation. His companions thought him extremely visionary and laughed a great deal at his extravagant

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ideas of the future. Fulton then predicted that the day would come when carriages would be drawn over the Allegheny mountains by steam power, at which prediction the Kentuckians were assured that their companion was crazy.

"The Comet," a small stern-wheel boat carrying 25 tons was built in Pittsburg in 1812 and 1813, while the Vesuvius and the Etna were built in 1813 and 1814. The Enterprise, a boat of 45 tons, was also built in 1814. In 1816 the Franklin carrying 125 tons, the Oliver Evans of 75 tons and the Harriet of 40 tons were all built at Pittsburg. The Expedition, carrying 120 tons, and the Independence of 50 tons were built here in 1818, and the Western Engineer was built and launched in 1819. The first steamboats built were not successful in going up stream when well laden and the popular idea was that they would never pass up the Mississippi above Natchez, nor was it believed that they could ever stem the rapid current of the upper Ohio. True the New Orleans had been passing up and down between Natchez and New Orleans, but this did not disprove the general theory, for the lower Mississippi river has but little current. Captain Shreve, however, brought the Enterprise from New Orleans to Louisville in 1817, leaving New Orleans on May 6th, and reaching Louisville on May 31st. This was considered a great achievement in rapid travel. The Washington shortly afterwards made the same trip and both accomplished it without difficulty. This disabused the minds of the incredulous public and when these and other like experiments demonstrated beyond a doubt that steamboats could navigate up stream as well as down, the boat building industry all along the upper Ohio was greatly increased. Pittsburg led all other northern towns from the first and held this position for sixty years. All boats built here were registered so that the number built each year can be stated definitely. From 1811 to 1835 there were 197 boats built in Pittsburg, 22 in Brownsville and 7 at Beaver, and these were the largest boat building towns on the northern Ohio. In 1836 there were 61 boats built here making the boat building output of the city 287 in 25 years, but the greater number of them were built after 1825. In 1837 the traffic was so great on the Ohio that there were 63 steamboats running regularly to and from Pittsburg. Then came a great depression of the business interests of the country and this crippled the boat building industry and the steamboat traffic as well, so that many boats were temporarily out of commission. Both branches of this industry revived at once when better times came. In 1846 there were 63 boats built here and from 1852 to 1856 there were 362 built in Pittsburg. There were 84 built here in 1857. From 1857 to 1875 there were 649 boats built in Pittsburg. But the river trade began to diminish with the lower freight rates which followed some time after the building of the railroads to the West, several of which were almost parallel with the Ohio river. The number of boats built has, therefore, decreased since 1875 until now steamboat building in Pittsburg is almost an industry of the past. The passenger traffic on the rivers is also very

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small. Aside from the local steamers which ply daily on the Monongahela and a few which ply between Pittsburg and Cincinnati the trade is almost gone. There are many steamers which tow coal barges down the river to Cincinnati, Louisville and New Orleans and the tonnage moved by these exceed many times the freightage of the river in the palmiest days of steamboating, but because of the immense number of tons towed by the average steamer very few steamers are required for this purpose.

The many boats built here and the immense trade on the Ohio in former days discloses very largely the secret of Pittsburg's extensive manufacturing industries. The West demanded these commodities and Pittsburg had the energy and industry to manufacture them. The cheapest possible transportation at present or in the past is by water, though it is not so rapid as by rail. When the railroads were built they went into competition for this traffic with the West and secured most of it from the river transportation companies. Both shippers and consumers are willing to pay greater freight rates in order that they may more promptly secure the commodity. Still the river remains navigable at nearly all seasons of the year and is a perpetual reminder to all transportation companies of the alternative which the Pittsburg shipper may avail himself of should the shipping rates by rail become exhorbitant. The city can scarcely realize the peculiar advantage of its location on this account at the head of navigation on the Ohio river.

The Monongahela was not naturally a navigable stream for the greater part of the year but has been navigated more or less regularly since 1825, at which time a steamboat was put on to ply between Pittsburg and Brownsville. The river was then only navigable when it was swollen by heavy rains. Its daily flow in the dry season is very small, estimated by some to be no more than would pass through a two inch pipe. In cold weather it is frozen up so that in its original condition it could be navigated but a few months in each year. But before railroads were built people adapted themselves to the circumstances surrounding them and in that day they did their traveling very largely in the spring and fall seasons when steamboating was certain. The usual route taken by western and southern travelers bound for New York, Philadelphia, Washington and elsewhere in the East was up the Mississippi river to Wheeling, where they took a stage coach on the National road to Cumberland where they took the steam cars of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, for it was finished that far west as early as 1836. But the National road crossed the Monongahela at Brownsville, and many passengers continued by boat to that place when the water was high, thus avoiding a longer stage ride between Wheeling and Cumberland. This and the growing coal trade led to the formation of the Monongahela Navigation Company in 1836, for the immense veins of coal were even then visible all along the river between Pittsburg and Brownsville. As early as 1828 E. F. Gay, a civil engineer in the employ of the state made a survey of the Monongahela river and first suggested and recommended a system of locks and dams modeled after those

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used in canal building. By this method he proposed that this important river should be navigated by large steamers all the year around except in the severe winter weather. His recommendation was disregarded because the state was already burdened by a debt for money expended in canal building. In 1832 Hon. Andrew Stewart of Fayette county tried to induce the Congress of the United States to improve the river. He had been elected to Congress in 1820-22-24-26 and again in 30 and 32 and still later in 42-44 and 46. As a shrewd business man as well as a man who saw a great way into the future, he was one of the leading men and statesmen of his day and paid particular attention to public improvements and to the tariff question. He was a well educated Uniontown lawyer and died on July 16, 1872. He succeeded in having a survey of the Monongahela river made by a United States engineer, William Howard, who reported in favor of a series of eight dams which it was supposed, would reach to the Virginia line.

No 1, the first above Pittsburg, was to be 6 feet high and all the others were to be 4½ feet high. His idea was that the dams should be used only when the river was low and this alone proves that for a considerable part of the year the river was navigable. But the importance of public improvements had not impressed itself upon the United States Congress if indeed the country was able to afford much outlay in that direction at that time. The measure, therefore, failed before Congress as it had before the Legislature, but on March 31, 1836 an act was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature authorizing a charter for "The Monongahela Navigation Company" and its purpose was to slack-water the river by locks and dams from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and to continue it further if Virginia would take the proper interest. The capital stock was $300,000 with the privilege of increasing it to such a sum as might be necessary. The United States Bank of Pennsylvania by its charter, was compelled to subscribe for $50,000 of stock at first and $50,000 when $100,000 had been raised by subscription from other sources. The state subscribed $25,000 in 1838 and $100,000 in 1840. The charter was issued to the company in 1837 and they began work as soon as they had secured subscriptions enough to warrant it. The shares were $50 each and the first subscriptions were as follows:

Citizens of Allegheny county	948 shares,	$ 47,400
Citizens of Fayette county	508 shares,	24,500
Citizens of Washington county	20 shares,	1,000
Citizens of all other counties	86 shares,	4,300
National Bank of Brownsville	100 shares,	5,000
U. S. Bank of Pennsylvania	1,000 shares,	50,000
Total		$133,100

These subscriptions were added to as rapidly as possible. In 1838, 1839 and 1840, $125,000 of stock subscriptions were secured, making a total of $258,100. Work was completed to Brownsville with less than the above sum,

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for many of the subscribers were unable to pay the amount due from them. The United States Bank of Pennsylvania broke up and suspended payments generally so that its second subscription of $50,000 was never paid. The State paid its subscription of $100,000 by issuing bonds to the company. These bonds were sold below par which resulted in a further loss. Just then came the financial panic of 1837 which prevented many private individuals from paying their subscriptions and all these difficulties resulted in a great loss to the company. W. M. Roberts was chief engineer and was assisted by Robert W. Clark and Nathan McDowell. The work was put through with unusual expedition for that day of deliberate procedure. The distance to Brownsville was fifty-four miles and the ascent was 33½ feet. The dams had, therefore, to be raised from the height at first recommended and were then and afterwards fixed at 8 and 10 feet. Dams Nos. 1 and 2 were finished in 1841. Nos. 3 and 4 were begun but the work was suspended on them because the money was exhausted. In 1843 the state sold its interest or stock in the company. This was purchased by men of capital who became more deeply interested in the matter and by their assistance the system was built to Brownsville in the winter of 1844 and 45. The work was not extended further up the river for some years. The company did immense business from 1845 until the completion of the Pennsylvania railroad in 1852, for a great amount of travel passed up the river and thus over the National road to Cumberland, where it was taken by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. When the Pennsylvania railroad was opened to Pittsburg much of the Monongahela river travel was taken away, but by that time the coal trade in the Monongahela valley had begun so that there was perhaps but little falling off. The company was greatly in debt in 1845 but this was rapidly paid off and the stock greatly increased in value and for many years was universally quoted at a high figure. The dams were afterwards completed to the state line and through to Morgantown, the United States bearing the expense of the more recently constructed ones. Each packet, steamer, tow boat or other craft was compelled to pay a heavy toll for passing through the locks and this like toll on a public highway, became very unpopular, resulting in a constant clamor for "free locks." For years this was urged in the United States Congress when at last the purchase was made. It cost the government about four million dollars. Then it was that the wisdom and foresight of Andrew Stewart was realized. A half million dollars when he advocated the public improvement would have been abundant for its completion while nearly eight times that much was paid for it in the end. Yet this immense sum was doubtless more easily paid in our day than $500,000 would have been in 1833.

The success of the slack water improvement on the Monongahela brought about a similar movement to supply the Youghiogheny river with dams and locks. Two dams and locks were built in 1851 but the Youghiogheny river flows much more rapidly than the Monongahela and in times of high water, owing in part to its crookedness, becomes very violent. In the high flood of 1865 both dams and locks on the Youghiogheny were swept away and they were never rebuilt.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Constitution—Hamilton's American System—Henry Baldwin—Henry Clay.

The constitution of the United States was framed before the formation of Allegheny county, that is while Pittsburg was a village in Pitt township of Westmoreland county. Two of the county's representatives in the Legislature, William Findley and Samuel Barr opposed the resolution looking towards its formation. The Articles of Confederation had many principles which the people admired, and those who like Findley and Barr, opposed the calling of a new convention doubtless did so fearing that favorite features of the articles would find no place in the new document. Findley and Barr had both absented themselves from the house when the measure was being considered, and thus obstructed the transaction of business by preventing a quorum. In the fall of 1787, the new constitution having been signed by its framers on September 17th, William Findley, William Todd and John Beard were sent as delegates from the county, representing it in the convention called to consider the new plan of government. Pittsburg was deeply interested and a meeting of the people was called at the tavern then kept by Adamson Tannehill, to meet on November 9, 1787. The purpose of the meeting was to learn the consensus of opinion concerning the new form of government proposed by the Philadelphia convention. This meeting was presided over by General John Gibson. This meeting, convened in a log tavern, perhaps in the bar-room on the outskirts of civilization, adopted a resolution which would reflect credit even upon the most enlightened law-making assembly of our present age. Their resolution read that "Whereas, after considering the fact that the people had heard both sides of the question; that the new system was the result of much political wisdom, good sense and candor in those who framed it; that no reason existed why anything better should be expected from any body of men; that from the necessity of mutual concessions by the different states, another more equitable could not probably be formed; that posterity required a speedy adoption of some mode of government more efficient than the Articles of Confederation; that the western people particularly desired the accomplishment of these objects." Therefore, it was unanimously *Resolved* "That it is our ardent wish and hope that this system of government

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may be speedily adopted." Notwithstanding this the three delegates, Findley, Todd and Beard, opposed its adoption, but they were fortunately in the minority, and the state convention of Pennsylvania ratified the constitution on December 12, 1787, becoming thus the second state in the Union to take this important step, Delaware having ratified it by her convention on December 7th.

Article VIII of the constitution provided that the ratification of the conventions of nine states should establish it as the organic law between the states so ratifying. When therefore on June 21, 1788, New Hampshire's convention ratified it, that being the ninth to ratify, the union was formed between the states having ratified it.

After the constitution had been formed its adoption became a very great question in Pittsburg. The general belief among the leading thinkers of Western Pennsylvania was that the Articles of Confederation by which the colonies had been governed during the Revolution, were not suited when new questions in time of peace were to be met and dealt with, yet they were cautious in deciding that the constitution presented to them was the best possible plan of government.

Though a backwoods town of perhaps a hundred houses, Pittsburg kept in touch with the doings of the Nation. When the news came by a packhorse reaching Pittsburg late in June, 1788, that New Hampshire, the ninth state, had ratified the National constitution of September 17, 1787, a celebration of the event was gotten up by the inhabitants at once. They met on Grant's Hill the day following. Modern fireworks were unknown to them, but they substituted the best they had. They collected thirteen large piles of wood, to represent the thirteen states. Nine of them were close together, representing the nine states which had already adopted the constitution. Four others nearby represented the four states which held back. The nine piles were fired and burned speedily, casting the light of their lurid flashes over the town which lay below, while the four piles, though fired, burned very meagerly, the wood being purposely dampened. But finally this was overcome by the general heat and all of the thirteen piles were aflame and were a united mass of luminous splendor. Muskets and cannons were fired and the air was filled with cheers from the loyal citizens who had gathered from all directions to celebrate the great event. The boys and girls danced around the flames. The Indians who yet remained in the community came and seemed to regard it as a renewal of the green corn and scalp dances so common among them at this same spot a few years previous. The spirit of those days forbade that an event of this kind should be unattended with speech-making. With but few newspapers and still fewer books, the platform was the most generally adopted method of reaching the people, and so remained for many years. The eloquent lawyer, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, was the orator of the hour and spoke with his usual ease and grace. But the closing words of his address will be given as taken from the *Gazette* of June 28, 1788: "With you, O men of Pittsburg it

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remains this day to celebrate this event. You gave your approbation when this plan of government was first produced; your voice has been heard and it has done you honor. These hills and these mountains, in distant prospect, were they imbued with vital motion, would assent with you. These lucent streams which run gently by; yonder Ohio himself who receives their waters, could he speak in vocal language, would approve the sound; with hoarse murmers he will approve it and kiss his natal banks with greater rapture than before. For on these hills and by these streams will those live who shall trace at early dawn and in the evening shade your footsteps, shall place your names with the heroes who have lived before them and have thought wisely on this subject. Join then, in a loud acclaim and let future ages know that you are worthy of them in having handed down this palladium of liberty; and by preserving it entire and unbroken, let future ages show themselves worthy of you."

One of the many great questions which confronted Washington when he became president in 1789, was the financial standing, the credit of the new nation. Recognizing the great constructive powers of Alexander Hamilton, the President had perhaps no other choice for chief of the Treasury Department. This very important branch of the new government was established in September, 1789, and Hamilton at once took charge of it as Secretary of the Treasury. He recommended the honest payment of the Revolutionary war debt, both domestic and foreign, though many of the obligations were in the possession of new parties who were mere speculators. He also advocated the assumption idea, that is that the new government should assume the payment of such parts of the debts of the states as were incurred in the cause of freedom during the Revolution. He recommended that all Continental money be paid in gold at $1.00 for $100. His recommendation would create a debt of nearly $100,000,000, and many, both in and out of Congress, thought his ideas visionary and his policy suicidal. To pay this immense indebtedness, for it was immense for the new nation, he recommended that duties be levied on wines, coffee, etc., brough into the country and on various domestic productions. He advocated a high duty on luxuries and a moderate duty or a moderate tax on necessities. In this way he outlined the policy of protection to American industries which has been considered for more than a century a question of vital importance to the people of Pittsburg. His plans were bitterly opposed by the Anti-Federalists, but were taken up and advocated by the Federalists and were rapidly pushed to a success by them. Under this financial system the country developed so rapidly that in a few years his enemies were disarmed. It was his policy which paid the debt of the Revolution and established a national credit which is even yet the pride of the American people. Daniel Webster, in one of his most beautiful periods paid his highest tribute to Hamilton's financial policy.

The system now known as the protective system was then called the American system, a name it took shortly after Hamilton first recommended it

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and had it introduced. Very early in the eighteenth century this question overshadowed all other political questions in Pittsburg. At first the city cared little for a tariff on any other commodity save iron, for it had already become a great iron manufacturing center. Later when the manufacture of glass, cotton and woolen goods was taken up and became somewhat important, the scope of Pittsburg's demands was widened and gradually was made to include almost every article that was not exclusively manufactured in America.

The first really able Pittsburg advocate of the American system or of protection to American industries was Henry Baldwin, who became a member of the fifteenth congress on March 4, 1817, the first session beginning on December 1st. The charge that both Pittsburg and her talented member of Congress were selfish in their demands, basing them on the apparent wants of Pittsburg regardless of their effect upon other manufacturers, was a very common one and perhaps to some extent a just one in those days. Their selfishness was certainly shown in their opposition to the National road. Though they were proud to stand with Henry Clay on everything that benefited Pittsburg's industries, they bitterly opposed this most important measure of internal improvement, because in its westward passage it went a few miles south of Pittsburg and would therefore divert the river trade from Wheeling to Baltimore. Baldwin was, however, great enough to bring the city into national prominence by his strength in Congress, even in his first and second terms.

As early as 1818 or 1820, Henry Baldwin had won honors and power in Congress that any member might be proud of, even though he had spent many years there; he was in 1818 serving his second term and was less than 40 years old. With great ability he had steadily advocated all measures which contributed to the building up of the interior cities. Though violently opposed in some of his measures, he was able to maintain his side of all questions against all opponents, with a dignity and an exactness scarcely excelled by Henry Clay. He favored the manufactories of Pittsburg by supporting a protective system, advocated the cause of the Revolutionary veterans, encouraged the Irish Emigration Society founded in Pittsburg and secured a branch of the United States courts for his own city. He opposed the completion of the Cumberland road because it would divert trade from Pittsburg. These measures made him the idol of the city. No one up to that time save Henry Clay, had advocated these protective measures with an ability equal to that which he brought to bear on them. He was a man of marvelous versatility in debate. When defeated in one measure he introduced others intended to serve his purpose and advocated them with an ability which commanded the admiration, even of his opponents, and inspired new hope in his people at home. In the early summer of 1822 he was taken severely ill in Washington and for a time his life was despaired of. In his convalescent days he traveled abroad for his health and came back to Pittsburg in October, reaching the city on the 16th. Even when the city prepared to welcome

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Lafayette, they scarcely made a greater demonstration than on this occasion. The people gathered from every direction and united with the city, in welcoming their brilliant representative. All the volunteer companies, the mayor and the members of the council met about two miles east of the city to await the approach of his carriage. A salute of thirteen guns was fired as he drew near. Judge Walker was the spokesman and in addressing him said: "You ask the cause of this assemblage of your fellow citizens; they answer, their gratitude for your tried services in the National Council, which, while they have given you a distinguished place among the American statesmen, have reflected their luster on the district and the country; they regret that they are about to lose a representative who broke the first ground in a systm of financial and national policy which will form an era in the political history of the republic; their sympathy for your protracted indisposition, produced in your and their country's cause, prosecuted with all the labor and industry of council, and all the zeal and eloquence of advocacy; their joy at your restoration to health and home."

Mr. Baldwin was overcome by this heartfelt demonstration on the part of those who knew him best, and in his reply said he was unable to express his feelings but that he would never forget the manner in which he was welcomed home. He said he had but one regret, viz., that he had been able to accomplish so little for those who had honored him so much.

On August 5, 1824, the leading manufacturers of the city tendered him a banquet as a testimony of their appreciation of his services in Congress in securing the passage of the Tariff of 1824. In his address, with a modesty that is characteristic of all truly great men, he attributed the success of the bill largely to Henry Clay. He ended his address by proposing a toast, "Henry Clay and the American System." Both Baldwin and John Todd were spoken of at the banquet as natives of Connecticut, whereupon Judge Shaler, also a native of the same state, proposed the toast, "The State of Connecticut; whilst she can manufacture such domestic fabrics as Baldwin and Todd, she will scarcely need a tariff for the protection of genius and perseverance."

His address in Congress on the Tariff of 1824, is a very able presentation of the question; we doubt indeed whether our ablest statesmen have presented it in a better light. It is this together with its historical character, which impels us to give the following extract from it:

It would be going too much in detail to trace the various rates of ad valorem duties from 1789 to 1804. In that year they were permanently fixed at 12½, 15 and 20 per cent.; with the addition of the Mediterranean fund they were 15, 17½ and 22½ per cent., and continued so during the most of the prosperous period of our commerce and revenue till 1812, when the permanent duties were doubled, making 27½, 32½ and 42½ per cent. They continued so until 1815, after the peace, when the Mediterranean fund ceased and the duties remained until July, 1816, at the rate of 25, 30 and 40 per cent. ad valorem. Had they remained so you would not have been assailed by general cries of distress from all parts of the Nation. We should have enjoyed, not a

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nominal but a real independence. Our resources would not have been sent abroad to protect and reward the industry of others, to the ruin of our own merchants, manufacturers and farmers. * * * If it was right, in 1816, to impose a duty of 25 per cent. on woolens and cottons, principally with a view to revenue, there will be found a strong reason for its increase in the duties now imposed by the British government of six pence sterling on every pound of wool and six per cent. ad valorem on cotton imported after the 5th of January, 1820. Wool has been an article of export from this country to England. The duty now excludes it; the ports are now shut against your provisions. In France a duty of four dollars per 100 pounds on cotton, equal to 20 per cent. ad valorem on the raw material, is aimed at this country. Thus we find the two nations pursuing the same policy toward our products; both are enriched in the manufacture. * * * I beg the House not to loose sight of one fact, which is admitted by all to be true, that coarse domestic cottons are now made cheaper than they were ever imported. This remark is equally true of nails and every other article of which this country commands the consumption. * * * This has been called a Pittsburg, a cut-glass bill, local, partial in its operations, and framed through interested motives. Gentlemen had better be cautious how they use the word Pittsburg as a name of reproach; it may, like the term 'Whig' become one of pride and not of disgrace. I will tell the House frankly that I have not lost sight of the interests of Pittsburg, and would never perjure myself if I had. If you are not convinced that the interests of that place are identified with the nation, that cut glass can be defended on national grounds, then I agree that Pittsburg, its representatives, its favorite manufactures, iron and glass, and the tariff may go together. I will rest the whole bill on this item, glass, and freely admit that the increase of duty on glass, plain not cut, is among the greatest proposed. * * * In the days of our prosperity we have made to the amount of a quarter of a million dollars worth in a year. It was so much money extracted from the bowels of the earth—a raw material of no value for exportation converted into articles of the greatest usefulness and beauty. * * * The present duty is a mere tax on the consumer; it operates as no discrimination between ours and the industry of other nations, but leaves it to struggle against the effects of a positive premium on importations. The proposed increase will not, as a protecting duty, amount to more than 20 per cent. ad valorem on cut glass. It is only proposed to add five per cent., the duty being now thirty. I am aware of objections to the duty on plain glass, and am sorry to find they come from manufacturers, glass cutters, not makers, but importers of plain glass, who are not satisfied with thirty-five on cut glass, and represent plain as raw material which ought to be duty free. In Pittsburg it is both made and cut, and the House will judge who is most actuated by national principles. * * * Gentlemen, you are mistaken in supposing mine an iron-making district; it is iron buying and iron consuming. The time was when 6,000 tons were purchased annually, not one of which was made in the district. It is a matter of most perfect astonishment that so important an article should have been not only so perfectly and wantonly abandoned by the present tariff, but pointedly selected for reprobation by a strange policy, which, while it raised the duties on most other articles, reduced that on iron nearly 100 per cent. From 1804 until 1815, it was seventeen and a half per cent., and until 1816, at fifteen per cent., a duty which might have saved these interesting establishments thus apparently destroyed by design. Pigs and castings in 1815 paid fifteen per cent. ad valorem; bar iron nine dollars a ton equal to say nine per cent. ad

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valorem. In 1818 the duties were increased to fifty cents a hundred on pigs, seventy-five on castings and bar iron. In this house it was raised to $20 a ton by a majority of forty-seven, but reduced in the senate to $15. Had the duty been a proportionate one in 1816, a lower rate than the one proposed would have been sufficient to have insured a domestic supply, but the reports of the treasury present us with facts which call for immediate and efficient interference. In 1818 the importation of bar-iron exceeded 16,000 tons; in 1819 it exceeded 20,000 tons.

While the early Pittsburg people were always loyal to the protective policy as advocated by Henry Clay, they were not always loyal to him or his measures. Jane Grey Swisshelm speaks of them burning him in effigy in Pittsburg in 1825 when they blamed him for making John Quincy Adams president over Andrew Jackson, and when he became Secretary of State in Adams's administration. This was probably done by a few lawless enemies and not sanctioned by the better men of either party. They opposed his internal improvement policy as illustrated in one of the most noted of his measures, viz., the building of the National road. This has been considered elsewhere in these pages and we believe at all other times during his long and eventful public life, he was the beau-ideal of American statesmen in the mind of the average citizen of Pittsburg. That the better people harbored no ill will against him for the part he may have played in the presidential contest before Congress in 1824 and 1825, is evinced by the grand reception they extended him two years later, when he was the regularly invited guest of the city. As such he visited Pittsburg on June 20, 1827, while he was Secretary of State. He was given a grand banquet by the citizens and manufacturers, at which six hundred feasted and drank toasts to the early advocate of our American Protective Tariff system. The gathering was held in the warerooms of the Anchor Paper Mills, then owned by Henry Holdship. In the party were fully four hundred manufacturers, and all of the judges, prominent lawyers, bankers, and business men of the city. The address was delivered by Mr. Clay in a masterful manner, true to his own peculiar and eloquent style, and embellished with all of his matchless powers of oratory. He was frequently interrupted by long and fervent applause, coming from all who were present, even from those who disagreed with him politically. The presiding officer on that occasion was General William Marks. The tariff question was thoroughly discussed by Mr. Clay, especially as to its bearing on the vicinity of Pittsburg, which had already come to be known as a great manufacturing center. He closed his speech with giving a toast to: "Pittsburg; the abundance, variety and excellence of its fabrics attest the wisdom of the policy which fostered them."

Other toasts followed, including: "Alexander Hamilton—the First Advocate of Protective Duties." Also one to: "The Woolen Bill—Let us feed, clothe and Protect ourselves." The telling toast was to: "The Anchor Paper Mills—the *only* American factory ever stopped through Clay. It stopped *one day*, to honor him who prevented it from stopping *altogether*."

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Politics of Early Pittsburg.

The Federalist party was practically founded by Alexander Hamilton, and the opponents of his policy were those who adhered largely to the political tenets of Thomas Jefferson. At first they were called anti-Federalists, but later were more generally known as Republicans, or Democratic Republicans, a name which had really been their true name from the beginning. Originally the Federalists were those who favored a strong government, which they thought consisted chiefly in a centralization of power in the National government. They advocated the theory that all possible governing power should be vested in the nation and as little as possible in the states. Hamilton thought that the President should appoint the governors of the states, and that to the states should be given the least governing power possible. The Anti-Federalists favored a system of government directly the reverse of this. In the first few years of the nation's history many of the old principles of each party were discarded and many new ones adopted. Both the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists or Republicans favored and supported the Constitution of the United States which was adopted in 1787, but for the first twelve years after it became effective, the Anti-Federalists were greatly in the minority. But during the administration of the elder Adams the political affairs of the country were completely changed, and in 1801 the Democratic Republicans had become so numerous and the party had gained such strength that it was able to assume control, not only of the national affairs, but in most sections of the local affairs as well.

For some years after the Revolution, nominating conventions as we know them now were unknown. The custom was then that the people, or many of the most prominent of them, as many as could conveniently do so, should meet in some central place in each county to suggest the names of their neighbors or leading men who would make suitable and acceptable candidates for public offices. Later when the party spirit of political factions became more manifest, efforts were made by these factions to dominate the will of the convention in the interests of certain beliefs or principles. Gradually then each

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party began to have separate meetings which were shortly afterwards designated as county conventions.

When Allegheny county was erected from the territory of Westmoreland in 1788 the town of Pittsburg was composed of but perhaps one hundred log houses with but little more than five hundred inhabitants, though it was even then the largest town in Western Pennsylvania. Its politics at that time can scarcely be considered though the majority of its voters were doubtless Anti-Federalists, who were later known as Democratic Republicans. The *Gazette* was then in the second year of its publication and was for many years the only paper published in Western Pennsylvania. It was a Federalist paper but the mild terms in which it advocated the doctrines of Alexander Hamilton indicated that many of its readers did not hold the same political views. Public officers were not then elected as they are now. Most of them were appointed by the Governor. The only elective officers were the State Legislators, County Commissioners, Coroner, Sheriff and Congressmen. Political conventions to nominate candidates were unknown in those days; all who cared to enter the field for county offices did so. Each elector cast his ballot for two candidates and from the two who received the most votes the Governor selected the officer and appointed him. It rarely ever happened that the Governor did not appoint the one who received the highest number of votes. But such selection was not obligatory upon him and he did not always adhere to that rule. In electing legislators a voter cast his ballot for but one candidate and generally the candidate best known in the district received the greater number of votes. Voters were not so numerous then as now and they were likely to know most men personally who sought their support at the polls. For fourteen years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution Allegheny county, and of course Pittsburg, was in the same congressional district with Washington county. Albert Gallatin was then a resident of Fayette county, but was elected to represent Allegheny and Washington counties in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh congresses. Gallatin was moreover an ardent Democrat, but the fact that he did not live in the district seemed to be no barrier to his representing it in Congress. Hugh Henry Brackenridge was then the leading lawyer and orator of Pittsburg and was a candidate against Gallatin in 1794, but was defeated. Gallatin did not have the polish of oratory that Brackenridge was master of, but was an abler man in many other ways. Both candidates had been prominent in the Whiskey Insurrection but Gallatin had made a stronger impression on the popular mind because of his sympathy with the insurrectionists. The excise tax was known to be a Federalist measure brought about more or less directly by Hamilton's policy of assumption. Brackenridge was also opposed to the excise tax but had taken a leading part in the final settlement of the insurrection, showing perhaps that he leaned somewhat toward the Federalists, and though his services in the difficulty were really of great benefit to the people, the distillers and the grain producers all over Washington and Allegheny counties would not risk sending him to Congress.

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Prior to this the political line seems to have been less tightly drawn. The Nevilles, both father and son, were open and avowed Federalists, but the son had been elected to the Assembly in 1790 from Allegheny county. His election was purely a personal matter and the voters did not connect the members of the Legislature with the excise laws which came from the national Congress.

When Allegheny county was formed it comprised all of the territory west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in addition to what it now contains. From the Act of the Legislature forming it, it is probable that the first officers were appointed to serve till 1790 and that there was no occasion for a county election in 1789; at all events the first election returns for Allegheny county that we can find are for 1790. The voting places were at Pittsburg, Beaver, Butler, Franklin, Mercer, Mifflin, Erie and Freeport. The returns are not given that year by districts, the totals only being mentioned. The total vote cast was seven hundred and one, which does not by any means represent the population at that time, but rather indicates that the new settlers who were filling up the regions north of the Ohio very rapidly then did not take much interest in the elections. The election was held on the second Tuesday of October, 1790, and the essential part of the return was as follows: Assembly, John Neville, 701; sheriff, James Morrison, 701, William Wilson, 462; coroner, David Watson, 682, William Elliott, 588; commissioner, George Wallace, 467, George McCully, 193.

A more exciting contest which followed it was the election of a sheriff in 1798. The election papers on file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth in Harrisburg give the vote only which was polled for the two highest candidate for sheriff. They were Ephraim Jones and Joseph R. Postlethwaite. There was then filed a protest by Postlethwaite's friends which sets forth that Jones received only the one-fourth of the votes polled. There were many candidates and while none of them approximated Jones' and Postlethwaite's vote the entire list received about eighteen hundred votes. Each voter voted for two candidates. The total number of votes cast would therefore be about three thousand and six hundred. The country north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny had been opened up for settlement in 1784, before which it was called the Indian county, a name it received by the Stanwix purchase in 1768 when it was reserved for the Indians, while all east and south, not already sold, was granted by the Indians to the white settlers. But the Indian county had been filling up very rapidly with settlers, squatters, land companies, etc., and many conflicts arose as to the rightful ownership of the land. At that time by our law a sheriff selected all jurors and these sat in judgment to decide all contests concerning the ownership of lands. The land owners therefore thought the election of a sheriff was a very important matter to them. Jones was the people's candidate while the land companies favored Postlethwaite. From letters filed with the Governor it would seem that Postlethwaite had come to the county from Carlisle and after the contest he is not known in the annals of Pittsburg, having doubtless returned there.

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Jones owned land at Pittsburg which he sold to General O'Hara when the latter started a glass works near the southern terminus of Point Bridge. He was the father of Thomas Jones, Sr., who afterward owned the Liberty Street Ferry, and was the grandfather of Ephraim Jones who ran for sheriff of Allegheny county in 1855, and also of Thomas Jones, Jr., who first began the shipment of coal down the Ohio river. When the election judges met to count the votes they discovered that three of the election districts had made the returns of votes cast in "figures" and not in "words" as was required by the Act of Assembly. By throwing out these districts Postlethwaite would be elected and by counting them Jones would be elected. The judges refused to decide but made the following return: "We, the judges, etc., of the election held October 9, 1798, do certify that Ephraim Jones and Joseph R. Postlethwaite are duly elected to represent the freemen of the said county of Allegheny as sheriffs. the said Ephraim Jones having six hundred and eighty-four returned to us in writing and two hundred and thirty-three in figures only, and the said Joseph R. Postlethwaite having eight hundred and eight votes returned to us in writing and sixty-four in figures only." This return was signed October 13, 1798, by John Cunningham, John Henry, Robert Vance, James McDermott and John Joyce of District No. 1, Pittsburg; Moses Devore, District No. 2, Elizabeth; Thomas McKee, District No. 3, Plum and Versailles; Samuel Wilson, District No. 4, Moon; John McLure, District No. 5, Mifflin and St. Clair; Ephraim Herriott, District No. 6, Fayette; John Power, District No. 7, Mead's (Crawford County); Anath Satterman, District No. 8, Erie; Henry Keener, District No. 9, Franklin; J. Coulter, District No. 10, Beaver; James Clark, District No. 11, Freeport.

Postlethwaite's friends took advantage of the technical error in the returns, examples of which political actions may be found in more modern contests, and objected to the returns as illegal because the law required that the returns be in words. They therefore demanded that they be thrown out. Jones's friends thought that the error was but a technical one, which, with no evidence of fraud, could not vitiate the returns. They set forth in sworn statements that because of the ignorance of the board only, the figures were used, and that such had been the custom for years in several districts, and that they have deposited the ballot boxes with a justice of the peace where access can be had to them if required. Under any circumstances the final decision lay with the governor as to which one he should appoint and when it reached him both sides had a hope of success. Thomas Collins, who represented the Pennsylvania Population Company, wrote that Jones was "of depraved mind and manners, grossly ignorant, insolent, prejudiced, mean, intemperate, and I believe dishonest and altogether unfit for the office of sheriff." He also urged that Jones was hostile to the company and would decide with the squatters as against it. He supported the last allegation by an affidavit of James Fulton, who sets forth that when Jones was a candidate he asked Fulton for his support on the ground that if his opponent succeeded they

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would choose juries to suit the land jobbers, but if he, Jones, was elected, the juries would be chosen from the west side of the Allegheny to suit the actual settlers, since he, Jones, was no friend of the land jobbers. They also filed another which sets forth that Jones received barely one-fourth of the votes cast, and that a great proportion of these were obtained in Beaver and Mifflin by promising to summon juries who would favor the claims of settlers in land contests. On Jones's side was filed a letter urging his good character and fitness for the office, representing him to be a man who by industry had acquired a valuable property, and urging that an error on the part of an election judge should not operate against the suffrages of the people, particularly when the return was made "as hath hitherto been usual in those districts." This was signed by A. Kirkpatrick, A. Richardson, John Neville, Abner Barker, Isaac Craig, Josiah Barker, Samuel S. Mahon, John Johnson, A. Tannehill, John Hannah, Pressley Neville, Samuel Ewalt, Samuel Creigh. Brackenridge also wrote to the secretary of the Commonwealth, Alexander J. Dallas, saying it was he who had advised the special return, and that the county had gone entirely in favor of the Republican or Democratic interests, that is against the Federalists. He then asked the secretary to render Jones any services he could with the Governor that might be expedient and adds the following:

"If it is any object with you to have an interest in this county at the ensuing election for Governor, it is of moment that he (Jones) be commissioned. You will appreciate the value of this hint and take measures accordingly. You may have heard the rumor of the opposition to John Woods as a candidate for congress. The part taken by me has involved me with a quarrel with Judge Addison and others; but after a severe battle they have been all routed, horse, foot and dragoons. John Woods could not have gone to the state senate without my acquiescence, and I was struck with his audacity and that of his connection in attempting anything else, until the period for which he was elected had expired.

"If the Chief Justice, Thomas McKean, is offered for governor at the next election you may be assured I shall take an avowed and decided part in his favor, and one decided man that can write and speak both is worth a thousand. But this is running into what does not immediately relate to my subject and so I have done."

On October 29 the Governor, Thomas Mifflin, appointed Jones, "he being the highest in vote upon the return." The whole proceedings have such a modern aspect that one can scarcely realize that it all happened and that Brackenridge's letter was written nearly one hundred and ten years ago. Whatever may have been the ambition of Alexander J. Dallas for the governorship in 1799, the candidates were James Ross, of Pittsburg, and Thomas McKean, whose probable nomination was intimated in Brackenridge's letter. Perhaps the people of Pittsburg and Allegheny county were easily induced to support Ross because of his being their neighbor. At all events he received two thousand one hundred and six votes, while McKean received nine hundred

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and seventy-six votes. Brackenridge's great power, which he boasted in his letter to Dallas, did not materialize. He was, however, a man of much strength and high standing in Pittsburg. The vote for representatives in the legislature showed that James Semple received one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven votes and Dunning McNair received one thousand five hundred and eighty-two votes. To show the various election districts and their judges we give the following signatures to the returns for that year, 1799: William Earl, First District, Pittsburg; Richard McClure, Second District, Elizabeth; Thomas McKee, Third District, Plum and Versailles; John Taylor, Fourth District, Moon; John Kinkead, Fifth District, Mifflin and St. Clair; George Dickson, Sixth District, Fayette; Edward Werk, Seventh District, Mead; Robert McNair, Eighth District, Erie; James McClellan, Ninth District, Franklin; David Watson, Tenth District, Beaver; James Clark, Eleventh District, Freeport; David Kerr, Twelfth District, Middlesex; Timothy Tuttle, Thirteenth District, Greenfield; Jabez Colt, Fourteenth District, Conneaut; William Hays, Fifteenth District, Springfield; Jacob Connack, Sixteenth District, Waterford; Samuel McCrag, Seventeenth District, Oil Creek; James Elder, Eighteenth District, Slippery Rock; T. McMillan, Nineteenth District, North Beaver. This was furthermore the last election held in Allegheny county as it was originally bounded, for the counties of Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Armstrong, Venango, Warren, Crawford and Erie were all carved out of Allegheny county in one year, that is, in 1800. In 1804 the vote in Allegheny county for electors was 526, which was small for there was no opposition. In 1805 the election places in the county, the territory being very much as it exists now, were Pittsburg, Plum, McKeesport, Elizabethtown, Mifflin, Fayette, Union, Ohio, Robinson, Pine, Deer, Pitt and St. Clair. The opposing candidates for governor that year were Thomas McKean and Simon Snyder. The total vote given for McKean in the county was 1,125, while Snyder received 911. Pittsburg's vote was 210 for McKean and 125 for Snyder. There were four candidates for governor that year, namely: William Porter, Z. A. Tannehill, James Kerwin and Joseph Curry. Porter received 1,001, Tannehill 960, Kerwin 860, and Curry 891. Pittsburg gave Porter 281, Tannehill 275, Kerwin 125, and Curry 120. There were also in the same year three candidates for state senator for the district which was then composed by Allegheny, Beaver and Butler counties. The candidates were James Martin, Samuel Ewalt and Thomas Morton. Martin received in the district 1,912 votes, Ewalt 1,719, and Morton 40 votes. Allegheny county gave Martin 1,000, Ewalt 996, and Morton 40. There were seven candidates for the legislature from the district composed of the same counties. They were Jacob Macklin, who received 956 votes in Allegheny county and 1,850 in the district; Abner Leacock received 966 in Allegheny county and 1,828 in the district; Frank McClure received 961 in Allegheny county and 1,825 in the district; James Caruthers received 1,055 in Allegheny county and 1,790 in the district; John McBride received 1,030 in Allegheny county and 1,755 in the district; Jacob

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Ferree received 799 in Allegheny county and 1,069 in the district, and George Robinson, who received 344 in Allegheny county and 836 in the district. At the election held in Allegheny county in 1809 for coroner, James Kerwin received 1,093 votes while Joseph Curry received 1,274. In 1810 this congressional district included the counties of Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Venango, Crawford, Warren and Erie. There were three candidates, Adamson Tannehill, Abner Leacock and Samuel Smith, who received the following support:

COUNTIES	Adamson Tannehill	Abner Leacock	Samuel Smith
Allegheny	1,390	349	99
Beaver	246	735	3
Butler	193	347	...
Mercer	31	755	11
Venango and Warren	19	297	77
Crawford	484	192	...
Erie	92	222	136
	2,455	2,897	326

The vote for sheriff in Allegheny county in 1810 was as follows: William Westhoff, 1,095; William Steel, 695, and Thomas Jones, 290.

None of these returns, except in the case of the defeat of Brackenridge by Gallatin in 1794, show the formation of any special political party. The small vote polled throughout the district was usual in those days, for the great number of voters had a long distance to go to the polls, and they were deeply interested in more important matters than politics. Voters supported or opposed a candidate entirely according to their personal preferences. There were few newspapers and no political oratory to sway public sentiment. The United States was then passing through the "era of good feeling," which was renowned mainly for the absence of all political asperities. Had any question arisen which was fraught with political significance to the voters of this section the expression in and around Pittsburg would undoubtedly have been Democratic or in opposition to the Federalist doctrine. It took Pittsburg people a long time to forget that the excise tax, which brought about the Whiskey Insurrection, was a Federalist measure. The first question which arose to divide the people in bitter dispute came with the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828. With the war on the United States Bank began the anti-Masonic question which was somewhat agitated before this, but both matters came with the election of Jackson and they were so closely united, particularly in this section, that it is almost impossible to think of them as separate issues.

Those who were opposed to Jackson's financial policy found themselves at this time without an organization. They began the opposition in many sections by calling themselves the National Republican Party, an organization

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which finally grew into the Whig Party. Around Pittsburg there was a strong, well defined anti-Masonic feeling, which had partly crystallized into a party even before the anti-Jackson movement came. Later the anti-Jackson men naturally went over to the anti-Masonic men for this they regarded as the most effectual method of opposing Jackson, and thus they all apparently for a time forgot in a measure their hostility to secret societies. There was no candidate for the presidency on a purely anti-Masonic ticket in 1828. The fight was between Jackson and John Quincy Adams, the Jackson men claiming that he, and not Adams, should have been selected by the national congress in 1825, and they were now determined to right the wrong. Pittsburg and Allegheny county were both strongly in favor of Jackson in 1824.

In that contest, it will be recalled, there were four candidates in the field, viz.: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and William H. Crawford. When it was learned that no one of them received a majority of the electoral votes, and that the selection would be made by the lower house of the national congress, the people naturally supposed that Jackson, who had had received the largest number of votes, should be selected. When the house selected Adams, the wrath of the people was unbounded. Most of the Jackson men openly charged a "bargain and sale" between Adams and Clay, and when the latter became secretary of state under the new administration, they were only more thoroughly confirmed in their belief. Adams had a very successful administration, but the politicians throughout the country began in due time to make sure that he should not succeed himself. Particularly was this feeling manifested in Pittsburg, where Jackson had received a very large majority of the votes cast. (The vote of Pittsburg was, Jackson 1,386, Crawford 402, Clay 26, Adams 19.) The campaign began in earnest in 1827, or even before that. The ablest men of Pittsburg were Jackson men. An immense Jackson meeting was held on July 4, 1827. It was stated without contradiction that sixteen hundred people sat down to dinner. There were three tables each 250 feet long, and all were filled. Henry Baldwin, who among many other prominent men of Pittsburg, had but recently espoused the Jackson cause, stood on a pyramid of cannon captured by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and read the Declaration of Independence, and was the chief orator of the day. On March 22, 1828, a public meeting was held at the court house by "The friends of General Jackson and the American System," for the Pittsburgers were too wise to fail to connect the "American System," of which Henry Clay was the chief sponsor, with their champion candidate. Robert M. Stewart was chairman of this meeting, while John M. Snowden was a secretary, and a series of resolutions were offered by Benjamin Bakewell. These resolutions, among other things, demanded more protection on flax, hemp, iron and wool, and on cotton fabrics.

The Adams supporters, called the Administration Party, also held meetings. William McCandless presided at one of the most important, held on November 10, at which John Darragh and Francis B. McClure were vice-presi-

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dents, and John Scott and B. R. Evans were secretaries. Charles Shaler was the orator of the day, and after his address, which was a most complete and scholarly production, he introduced a series of resolutions setting forth that the Adams administration favored protection to manufacturers, asking for a proper diffusion of public moneys and censuring the South for being jealous of the prosperity of the North. They ended by re-nominating Adams, and recommending John A. Shultz for vice-president. They also appointed a committee of William McCandless, Thomas Gibson, Joseph Patterson, Charles H. Israel and Alexander Johnston to represent Pittsburg in an administration meeting already called to meet at Harrisburg on July 4, 1828, its delegates to be sent from all parts of the state. It was thus that the people of Pittsburg were preparing for one of the bitterest political contests in the city's history.

A city election took place in January, 1827, at which the Administration Party won a victory over the Jackson adherents by a majority of 138. The leaders of public opinion in Pittsburg were Baldwin, William Wilkins, James S. Stevenson, Harmar Denny, Snowden, McCandless, Charles Shaler, William B. Foster, etc. Stevenson had been elected to the twentieth congress in 1826, and in 1827 had became a Jackson man. The people of Pittsburg were interested in a bill called the "woolen bill," which raised the tariff on goods of that material. Stevenson both spoke and voted against it. This perhaps contributed to the defeat of the Jackson party in January, 1828. As the campaign progressed it became very bitter. A pamphlet, which was then known as the " Coffin Handbills," created a great stir in Pittsburg. It was secretly printed and published, but was supposed to have come from the "Statesman," a weekly paper of Pittsburg, and to have been mainly the work of John B. Butler. The pamphlet ridiculed General Jackson's pretensions as a statesman. It charged that Jackson had ordered the execution of six militiamen during his military life; it represented him as a slave-trader, a duelist in his affair with Benton at Nashville, and also sought to connect him with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr.

Stevenson ran for congress again on the ticket with Jackson in 1828. He was supported by the newspapers but was very unpopular with the manufacturers because of his attitude on the "Woolen Bill." Late in the contest William Wilkins, also a Jackson man, came out as an independent candidate against him. He could secure the support of but one paper, which, it was said, was founded solely to aid his campaign. Political meetings were held in all parts of the county. Buildings were not large enough to hold the Jackson men who came to hear the popular orators of the day in their eulogies of their candidate for the presidency. Dr. Edward D. Gazzam introduced a series of resolutions at an Adams and Rush meeting held in Pittsburg, which set forth the opposition of both Jackson and Calhoun to the "American System." They lauded Henry Clay as the "general subaltern and sentinel of the tariff." The Jackson supporters tried to break up the meeting, but the attempt failed for

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the young men were very enthusiastic. A correspondence committee of twenty-five, and a vigilance committee of 150 were appointed.

The anti-Masonic question also came into this campaign. In September, 1826, a man named William Morgan had suddenly disappeared, and it was charged that the Masons had abducted and murdered him to prevent the publication of their secrets. Still another charge against masonry came into the campaign in Allegheny county. In 1818 the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Pittsburg had been robbed by a man named Pluymart. He managed to escape punishment nearly ten years, but was tried in 1828 and sentenced to three years imprisonment. He had in these ten years been arrested several times, but had escaped and had again broken from the penitentiary. In some way he had strong friends among the prominent people of New York, Philadelphia, Columbus, Cleveland and elsewhere, who by petition secured his pardon while he was yet a fugitive from justice at the hands of Governor Andrew Shulze. This somewhat remarkable proceeding was explained to the people by saying that both Shulze and Pluymart were Masons, and that his city friends were Masons who were thus bound by their oaths to assist him. Pluymart was a robber, a swindler and an underhanded villian, who had, however, the faculty of convincing people of his innocence. The *Statesman*, edited by John B. Butler, favored his pardon doubtless because it regarded him as "a persecuted man." But is was known that Shulze, Butler and many of his supporters were Masons, and the anti-Masons charged that in addition to their oaths, the Masons were forced to liberate Pluymart to prevent their secrets from further publicity. If the masonic oath, it was argued, compelled one Mason to assist another and even to violate all laws to do so, no Mason should serve on a jury or be elected to an office. It was asserted and believed that the mystic sign of distress known among Masons had been given from criminals in the dock to Masons on the jury or on the bench, even in the courts of Pittsburg. It may be difficult for the modern reader to understand how these incredulous stories could be of weight. They were believed by many of the intelligent people of Pittsburg. The city as a result became one of the strongest anti-Masonic cities in Pennsylvania. These, as meagerly outlined above, were the war cries of the Jackson men, and of all who were opposed to Adams and Rush. It became one of the bitterest campaigns in Pittsburg's history. The anti-Masons and the Jackson supporters were aggressive in the extreme, and they carried on a campaign which for magnitude and splendor would do credit to our best modern efforts in that direction. Beginning with the city against Jackson, as was shown in the election of January, 1828, his cause, when strengthened by the anti-Masonic feeling, grew steadily until the election, the vote of which was as follows: Jackson and Calhoun in Pittsburg had 1,216 votes, while Adams and Rush had 606; In Allegheny Jackson had 223 votes, as against 75 for Adams. Wilkins, the volunteer candidate for congress, defeated the regular candidate, Stevenson, by 186 votes, this being

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due largely to his opposition to the Woolen Bill, but in a great measure to Wilkins's great popularity and ability.

William Wilkins was one of Pittsburg's brightest and best men. He had been on the bench before he entered congress. In 1829 a large majority of the members of the bar, many jurors and prominent citizens united in asking him to resign his seat in congress and continue his work on the bench. He was prevailed on to do this, and Henry Baldwin, who had been tried and found faithful to the American System in congress, was generally looked upon as the proper person to succeed him. He was accordingly put in nomination. The Jackson administration supporters nominated Stevenson as their candidate, for they claimed that, having been defeated by Wilkins, he was the logical successor when the successful candidate resigned. Then a third meeting was held and Harmar Denny, who was a prominent anti-Mason, was placed in nomination. Baldwin was regarded as the ablest man in the race, and as the man most likely to succeed, until it was discovered and made known that he was a past deputy grand master of the Grand Lodge of Masons. Before the nomination of Mr. Denny the anti-Masonic party had tendered their nomination to Baldwin, but he refused to accept it. The opposition to masonry grew and this became also a very hot campaign, indeed, one of the hottest for a special election, ever known in Pittsburg. Seeing that his masonic principles had made him candidacy a hopeless one, Baldwin withdrew and left his two opponents, Stevenson and Denny, alone in the field. The result was that Denny was elected by a majority of 621 over his opponent. This brought into congressional life one of the best men Pittsburg has yet produced, and of whom we shall have more to say elsewhere. William Wilkins had scarcely resumed his duties on the bench until his friends began to urge his election to the United States senate. There were many candidates for the position, among them being Stevenson and Denny of Pittsburg, and Governor Thomas McKean, Charles J. Ingersoll and George M. Dallas of Philadelphia. Wilkins received only six votes on the first ballot, but his strength steadily grew until he had seventy-two votes on the twenty-first ballot, and this elected him.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Canals; Their Effect on the Commerce of Pittsburg.

At the close of the Revolution the people of the Colonies began at once to agitate the transportation question. This agitation was first applied to country roads which served well their day and generation. Next after these came canals. Water always had been, and perhaps always will be, the cheapest medium of transportation when practical, and where speed is not a requisite. Wind has been the great power which has carried the wealth of the East to the old-time centers of industry in Western Asia and Eastern Europe. But this was out of the question as a motive power for internal navigation. In honoring Robert Fulton as the father of steam navigation it is often forgotten that he was equally prominent in canal building prior to the great invention so inseparably connected with his name and fame. Fulton was a native of Lancaster county, and in early life spent several years in England studying the question of inland navigation. There he published a book illustrated with drawings of canal boats, aqueducts and locks for lifting and lowering boats. On his return to the United States he urged canal building as a method of internal navigation for the commerce of his native state. In a letter which he wrote to Governor Penn, of Pennsylvania, he used these words: "The time will come when canals shall pass through every vale in our land and every hill, and bind the whole country in one band of social intercourse." This became an oft-quoted sentence by the early advocates of canal building as a means of internal improvement. The extravagant prophecy would probably have been realized had not better methods of transportation been introduced. It must not be supposed that canals were new in the world's history at that time. They had been used in Egypt and China even before the days of Julius Caesar, and had for centuries been used throughout Europe before the days of Robert Fulton, but most of the canals of Europe, although of ingenious conception, were impracticable in America, and none were so valuable to us as those which were outlined and advocated by our own Pennsylvania inventor. In 1791 a "Society for Promoting Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation" was formed in our state and gave a great deal of attention to the surveying of several routes across Pennsylvania by which the Delaware

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river might be connected with the northern lakes. At that time, it will be remembered, the Mississippi was closed to American commerce for the Spaniards owned Louisiana, and they were somewhat hostile to the United States. Nor was the situation improved by its sale to France for that country was almost equally hostile to us. But when Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana from Napoleon Bonaparte for the United States in 1803, the great object sought by our people from that time forward was a connection between the Delaware and the Ohio rivers. The advantages of such an achievement, particularly to Pittsburg, must be easily obvious to any one who contemplates its surroundings at that time. The Louisiana purchase meant more to Western Pennsylvania than we are likely to imagine now. It gave this great isolated section, rich in its products or rather rich in the possibility of its products, its first real outlet to the seaboard and to the commerce of the world. It was equally beneficial to the East and that section of Pennsylvania, far in advance of the West in wealth, became greatly interested in the canal across our state so that our products gathered by the three rivers at Pittsburg, might not reach the East by sailing first westward on the Ohio river. The canal from Buffalo to New York was built largely through the efforts of DeWitt Clinton and was opened up on November 4, 1825. The result was that the cost of carrying freight over the route from Buffalo to the Hudson river was at once reduced from $100 per ton to $10 per ton, and a still further reduction came later. This awakened our people to the great importance of a similar waterway across Pennsylvania. The legislature took up the question and had surveys made of all the principal rivers in order that the most practicable route might he selected. They began on the theory that a canal across the Allegheny mountains was impossible, but they had the enterprise to arrange that the gap might be supplied by good roads across the mountains. Much time was spent in trying to locate the canals on the east and west side of the Allegheny mountains, so that the roads crossing them would be as short as possible. In 1824 the assembly authorized the appointmen of three canal commissioners to explore and determine on the best route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and on April 11, 1825, they were appointed. The Union canal had already been built connecting the Schuylkill river with the Susquehanna, its western terminus being near Harrisburg. The commissioners appointed by the governor reported the route by the Juniata river, and the Conemaugh river to be the most practicable. Accordingly in 1826 the legislature provided for the construction of the Pennsylvania canal. It was to begin at the western terminus of the Union Canal and extend to the mouth of the Juniata river. West of the mountains it was to extend from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river. The object of these commissioners was evidently that both the Juniata and Allegheny rivers should be made navigable by slack water improvements. The legislature appropriated $300,000 for the building of the canal, so that the work could begin on it at once. This was done and it was pushed so rapidly that in 1827 the water was turned into

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the levels at Leechburg. About this time the slack-water projects for the navigation of the Juniata and Allegheny rivers was abandoned, and the canal, when completed, reached from the Susquehanna river to Holidaysburg at the base of the eastern slope of the Allegheny mountains, and from Johnstown, at the foot of the western slope, to Pittsburg. The canals were managed by a board of Canal Commissioners, consisting of three men appointed by the governor. The appointment was one of the most important in the state, and most invariably our leading business men were at first selected for these positions.

Next to the canal system itself, the question of the route by which it was to enter Pittsburg and where it was to have its terminus, was uppermost in the minds of the citizens of the place. Allegheny City people, as might be supposed, saw no need of it being extended over the river, but Pittsburgers looked upon it as a question of vast importance to their commercial interests, as they expected to connect it with other canal systems reaching to the West and North, thus gaining better shipping facilities. One plan advanced, was to extend the canal down Liberty and Penn streets; another down Smithfield street, and still a third scheme, was to tunnel a route through Grant's Hill, the objective point being the mouth of Sukes run, which emptied into the Monongahela river. After much delay and local parley, the tunnel route was settled upon and carried out. Whether it was a wise or an unwise choice, matters not at this time when the old style canals in Pittsburg are a matter of the past, the railroads having long since superseded them. Thus it happened that the canal entered Pittsburg by means of an aqueduct constructed over the Allegheny river, the main canal reaching the Monongahela river through the Grant's Hill Tunnel, emerging at a point near Try street, thence to the mouth of Sukes run. What was styled the "Basin" was located at what is now Eleventh street and Penn avenue, near the present Pennsylvania railway Union Station, where the collection and distribution of freight and passengers was carried on. The scene there was one of a truly busy mart. Numerous warehouses, owned by the various transportation companies, were located along the several "Slips," or shorter canals, which diverged from the main "Basin," where boats were daily seen with their heavy cargoes of freight, being loaded or unloaded. Since the abandonment of the canal system for railway service, the scenes along the line of this canal, and its feeders, have been greatly transformed so that scarcely a trace of the old canal can be seen by the keenest-eyed passer-by, the excavations having long ago been filled up, and many tall buildings stand now where once stood the sluggish waters of the canal, bearing on its turbid bosom its valuable merchandise.

During the latter part of June, 1827, the western division of the canal was under contract. The construction of the Allegheny river aqueduct was undertaken by La Barron for the sum of $100,000, but on his failure to complete the work, it was finished by another contractor. The tunnel through Grant's Hill to the Monongahela river was let to Meloy & Company at $61,000.

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It was stipulated that both tunnel and acqueduct should be completed March 1, 1829. The *Gazette* of June 23, 1829, said: "The waters of the canal have at length arrived within the bounds of Alleghenytown." The *Mercury* of September, 1829, announced that: "The canal packet, "General Lacock," under Captain Leonard, made its first trip on the last of June, 1829, on the western division of the canal, the starting point being opposite Herr's Island."

In 1830 David Leech owned and conducted a line of canal boats between Blairsville and Pittsburg, the rates being: for freight, twenty cents per hundred pounds, and two cents a mile for passengers. The reader will appreciate the bit of sarcasm with which the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Statesman,* in August, 1832, was tinctured:

> Boats have passed the subterranean passage through Grant's Hill and safely debouched into the Monongahela river. The canal is also generally navigable and an inland trade is brisk. Some skeptical gentlemen have affected not to understand the underground project, but they may now not only see through it, but go through it in a canal-boat.

Mr. David Stevenson, an English engineer, made the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in 1836, and gave an extensive and well prepared account of it. The entire distance, he said, was 395 miles which he traveled in ninety-one hours at an average rate of about four and one-half miles per hour, and at a cost of three pounds sterling, nearly four cents per mile. One hundred and eighteen miles of this distance was made by railroad, and this method of travel he styles as "extraordinary." The main part of the journey, 277 miles, was made by the Pennsylvania canal. He came by the Columbia railroad from the Delaware river to the town of Columbia on the Susquehanna; thence by the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers and by the canal to Hollidaysburg at the eastern base of the Allegheny mountains. Over the mountains he came on the Portage road to Johnstown, where he took the canal down the Conemaugh and Allegheny rivers to Pittsburg. Canal boats for the central division of the canal were frequently hauled on the railroad to Columbia and there put into the canal and brought to Hollidaysburg. That division of the canal had thirty-three aqueducts and one hundred and eleven locks, and rose 585 feet between its eastern terminus and the foot of the Allegheny mountains at Hollidaysburg.

The Portage road, thirty-six miles long, cost $1,860,000, and required fully two years of steady work, work as work was then done, to build it. It had a second line of rails in 1835, two years after the completion of the first. It crossed the mountain at Blair's Gap, 2,326 feet above sea level, and had a tunnel on the summit about 900 feet long. Much of this distance was made by side hill cuttings and embankments, which required heavy walls, some of them being 100 feet high. At the head of the incline was a thirty horse power engine, which by the means of a large cable pulled the trains, the descending and as-

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cending ones moving at the same time on the double track. Three cars, each laden with three tons were considered a load for the stationary engine and cable. Twenty-four cars with seventy-two tons freight could be taken over an incline in an hour, and this was abundantly rapid for the traffic of the road as it existed at that time, for there were during its first years seldom more than a hundred cars passed over it per day. For passenger traffic the trip over the Portage road was a very tedious one. A passenger might start from Hollidaysburg in the morning, say at nine o'clock, and reach the summit of the mountain at noon, where, after a wait of an hour, during which time he could dine at a hotel, he could resume his journey and reach Johnstown at about five o'clock p. m. Rarely ever were there less than six or seven hours of actual time consumed in traveling this distance of thirty-six miles.

The western division of the canal, 105 miles long, had 64 locks, and 16 aqueducts, and a tunnel about 1,000 feet long. Canal business had scarcely begun in earnest when the agitation of building a railroad across the state begun. The Pennsylvania Canal is said to have cost the state $26,000,000 originally, and subsequent outlays for loss by floods, repairs, changes, improvements, etc., brought the cost up to $40,000,000.00. The canal, during the latter years of its existence, was managed by politicians who were appointed as Canal Commissioners by the successive administrations of the state. Resultant upon this method of appointment, its management was a constant expense to the state during its entire life. It was almost universally called the "Old State Robber." In 1847 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company purchased it from the state for $7,500,000. It had already entailed a debt on the state of about $40,000,000, the payment of which required nearly a generation. But the state gained immensely by the canal, for it saved the traffic of the West from going across New York by the Erie canal. This traffic built up Pittsburg and Philadelphia, and developed all the intervening territory in Pennsylvania. The reader will readily notice by the census table elsewhere in this work that Pittsburg's growth was slow until the canal was finished and that, barring a few financial depressions, its progress in population and wealth has been rapid and steady ever since. The business men of the city should never forget the debt they owe to the old Pennsylvania canal.

The canal came down the Conemaugh river from Johnstown and crossed the Allegheny river at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas on an aqueduct, and then came down the western bank of the Allegheny river to Allegheny City. There were two branches of it; the one branch followed Lacock street to the river near Balcam street, while the other crossed the Allegheny by an aqueduct built at a great expense and came into Pittsburg. The canal on the Pittsburg side came up to the intersection of Penn avenue and Eleventh street, where the "Basin," a very important adjunct of the canal, was constructed. There were several short branches of the canal in Pittsburg, which led to warehouses and other prominent places for the taking on and unloading of freight. The main line of the canal came up Eleventh street,

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crossing Liberty street to Seventh avenue. There it entered a tunnel by which it passed under Grant's Hill, and came out onto the Monongahela river near Try street. The mouth of the tunnel entering Grant's Hill was a short distance below the present tunnel of the Panhandle railroad.

The canal very greatly reduced the cost of transporting commodities between Pittsburg and Philadelphia. The average freight charges on the canal between these two cities was about one cent per pound and the time consumed by freight boats was between six and seven days. Packets on the canal, which carried passengers, ran more rapidly, making the journey one way in about three days on an average. The fare was also much less than the fare by stage coach. So the canal took from the turnpike a great deal of its travel and freight and was of great advantage to Pittsburg in its day.

Canal boats were not expensive, and a man with a capital of but a few hundred dollars could purchase a boat, employ a few laborers and engage in the general canal transportation business. Had the management been kept out of politics it might have resulted in great gains rather than in immense losses for the state. The authorities of Pennsylvania were anxious to improve the state and enlarge its traffic in every way and in doing so they probably grasped and undertook more than they were able to manage and pay for. Every outlying section of the state wanted its share of the improvements. To secure the votes of the legislators of these remote districts so that the main line improvements might be introduced, concessions had to be made to them that were in the end ruinous to the entire system of internal improvements.

The business done by the canal for the year ending with October, 1833, may be seen by the following table, which shows the traffic of the east-bound boats only:

	Months.	Tonnage.	Passengers miles traveled.	Value
1832	November	470,320	6,152	$330.72
	December	401,020	18,246	228.05
1833	January	215,593	645	60.10
	February, closed.			
	March	388,966	605	203.94
	April	1,187,670	990	548.30
	May	712,578	8,326	581.10
	June	1,512,809	136	576.95
	July	943,000	1,102	498,28
	August	820,440	1,593	486.87
	September	814,669	1,257	597.02
	October	939,578	1,228	802.74
	Total	8,406,643	40,280	$4,914.07

By the above it will be seen that the canal was closed during the month of February. This was, of course, due to the cold weather, which did not

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generally last more than one month in a year. The Erie canal was frequently frozen up three, four or even five months in a year, and the Pennsylvania people took advantage of this by spreading it broadcast, so as to draw the trade from a route which they said was liable to be "frozen up half the year."

In the early thirties a firm, consisting of Peter Shoenberger, John McFadden, John D. Davis, John and William Bennett, John Dougherty, James M. Davis, G. and J. H. Shoenberger, had formed a company known as the Reliance Transportation Company. Their object was to operate a line of hacks or stages three times a week between Pittsburg and Uniontown. In June, 1839, this company sold out to the Reliance Portable Boat Company, which was composed of the same men, except John Dougherty. They at once engaged in the canal-boat trade. In 1840 the principal canal transportation companies were: David Leech & Co., of the Western Line; H. & P. Graff, of the Union Line; Laaffe & O'Connor, of the Portable Car Body Line; John McFadden & Co., of the Portable Iron Boat Line; William Bingham, of Bingham's Line; J. C. Reynolds, of the Dispatch Line, and McDowell & Co., of the Pennsylvania & Ohio Line.

No improvement up to this time in the history of Pennsylvania was attended with so much benefit to Pittsburg and the West as the completion of this canal. Towns and villages sprung up all along its route, and those who will look at the population of Pittsburg will see that it increased correspondingly from that on. Blast furnaces were started in many sections of Western Pennsylvania at once. The mountains, which had hitherto been regarded as almost worthless, now became of great value because of their deposits of carbonate iron ore, and because they were densely covered with timber. The blast furnaces afforded a market for the timber, for they were operated entirely by charcoal. The canal came west from Johnstown on the north bank of the Conemaugh, passing near the towns of Nineveh, New Florence, Lockport, Bolivar, Blairsville, Saltsburg, Leechburg, thence to Freeport and down the west bank of the Allegheny. It crossed the Conemaugh to the south bank at Lockport on a beautiful arched stone aqueduct, which stood for many years as a monument to the enterprise of the past, and was removed by the Pennsylvania railroad in 1888. The first canal boat on the western part of the canal was built at Apollo, and was called the "General Abner Leacock." It was intended as a freight and passenger boat, having berths and cabin like the steamboats of that period. Of course a great hinderance to this method of transportation was the road across the Allegheny mountains, but the genius of the age overcame that, and in 1834 a portage railroad over the mountains was built which connected the two canals. Its method of construction will be considered in the part of this work relative to the Pennsylvania railroad. As a result of its construction, a canal-boat was brought from the East over the canal where it was loaded on trucks and brought over the mountains to Johnstown, where it was again put on the canal and

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finally reached Pittsburg. The newspapers of that day heralded this as one of the great feats of business enterprise of modern times.

Capitalists invested money in all schemes along the line of the canal, and business men who were not interested in canal lines, in its boats, in iron furnaces, and in many other agents of transportation, such as turnpikes, stages, etc., were not regarded as the most enterprising or wealthy, nor were they supposed to be on the true highway to fortune. A canal may be briefly described as an artificial water way over which boats were drawn by mules. By the side of the canal was a narrow path, called a tow-path, on which the mules were driven. They were hitched, tandem, to a long rope which was fastened to the front part of the boat. By means of the rudder, the boat was kept in the middle of the canal and could readily be landed at the side opposite the tow-path when necessary. Each section of the canal was a level from one end to the other. The next section of the canal being lower or higher than the first, the boat was either lowered or raised as might be necessary, by means of a lock, which was practically the same in construction as the locks now used on rivers which are made navigable by slack water dams. Those on the Monongahela near Pittsburg illustrate well the principle, but are much more complete than those in the early days of canal building with their limited capital would warrant. The average canal was about 30 feet wide and held from four to five feet of water. The canal boats varied in length and width. They were generally about 12 feet wide and from 25 to 50 feet long. Two boats could therefore pass each other, for a boat was never quite half as wide as the canals. These canals sometimes passed through hills by tunnels and likewise over small valleys or rivers by embankments or bridges, the latter being called aqueducts. The canal was fed at its highest section, usually by a dam across a stream or river, and the water then moved slowly from there to the next section lower, and so on to the end of the canal. These basins being almost level, the water went so slowly that it often became stagnant in the summer, and there being almost no current at all, the boat could be landed at any time, and the draft was about the same going either way. It was indeed a very cheap system of transportation, and was well suited to that age of limited finances. Two mules could easily draw a canal boat laden with from 50 to 100 tons, and the average speed was about three miles per hour. The mules were driven on a rapid walk or slow trot, unless the boat was unusually heavily laden. While this speed was sufficient for iron, coal, lumber, stone or almost any species of freight, it was too slow for passenger traffic, and the canals were never, therefore, very much opposition to stage lines passing over the turnpike between Pittsburg and Philadelphia. They were, however, of great advantage in the transportation of freight and reduced the wagon trade correspondingly on the pike. From the Blairsville *Record* of July 23, 1829, we copy the following: "We have delayed the publication of our paper until this morning so that we might announce the arrival of the first packet boats, the

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'Pioneer' and the 'Pennsylvania,' at the port of Blairsville. They arrived last evening. They are owned by Mr. David Leech, whose enterprise and perseverance entitle him to much credit. A large party of citizens and strangers met the boats a few miles below this town and were received on board with that politeness and attention for which Mr. Leech is proverbial. The 'Pioneer' passed the first lock below this place in the short space of three minutes. The boats are handsomely fitted up and well calculated to give comfort to the passengers. They were welcomed at our wharves by the presence of many citizens of both sexes. They departed at nine o'clock this morning for Pittsburg." These were the first real passenger boats which passed over the canal, though freight boats had been used about two years before this. One of the most interesting descriptions of travelling by canal in Western Pennsylvania is given by Charles Dickens in his American notes, written during his first visit to the United States in 1842. He arrived in Pittsburg at 9:30 p. m., on March 28, and his arrival was announced in the *Morning Chronicle* on March 29. So the trip which he describes was taken on the 28th. Dickens came from Johnstown on David Leech's packet called the "Express," and went from Pittsburg to St. Louis. From his 'Notes' we quote the following: "The canal extends to the foot of the mountain, and there of course it stops, the passengers being conveyed across it by land carriages, and taken on afterwards by another canal boat, going aboard of the first which awaits them on the other side. There are two canal lines of passage boats; one is called the 'Express,' and the other, a cheaper one, the 'Pioneer.' The 'Pioneer' goes first to the mountain, and waits for the 'Express' people to come up, both sets of passengers being conveyed across it at the same time. We were the 'Express' company, but when we had crossed the mountain and had come to the second boat, the proprietors took it in their heads to drive all the 'Pioneers' into it likewise, so that we were five and forty at least, and the accession of passengers was not at all of that kind which improved the prospect of sleeping at night. One of two remarkable circumstances is indisputably a fact with reference to that class of society who travels in these boats, either they carry their restlessness to such a pitch that they never sleep at all, or they expectorate in their dreams, which would be a mere mingling of the real and the ideal. All night long and every night on this canal, there was a perfect storm and tempest of spitting. Between five and six o'clock in the morning we got up, and some of us went on deck to give them an opportunity of taking the shelves down, while others, the morning being very cold, crowded round the rusty stove, cherishing the newly kindled fire and filling the grate with these voluntary contributions of which they had been so liberal at night. The washing accommodations were primitive. There was a tin ladle chained to the deck with which every gentleman, who thought it necessary to cleanse himself, many were superior to this weakness, fished the dirty water out of the canal and poured it into

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a tin basin secured in a like manner. There was also a jack-towel hanging up before a little looking-glass in the bar, in the immediate vicinity of the bread and cheese and biscuits, with a public comb and hair-brush. And yet, despite these oddities, often they had for me, at least, a humor of their own—there was much in this mode of travelling which I hardly enjoyed at the time, and look back upon it now with great pleasure. Even the running up barenecked at five o'clock in the morning from the painted cabin to the dirty deck, scooping up the icy water, plunging one's head into and drawing it out all fresh and glowing with the cold, was a good thing. The fast, brisk walk upon the towing-path, between that time and breakfast, when every vein and artery seemed to tingle with health, the exquisite beauty of the opening day, when light comes gleaming off from every thing; the lazy motion of the boat when one lay idly on the deck, looking through, rather than at, the deep blue sky; the gliding on at night so noiselessly, past frowning hills, sullen with dark trees, and sometimes angry in one red, burning spot high up where unseen men lay crouching round a fire; the shining out of the bright stars, undisturbed by noise of wheels or steam or any other sound than the rippling of the water as the boat went on, all these were pure delights."

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Pittsburg's Prominent Visitors: Lafayette, Dickens, Kossuth, The Prince of Wales, Lincoln, Grant.

The homage which a city pays to a distinguished man who spends but a day within her gates may not be a true index to the character of her citizens, nor may it form a chapter in the city's history. Nevertheless, from the description of the manner in which the stranger is received, we may form some idea of a people who have long since passed away.

In 1824-1825 Marquis de Lafayette visited America for the last time. The Congress of the United States had requested President James Monroe to send him a special invitation, in response to which he came here as the nation's guest. Lafayette had come to America when a youth of less than twenty years to play a very important part in the Revolution. His coming here as a wealthy stranger, of noble birth and lineage, to assist in the weak cause of the colonies, had inspired the Revolutionary soldiers with new hope and courage. He made many sacrifices in order to aid our people in their struggle for liberty. He was married to a lady of rank and fortune, from whose youthful beauty and charming companionship he had torn himself with great reluctance. He had also relinquished the splendors of the French Court, and turned his back upon the blandishments of official preferment in his native land. In return for this he asked only to be allowed to enlist in the American army as a volunteer, and to serve at his own expense. Because of his illustrious family and his great zeal for the cause of freedom, Congress voted him the honorary title of a Major-General in the United States Army. Forty-eight years passed away and he came again to our shores, not as an unknown youth, but as a venerable man of nearly three score years and ten; not as a stranger but, after Washington, as the idol of the American people. He spent more than a year here visiting all of the twenty-four states then in the union and was everywhere greeted with an enthusiasm which could only spring from a deep-seated affection. He came into Allegheny county from Uniontown, in the county which had been named in his honor. On May 28, 1825, he left Uniontown and after visiting the residence of Albert Gallatin,

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reached Elizabeth, where he and his party were taken in a boat and rowed down the Monongahela river to Braddock's Fields, reaching the latter place about sunset. Braddock's battle had taken place nearly seventy years before and the main part of the field was farming land with a splendid country residence nearby, owned by Mr. George Wallace. In this Lafayette and his party were entertained, and they spent considerable time in going over the battle field, discussing the unfortunate defeat. Though seventy years had passed since the battle, the farmer could scarcely draw a furrough without "turning up bones whitened by time and fragments of arms corroded by rust." Many people were at the residence of his host, Mr. Wallace, and all greeted him most kindly. A large delegation of citizens of Pittsburg were there to meet him when the boat arrived at Braddock's Fields and early the next morning Captain Murray's Troops of Light Dragoons went out from Pittsburg to escort him and his party to the city. The entire road from Braddock's Fields to Pittsburg, we are informed, was "covered with people." The escort moved slowly and many hundreds shook hands with the General as he sat in his barouche. They visited the arsenal, which announced the arrival of the distinguished guest by the discharge of twenty-four guns. Major Churchill and his officers of the garrison entertained him at breakfast. After leaving the arsenal he was taken to a field nearby where the military companies of Pittsburg, under the command of General Wilkinson, were drawn up in line to receive him. From there the cavalcade resumed its way to the city where they were received by Mayor Darragh and the public officers, and almost every man, woman and child in the city had turned out to meet him. The General was seated in a barouche drawn by four white horses. Immediately upon entering Pittsburg they were driven to Darlington's Hotel on Wood street. There the school children were drawn up to extend him a welcome. Three carriages had followed the General's barouche containing the veterans of the Revolution. These were John Bamwell, Alexander Gray, Elijah Clayton, Thomas Rae, David Morse, Thomas Vaughn, Richard Sparrow and Galbraith Wilson. All of them dined with him at the Darlington Hotel on Monday and at Ramsey's Hotel on the day following. They seem to have been the last survivors of the Revolution in Pittsburg and the respect paid them on this great occasion shows the loyalty of the people of the city to those who had fought bravely that this nation might be born. One of the soldiers, when presented to Lafayette, asked him if he had forgotten a young soldier who offered to carry him on a litter when he was wounded at Brandywine. Lafayette looked at him carefully for a moment and then said: "No, I have not forgotten Wilson, and it is a great happiness to be permitted to greet you today." The General also recognized the venerable Reverend Joseph Patterson as another whom he knew as a young man in the Revolution. Before leaving Pittsburg he presented Wilson with a gold-headed cane, perhaps in special memory of the soldier's proffered assistance when he was wounded. Prior to the battle of Brandywine Lafayette had fought only with Washing-

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ton, but on that occasion he asked permission to join Sullivan, and while dismounted and trying to rally his troops he was shot in the leg and with great difficulty placed on his horse and borne from the field.

With Lafayette, throughout all of his tour through the United States, was M. Levasseur, who acted as his secretary. He noted carefully many events that occurred and published a book entitled "Lafayette in America in 1824-1825." By the time he reached Pittsburg they had visited most sections of the United States and were undoubtedly tired of being constantly entertained in this way and the secretary therefore writes but briefly of this place. He says that he has been called on to describe so many triumphal entries into great and rich cities in the course of their travels that he is compelled to pass some of them by in silence. "It is for this reason I omit the account of his reception at the National Hotel at Pittsburg; although that city yielded to no other in the United States in the splendor of her festivals and in the expression of her sentiments of patriotic gratitude." Pittsburg was then a town of perhaps ten thousand people between the foot of Grant's Hill and the rivers and considering this, these were indeed very glowing words. Then the secretary adds: "I will not, however, quit Pittsburg without paying my tribute of admiration to the eloquence of Mr. Shaler, who addressed the General in the name of the citizens, and that of Mr. Gazzam, charged with the presentation of the children of the public schools. These two orators, so remarkable for elevation of thought and eloquence of expression, obtained the approbation of their auditors and excited in the heart of him whom they addressed, the most profound sentiments of gratitude." The men whose oratory he speaks so highly of were Honorable Charles Shaler, who was graduated at Yale College and became President Judge of the Courts of Common Pleas (1824 to 1835). He was one of the eminent men of his day, and lived until 1869. The other was Edward D. Gazzam, who afterward read medicine and became somewhat distinguished in his profession, and also represented Allegheny county in the State Senate. This great reception day was on May 29th and on the day following Lafayette's party inspected the city. The secretary says: "He was struck by the excellence and perfection of the processes employed in the various workshops which he examined, but that which interested him above all was the manufacture of glass, some patterns of which were presented to him, that for clearness and transparency might have been admired even by the side of the glass of Baccarat." Bakewell, Page & Bakewell were the makers of cut glass and presented two of their choicest pieces of work to Lafayette. This is evidenced by the note of thanks which the General sent the firm, a photograph of which is exhibited in the Carnegie Library at Allegheny. The presents given him were vases which he carried home to France. Lafayette was doubtless the most distinguished visitor who has yet visited Pittsburg and well did the city demean herself on this great occasion.

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The Jeffersonian simplicity of the early days is illustrated in the manner in which James Monroe was received in Pittsburg. He was inaugurated on March 4, 1817, and visited Pittsburg on Friday, September 5, following. The *Mercury* dated a week after his arrival says that a few miles out of the city he was met by a committee of arrangements and conducted to the ferry, where an elegant barge rowed by four sea captains awaited his approach. As he came down the hill to the river a national salute was fired from the city and a band furnished music on the barge while crossing. On landing he was received with military honors by Captain Irwin's company of volunteer light infantry, and by the citizens with loud acclamations. A coach with four horses waited to convey him to his lodgings, but "observing that the authorities of the city were on foot, he chose to walk also." He was then escorted to the residence of William Wilkins who was then President of the Common Council of the city of Pittsburg. The following morning the city officials called on him in a body. They were headed by James Ross, the leading lawyer, who made the address on behalf of the visitors. He thanked the president for his efforts in behalf of the western county and particularly for having opened up the Mississippi river to commerce which greatly benefitted the interior and particularly Pittsburg. Later on Saturday the President visited the arsenal. On the next day he attended the Trinity Church (Episcopalian) in the morning, and the Presbyterian Church in the afternoon. On Monday he visited some of the larger factories of the city.

Charles Dickens came to Pittsburg unheralded on March 28, 1842. His trip across the Allegheny mountains and from Johnstown to Pittsburg on a canal boat, has been described in the "American Notes" and is given in these pages in the description of the Pennsylvania canal. Dickens came on one of David Leech & Company's canal boats called "The Express." In announcing his arrival the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday, March 29, 1842, said that Charles Dickens and lady had arrived in Pittsburg at half past nine o'clock on the evening before, on their way to St. Louis, and had taken lodging at the Exchange Hotel. "We understand," says the writer, "that the managers have given him an invitation to visit the Theater tonight." That was the extent of the notice given by the leading morning paper of the arrival of the great English novelist in Pittsburg. "It is truly painful to contemplate mankind in such an aspect, Master Copperfield, but our reception was decidedly cool." The apparently cool reception was not in reality because the better people of the city did not appreciate Dickens, but rather, we should say because they did not know of his arrival. The Exchange Hotel, where he stopped, was at the corner of Penn and St. Clair streets, now Penn avenue and Sixth street, and occupied part of the ground at present covered by the Hotel Anderson. When it was learned that he was in Pittsburg the people turned out and showed him every kindness and feeling of good will. Many hundreds went to see him so that during his stay here his reception rooms were crowded with the best and most cultured people of the city. In letters to

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friends he speaks particularly of the enthusiastic reception which the people of Pittsburg extended him. It is a fact that he was fairly lionized while he was here. On his return to England he published the "American Notes" and in it he has been charged of speaking very unkindly of Pittsburg. This is true but it is scarcely correct to say that he criticises Pittsburg more severely than he does other parts of America. He had the proverbial conceit and bigotry of his people and in the new country he had doubtless noticed many crudities that he thought it his duty to correct and reform. On his approaching Pittsburg he says: "Furnace fires and clanking hammers on the bank of the canal warned us that we approached the termination of this part of the journey. After going through a dreamy place, a long aqueduct across another Allegheny river, which was stronger than the bridge at Harrisburg, being a vast, low, wooden chamber full of water, we emerged upon that ugly confusion of back buildings and crazy galleries and stores which always abuts on water, whether it be river, sea, canal or ditch, and we were in Pittsburg." On the canal boat he had become acquainted with a passenger whom he calls "a man from the brown forests of Mississippi," and with him he parted company on the wharf of the canal basin at the corner of Eleventh and Penn streets. Here he was kindly greeted by a little man who was then a portrait painter in Pittsburg and whom he had known years before in London. This little man he calls "D. G.," and from the "Notes" the meeting was equally agreeable to both Dickens and D. G. After the novelist was dead some years Mr. Foster published a "Life of Dickens," including some private letters which were probably published with bad taste. In them Dickens speaks discourteously of the people of Pittsburg, some of whom at least had treated him more graciously than he deserved. In describing his crowded receptions he says there were some "very queer customers," and among them was "a gentleman with his inexpressibles very imperfectly buttoned and his waistband resting on his thighs, who stood behind the half-opened door and could by no temptation or inducement be prevailed upon to come out." Another visitor at his reception he describes as a man with "one eye and one fixed gooseberry, who stood in the corner, motionless, like an eight-day clock, and glared upon me, as I courteously received the Pittsburghians." It is doubtless true that some "queer customers" called on him, for they are found in every community, but it was somewhat inelegant in the novelist, who boasted of his own courtesy, to single out one or two of his visitors for caricature and to, in some degree, include the many more polished people who extend to him the highest possible meed of homage and respect they were able to show him when he was their guest. Yet these criticisms must be considered in the light of his words concerning the American people as seen on his second visit to America in 1867, wherein he retracted his severe criticisms of us made in 1842, and asked his publishers to forever print the retraction in all future editions of his works. At best, however, he did not admire Pittsburg in 1842 and gave it less notice as a city than it really

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deserved. The entire notice is as follows: "Pittsburg is like Birmingham in England, at least its towns-people say so. Setting aside the streets, the shops, the houses, wagons, factories, public buildings and population perhaps it may be. It certainly has a great quantity of smoke hanging about and is famous for its iron works. It is very beautifully situated on the Allegheny river, over which there are two bridges; and the villas of the wealthier citizens, sprinkled about the high grounds in the neighborhood, are pretty enough. We lodged at a most excellent hotel and were admirably served. As usual, it was full of boarders and very large, and had a broad colonnade to every story of the house." What would he have said could he have known that in half a century from the time he wrote these words, Pittsburg would manufacture more iron in one year than Birmingham, London, Sheffield and Glasgow, and all the other of the iron cities of Great Britain put together? After remaining in Pittsburg three days he and his wife, the same wife with whom he quarreled and ceased to live with a few years later, left on a steamboat, "The Messenger," for Cincinnati.

LOUIS KOSSUTH.

The heartfelt welcome extended to Lafayette by Pittsburg was probably surpassed in enthusiasm and excitement when the much larger grown city made ready to receive Louis Kossuth. He had been honored with the Governorship of Hungary, his native land, and had led a revolting army of his people against Austria. The expedition was overthrown, and Kossuth himself was captured and confined in prison. While imprisoned he procured a copy of an English Bible and of Shakespeare, and with these works alone began the study of the English language. It is said that in the mastery of it, which he acquired mainly in this way, he surpassed in accuracy that of the most eminent scholars of his day, even among those to whom the English language was a mother tongue. Kossuth was eloquent, romantic and extremely potent as a leader of men. When he was finally released from prison he visited most of the great cities of England and the United States to advocate the cause of freedom in Hungary. He came to the United States in the latter part of 1851. He told a thrilling story of the wrongs of Hungary and told it with an eloquence which thrilled alike the rich and the poor, the educated and the unlearned in all parts of Great Britain and United States.

Wherever he went he enlisted the sympathy of mankind for the cause of freedom which he advocated. When it was learned in Pittsburg that he would soon visit the city, a public meeting was called to make arrangements to properly receive him. This was held in the Supreme Court room on Saturday afternoon, December 27. The room was crowded to overflowing with men of all parties, all occupations and all shades of religious belief. Moses Hampton was called to the chair and a long list of prominent men were named as vice-presidents. J. Herron Foster, J. G. Backofen, H. Mustler, Lecky Har-

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per and D. N. White were suggested and appointed as secretaries. A committee on resolutions was also named consisting of Colonel Samuel W. Black, J. H. Sewell, M. W. Irwin, James McCaulay, Morrison Foster, William A. Irwin, W. W. Dallas, James Schoonmaker, R. B. Roberts, Joseph Morrison, S. McClurken, Samuel Fahnestock and W. J. Rose. Eloquent addresses were made by President Hampton, T. J. Fox Alden, Thomas M. Marshall, Dr. Edward D. Gazzam, Colonel Samuel W. Black and Charles Naylor. In the meantime the committee on resolutions reported, through its chairman W. W. Irwin, in a series of spirited resolutions and they were adopted by the meeting with a warmth of expression that indicated the feeling of the city. The excitement in Pittsburg ran so high over the looked for arrival of Kossuth that it entirely engrossed the feeling of the city. The newspapers of the day contained little else. All other matters were temporarily laid aside. The editorial of the *Gazette,* December 31, has the following: "We pray our readers to recollect that not many great men are born in a century, and that never before has so sublime a spectacle been presented to the world of an exiled, penniless, untitled man being received by a great people with such distinguished honor and such profound respect, and that respect and that honor so worthily bestowed." A large executive committee, appointed by Chairman Hampton of the citizens' meeting, of which J. P. Guthrie, H. S. Fleming and Colonel Black were active spirits, had in the meantime been making grand preparations and the people were daily becoming more and more anxious to give the great Hungarian orator and philosopher a splendid reception. On January 12, 1852, a meeting of the ministers of Pittsburg was held in a church on Sixth street and another committee was appointed to prepare an address representing the sentiments of the clergy of Allegheny county toward Kossuth and his principles. Dr. Homer J. Clark was chairman and Reverend Paxton was secretary. In the meantime the reception committee had formulated an elaborate program. At that time the railroad west of the Allegheny mountains had not been completed and Kossuth and his party were journeying westward slowly on the Northern Turnpike. General William Larimer, Jr., had been appointed chief marshal of the parade. The route laid out by him and in conjunction with the committee was down Penn to Hay street, along Hay to Liberty street, down Liberty to Short street, along Short to Water street, up Water to Smithfield street, up Smithfield to Fifth avenue, down Fifth avenue to Wood street and down Wood to the St. Charles Hotel. Every arrangement was made, the city was worked up to the highest point of expectation, but Kossuth was snowbound and all arrangements were necessarily deferred. On Saturday, January 17, his party reached the top of the Allegheny mountains and lodged at the Mountain House. In the meantime a great snow had fallen, deep enough to stop all transportation on the Portage road and the Pennsylvania canal was frozen up. At Hollidaysburg his party, numbering fifteen, had taken sleighs but even these could not come further west than the Mountain House because of the bitter cold weather and the increasing snow; nor could

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they get any communication westward. The people of Pittsburg thought he was snowbound somewhere on the mountains but could receive no communication from him. With the Kossuth party was Francis Pulsky and his wife, who afterward wrote and published an account of the tour in America called "White, Red, Black, Sketches of American Society," and from it we quote: "On our journey over the mountains we suffered much from intense cold in the open sledges. We had to put hot bricks under our feet and cover ourselves with buffalo robes. The country through which we drove is inhabited nearly exclusively by Irish. The small towns of Blairsville, Ebensburg, Armagh and Salem are filled with them; and on the slopes of the Alleghenies I saw that land is constantly being taken up, the trees girdled, felled and the country cleared, though the soil is very poor. I was astonished to see that people stopped here among the mountains who could find further west a rich soil, which better remunerate their toils. I was informed that the first settlements were founded by Irishmen only, that this happened to be the first country they met where land was cheap on their way westward and that the gregarious habits of the Celtic race soon peopled the country. Americans rarely remain here; they clear the wood, patch up a loghouse and sell it to those emigrants who do not like the hard work of the pioneer. In every little town a yelling Irish crowd, with pipers and drummers, greeted us, and boisterously claimed a speech, protesting their sympathy for Hungary." The party finally left the Allegheny mountains on January 21 and remained all night in Blairsville. In the meantime sleighs were sent out from Pittsburg to hasten their journey. The *Gazette,* of January 22, has the following notice: "We are requested by the chief marshal, General Larimer, to say that at the ringing of the bells, all the fire companies, committees, associations, delegations and citizens intending to take part in the procession, will organize themselves and repair to the ground designated in the program so that the procession can be formed within two hours after the first ringing of the bells." But the distance from Blairsville was forty-two miles and the Kossuth party did not reach Pittsburg until about half past seven o'clock in the evening. Kossuth was moreover tired, cold and ill and longed for nothing so much as a good night's rest. From the same book, "White, Red, Black," we again quote: "We happily escaped the hubbub of a grand reception and procession which awaited us not far from the city; for a gentleman of the Pittsburg committee, in compassion to our fatigues and dreading the consequences of our health, gave out that it was not Kossuth and his party who came along in the sledges. Nevertheless before we had reached the city, it oozed out in which carriage Kossuth was; and the horsemen, and firemen and engines with their tolling bells caught us in the very moment of our alighting at the back door of the hotel." A great crowd of people gathered around the St. Charles Hotel and would not be quieted nor dispersed until Kossuth came out on the balcony and spoke a few words to them. He merely told them that he was physically unable to address them, thanked them for their manifestations of kindness and

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hoped that after a day's rest he would be able to speak to them. Then Colonel Black addressed them in his usually happy and eloquent style, after which they went to their homes. Kossuth and his party remained eight days in Pittsburg and it was a very busy and interesting period, both for the people and the visitors. They were all delighted with Kossuth and he could not otherwise than be pleased with a people who treated him as they did. Quoting from above again: "For the cause of Hungary they were enthusiastic, and especially the ladies exerted themselves most nobly to give practical proof of their sympathy, not only under the excitement of Kossuth's speeches, but they formed and kept up a lasting association for the aid of Hungary. Even they, however, were surpassed in generosity by the workmen of the Pittsburg Alkali Works, who, without exception, handed to Kossuth a whole week's wages as their contribution for struggling liberty in Europe." The Alkali Works, whose employes gave so liberally, were in Birmingham and were owned by Bennet, Berry & Co. When he left the city on January 31, the *Gazette* said: "No city that Governor Kossuth has yet visited has given him a more cordial, hearty and enthusiastic reception than Pittsburg; in no place, probably, has he made a more favorable impression. There has been no idle pageantry, no expensive feasting, nothing in short but a plain republican hospitality, and a generous contribution of substantial aid to his cause, contributed cheerfully and gladly by all classes."

Kossuth made many addresses and they were all eloquent, beautiful and thrilling. It is safe to say that never before nor since has any man come to Pittsburg who equalled him in his power over the hearts and minds of the people.

KING EDWARD VII.

In the month of October, 1860, Pittsburg gave an ovation in honor of Baron Renfrew, Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII of England. It was on the occasion of his only visit to this country. His royal highness was then about eighteen years of age. He was accompanied by several quite celebrated Englishmen and perhaps a dozen attendants. His itinerary covered much of the domain of Canada and many of the principal cities of the United States. He landed in Newfoundland and traveled westward, touching this country first at Chicago and from that city went to St. Louis, thence to Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, re-embarking at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He sailed for England October 20, after having been made welcome in the numerous cities at which he stopped. He was but a youthful Englishman, but was received as the future king of England, and perhaps no city made him feel more welcome than did Pittsburg, which city had been the first to formally invite his presence. Through reading the London newspapers, it was known that this tour was to be made at least through Canada, and at the timely sug-

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gestion of General William Robinson a meeting was called which met at the old Merchants Exchange and at which gathering the mayor, Hon. George Wilson, was requested to send a special invitation to the young Prince, to become a guest of Pittsburg. By this time the royal party had reached America and the mayor sent him a letter, which was directed to one of the Canadian cities and was at once answered, by the Duke of New Castle and addressed to "The Mayor of Pittsburg." The letter informed the mayor that the Prince had accepted the invitation and stated that he expected his party would arrive in Pittsburg October 1. Then followed the details of work preparatory to receiving the distinguished visitors. Among those who were active in this work of making ready for the unusual event were: Neville B. Craig, General J. K. Moorehead, Thomas Steel and James McCaully. Among the several committees was one appointed to go to Alliance, Ohio, to meet the party and properly escort them to Pittsburg. Another committee was selected to receive the Prince and his fellow travelers on their arrival at the old Fort Wayne depot in Allegheny. This committee consisted of Mayor George Wilson, Hon. Thomas M. Howe, R. Biddle Roberts, George W. Cass, John Morrison and Captain David Campbell.

On May 10, 1860, the Sixth street bridge (wire suspension) built by Col. John A. Roebling, first opened for travel and was the thoroughfare passed over by the royal guests upon their arrival in Allegheny City. This bridge, then less than six months old, never looked more attractive, and was especially noticed by the eminent Englishmen, who were impressed with the thought that America possessed enterprise and constructive genius, to be the first in the world to span a great water course by means of wire bridges. This bridge, on the night the Prince arrived, was beautifully illuminated by many lights, attached to the wires on either side and overhead. At the depot, through the thoughtfulness of General Case, the agent provided ample light by means of several large locomotive headlights, the reflection of which gave a cheerful appearance to the station.

Upon the arrival of the train, the Prince was seen standing on the platform of the car (the same as one might now see a Yankee boy), with the reception escort about him. Here Mayor George Wilson made an address of welcome, which was beautifully and appropriately worded and which was favorably commented on, both here and in England. The procession from the depot passed down Federal street and on over the suspension bridge, where hundreds of boys had taken positions high up among the wire cables, on either side of the roadway, in order to get a good sight of the Prince, of whom they had very exalted notions, from hearing their parents talk of him who would one day be king of England, should he live until Queen Victoria passed away. The party arrived at the Monongahela House at about ten o'clock at night, and being very weary, soon retired. The next morning, which was October 3, the Prince inquired of the landlord, John McDonald Crossan, for a clergyman of the "Church of England," known to us as the Episcopal church.

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He was informed that such a personage was a guest of the house, and he at once sought out and presented to him, the learned and highly polished Rev. David Cook Page, who remarked to the Prince: "This is not the first time I have met your lordship; I held you in my arms a few moments when you were about to be baptized in Westminster Abbey, I then being a guest of the Archbishop of Canterbury."

An immense crowd formed at the entrance of the Monongahela House in the early forenoon, and many sought entrance to the parlor at the head of the stairs which was occupied by the Prince, but the royal personages who had him in charge baffled their every effort, and kept them waiting until nearly eleven o'clock, the time set for the party to take a drive throughout the city. Upon coming to the Smithfield entrance of the hotel, where the carriages were in waiting, the Prince was soon seated on the back seat of a carriage with Mayor Wilson, while Lord Lyons and the Duke of New Castle occupied the front seat. The carriage was drawn by four splendid gray horses. The procession was headed by Robert H. Patterson and Christian Magee, and proceeded up Smithfield street, while Chief-of-police Robert Hague breasted the tide of anxious spectators, trying his utmost to keep the way open. At Fourth avenue, they met the Duquesne Grays, that splendidly drilled military company, under Captain Campbell, preceded by Young's then celebrated brass band, which defiled on each side of the Price's carriage, forming an escort. The procession included several conveyances containing the committees of invitation, and others. The young Prince was "observed by all observers," especially by the ladies who smiled and waved their handkerchiefs, he in return bowing and lifting his hat, seeming at perfect ease, and indeed perfectly delighted at the attention paid to him. The Duquesne Grays never looked more beautiful than upon this occasion. They wore spotless white trousers, gray coats and caps with white plumes, and, with their boots shining, their white gloves and glistening guns, they presented indeed a very imposing spectacle. From Fourth avenue, the procession passed to Grant street and on to Fifth avenue, down this thoroughfare to Wood street, thence to Fourth, to Hay and on to Penn. The last named street was then considered one of the most fashionable residence streets in the city. There were the homes of many of the wealthier people of the place, and there the scene was one of supreme splendor. The doors, windows and steps, with every available spot were crowded with the beauty, fashion, wealth and culture of Pittsburg. Headed for the depot, the procession passed from Penn to Wayne, thence to Liberty, and on to the station, where the Duquesne Grays formed a line, and the Prince and attendants boarded the train for the East. The Prince stood on the platform of the special train, showing himself to the multitude, being no doubt, thrilled by the sweet strains from the band playing "God Save the Queen," followed by three rousing cheers by the assembled throng. His train left Pittsburg, at one o'clock in the afternoon and the young Englishman remained on the car platform as long as the station and people were in view.

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The city was decorated with a great array of flags all along the route traversed. In many places the American and British colors were significantly intertwined or floated side by side in the October breeze.

The general impression left by this visit upon the minds of Pittsburgers, was that the Prince was a gentle, cultured young man. There was some little criticism, as is always the case. One man remarked that his light colored suit would have been more befitting in August days than in October. Another thought the high crowned, white hat he wore, might be good enough for an Englishman, but was not the proper head covering for an American of such tender years.

Perhaps no other man in Pittsburg had as good an opportunity of conversing with him, and forming a correct idea, of the man who is now on the English throne, as Mayor George Wilson, who had the honor of receiving the Prince on behalf of the city, on this occasion. But it is related by him, and not many years since, that it was with much difficulty, that he could get his attention, on account of the apparent over officiousness of the Duke of New Castle, who seemed to be the Prince's mouthpiece, and insisted on answering all questions asked by the mayor. But this was possibly for the good reason that he was better qualified than the youthful Prince, who had not yet seen his nineteenth birthday, and could not be expected to converse on great subjects as readily as one of more mature years. Among the Englishmen of the party, during their sojourn in Pittsburg, were the Duke of New Castle, Lord Bruce, a most charming conversationalist, and Lord Lyons, then minister at Washington, from the court of St. James. The London and Liverpool newspapers made many complimentary notices of the reception accorded the Prince in Pittsburg and the good Queen in the years which followed, frequently expressed her pleasure at the manner her son was received while in America. A book was published, containing an account of his travels, in which Pittsburg was favorable mentioned.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the 14th of February, 1861, Abraham Lincoln and his family came to Pittsburg on their way to Washington. The reception which was accorded him was a spontaneous rather than a pre-arranged one, but no returning conqueror, no prince or potentate ever received a more loyal nor a more demonstrative welcome than he. He came from his humble home among the prairies of the West, in a train which should have reached Allegheny at 5:20 in the afternoon. Long before the hour arrived the streets were packed with thousands of men and women and from almost everyone came cheers for "Honest Old Abe," a name that had often been applied to him in the preceding campaign. By some accident on the road near Rochester, Pennsylvania, not far out from Pittsburg, the train was delayed fully two and a half hours, but the people did not disperse. About six o'clock a cold steady rain began to

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fall but this seemingly only increased the multitude which came to greet him. It should be remembered in this connection, that Pittsburg and Allegheny county had given an unprecedented majority for Lincoln in the preceding November election. This large majority gave rise to one of his best, and among the Pittsburgers, one of his most oft repeated jokes. When the news was flashed over the wires and was read to him, at his home in Springfield, that Allegheny had giving him a majority, first of five, then eight and finally of ten thousand votes, he turned to some friends who were with him, and said: "Where is this State of Allegheny?" The majority was 8,907, which in those days of evenly balanced parties was, indeed, a victory of which even a state might have been justly proud.

At eight o'clock Mr. Lincoln's special train arrived at the Federal street station in Allegheny City. From the station to the St. Clair (now Sixth street) bridge, was a densely packed mass of cheering humanity. The bridge itself was filled with people, all of whom were willing to endure the weather however inclement, that they might see and welcome the man upon whom the eyes of a nation were turned and upon whom they rightfully thought the preservation of the Union depended. The crowd had been rather quiet, but at eight o'clock when it was known that the train had arrived the cheering began with its greatest force. All the military organizations of the two cities were in attendance and their first duty was to force the people back, so that the distinguished guest and those who were with him, could make their way from the train to the carriage. The multitude recognized him by his towering height above those around him and by his, even then, well known features, and this was the signal for renewed and tremendous cheering from all classes. When he reached the carriage the assemblage demanded a speech, and this call was repeated from hundreds of people, as the carriage passed up St. Clair street, for it was impossible to drive rapidly from the station. Mr. Lincoln in answer to these calls arose in his carriage and begged to be excused from making an address at that time, but assured them that he would have a few words to say to them the next morning. The escort from the station was under the command of General J. S. Negley and was composed of the Pennsylvania Dragoons, the Washington Infantry and the Jackson Blues. They escorted him as rapidly as they could to the Monongahela House, at the corner of Smithfield and Front streets, where they encountered another immense throng, equally bent on having him address them. It was estimated by the papers printed the following day that fully ten thousand people awaited him at the hotel. Evidently he did not intend to talk to them that night, but the multitude importuned him so that he at length stood on a chair in the hall of the hotel and said a few words to them in which he asked to be excused from talking that night, but promised to talk to them the next morning. Only a few in the hall and office could hear what he said, and they were quieted and satisfied. But on the outside of the hotel was a far greater crowd and they continued to call for his appearance and for an address. They

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had long before learned of his power as a public speaker. They knew that the tall, ungainly man whom they received now as their honored guest, had not only displayed a marvelous power in convincing juries of the West, but that he had successfully measured swords with Stephen A. Douglas, the ablest parliamentary debater of his day; an address therefore they were determined to have. Mr. Lincoln then went out on the balcony of the hotel and spoke as follows:

"Fellow Citizens: I appear now for the purpose of coming to an understanding as to the best manner of closing this scene for tonight, and will inform you that tomorrow morning I will address you in broad day-light, at half past eight o'clock from this balcony, when you will have an opportunity of seeing my handsome physiognomy. The train leaves for Cleveland at ten o'clock, and I will be able to adress you about fifteen minutes on what I understand to be the greatest interest to the State of Pennsylvania. With these few remarks I will say for the present, good night."

Previous to Mr. Lincoln's appearance on the balcony, someone of the bystanders cried out: "Say something about Allegheny county!" To this Mr. Lincoln replied, that it was not necessary as it was widely known as the "banner county" of the State, if not of the Union.

The following gentlemen composed Mr. Lincoln's suite: Dr. W. S. Wallace, John G. Nicolay, John Hay, Hon. N. B. Judd, Hon. O. H. Browning, Hon. David Davis, Col. E. V. Summer, Maj. D. Hunter, Capt. George Hazzard, Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, Col. Ward H. Lamon, J. M. Burgess, George C. Latham and W. S. Wood. Mrs. Lincoln with their son Robert T., a nurse and two children, were also of the party, Mrs. Lincoln having joined her husband at Indianapolis, Indiana. The president and his wife occupied rooms Nos. 7 and 8, at the Monongahela House; the same rooms that had been occupied the October before by Baron Renfrew, then the Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII of England.

During the campaign his opponents had published widely that he was a very homely man, and indeed his friends had not denied this; it was only in after years when the great soul of the man was seen in his face, that the world began to even admire his features. But his face did not disappoint the Pittsburg people. Indeed they formed the opinion that those rugged features meant kindness, strength, integrity and soul. As a facile New York writer has said: "They were carried past all impressions of mere beauty of feature and symmetry of outline and they saw only the nobility of face and the depth of the marvelous eye."

It continued to rain nearly all night after the arrival of Mr. Lincoln, and was still raining in the morning, when a vast crowd had assembled on Smithfield street, at the hotel balcony, to hear the promised address. He had made speeches at Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Steubenville, on his way from Springfield, before he reached Pittsburg. His Pittsburg speech was a most excellent one, perhaps the most faultless of any on his trip to Washing-

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ton, and it was less criticised than any other. He was introduced by Mayor George Wilson in the following words:

The people of Allegheny county, relying on your wisdom and patriotism, that the dangers that threaten the permanency of our government, may by your prudence and firmness, be especially removed, and the glorious confederacy established by our forefathers may find in you an able and patriotic defender.

Mr. Lincoln then spoke as follows:

I most cordially thank his Honor, Mayor Wilson, and the citizens of Pittsburg generally, for their flattering reception. I am the more grateful because I know that it is not given to me alone, but to the cause I represent, which clearly proves to me their good will, and that sincere feeling is at the bottom of it. And here I may remark that in every short address I have made to the people, in every crowd through which I have passed of late, some allusion has been made to the present distracted condition of the country. It is natural to expect that I should say something on the subject; but to touch upon it at all would involve an elaborate discussion of a great many questions and circumstances, requiring more time than I can at present command, and would, perhaps, unnecessarily commit me upon matters which have not yet fully developed themselves. The condition of the country is an extraordinary one, and fills the mind of every patriot with anxiety. It is my intention to give this subject all the consideration I possibly can before specially deciding in regard to it, so that when I do speak it may be as nearly right as possible. When I do speak I hope I may say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will prove inimical to the liberties of the people, or to the peace of the whole country. And, furthermore, when the time arrives for me to speak on this great subject, I hope I may say nothing to disappoint the people generally throughout the country, especially if the expectation has been based upon anything which I may have heretofore said. Notwithstanding the troubles across the river [the speaker pointing southwardly across the Monongahela, and smiling], there is no crisis but an artificial one. What is there now to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends over the river? Take even their own view of the question involved, and there is nothing to justify the course they are pursuing. I repeat, then, there is no crisis, excepting such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men aided by designing politicians. My advice to them, under such circumstances, is to keep cool. If the great American people only keep their temper on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end, and the question which now distracts the country will be settled, just as surely as all other difficulties of a like character which have originated in this government have been adjusted. Let the people on both sides keep their self-possession, and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great nation continue to prosper as heretofore. But, fellow-citizens, I have spoken longer on this subject than I had intended at the outset.

It is often said that the tariff is the specialty of Pennsylvania. Assuming that direct taxation is not to be adopted, the tariff question must be as durable as the government itself. It is a question of national housekeeping. It is to the government what replenishing the meal-tub is to the family. Ever-varying circumstances will require frequent modifications as to the amount needed and the source of supply. So far there is little difference of opinion among

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the people. It is as to whether, and how far duties on imports shall be adjusted to favor home production in the home market, that controversy begins. One party insists that such an adjustment oppresses one class for the advantage of another; while the other party argues that, with all its incidents, in the long run all classes are benefited. In the Chicago platform there is a plank upon this subject which should be general law to the incoming administration. We should do neither more nor less than we gave the people reason to believe we would when they gave us their votes. Permit me fellow-citizens, to read the tariff plank of the Chicago platform, or rather to have it read in your hearing by one who has younger eyes.

(Mr. Lincoln's private secretary then read Section 12 of the platform as follows:)

That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as will encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to working-men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Mr. Lincoln resumed: "As with all general propositions, doubtless there will be shades of difference in construing this. I have by no means a thoroughly matured judgment upon this subject, especially as to details; some general ideas are about all. I have long thought it would be to our advantage to produce any necessary article at home which can be made of as good a quality and with as little labor at home as abroad, at least by the difference of carrying from abroad. In such cases the carrying is demonstrably a dead loss of labor. For instance, labor being the true standard of value, is it not plain that if equal labor get a bar of railroad iron out of a mine in England, and another out of a mine in Pennsylvania, each can be laid down in a track at home cheaper than they could exchange countries, at least by the carriage? If there be a present cause why one can be both made and carried cheaper in money price than the other can be made without carrying that cause is an unnatural and injurious one, and ought gradually, if not rapidly, to be removed. The condition of the treasury at this time would seem to render an early revision of the tariff indispensable. The Morrill (tariff) bill, now pending before Congress, may or may not become a law. I am not posted as to its particular provisions, but if they are generally satisfactory, and the bill shall now pass, there will be an end for the present. If, however, it shall not pass, I suppose the whole subject will be one of the most pressing and important for the next Congress. By the Constitution, the executive may recommend measures which he may think proper, and he may veto those he thinks improper, and it is supposed that he may add to these, certain indirect influences to affect the actions of Congress. My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias. I therefore would rather recommend to every gentleman who knows he is to be a member of the next Congress to take an enlarged view, and post himself, so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall produce a sufficient revenue, and in its other bearings, so far as

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possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and classes of the people. Thanking you most cordially for the kind reception which you have extended me, I bid you all adieu."

From nine, to about ten o'clock, February 15, after Mr. Lincoln had finished his speech, he held an informal reception, greeting many Pittsburgers. The committee of the Legislature, which was to be his escort to Harrisburg, was also putting up at the same hotel, and they with many others, were received by him and his wife in the main parlor. When he left the Monongahela House, he was escorted directly to Federal street station, Allegheny, which he was to have reached by a much longer route, but which he had ordered his private secretary, Mr. Nicolay, to change on account of time, and for which afterwards he gracefully apologized to General Negley, who had charge of the parade. When he arrived at the station, he was greeted with another great throng of people, who desired only to see his tall form and face and witness his departure. It is said that the crowd around the station had never been equaled in numbers and density. The mass of humanity was almost impenetrable, and all were cheering the great man as he was about to leave for his arduous duties at the National Capital.

Mr. Lincoln had attended the first Republican convention, held in Pittsburg, February 22, 1856, and had often been in the city as an unknown passenger on trains. Upon this last occasion, his special train left the station shortly after ten o'clock. From Pittsburg, he went to Cleveland, thence on through to Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Washington, making speeches at numerous cities, arriving in the capital city, February 28, when he spoke to a serenading party.

The day following Mr. Lincoln's Pittsburg speech, the *Gazette* said: "The visit of the president-elect, is an event which will long be remembered by the people of this city and vicinity."

True, indeed, was this newspaper comment, as viewed in the light of the history, which was made in this war-stricken country, closing with the assassination of Mr. Lincoln four years and two months after his Pittsburg visit.

Upon the news of his assassination, which reached Pittsburg about one o'clock a. m. of April 15, 1865, all business was suspended and early in the morning many of the business places and better residences, as well as the suite of rooms at the Mononghela House which he had occupied when in Pittsburg were draped in mourning. Three days later all business of the cities was again suspended, by an order from the governor and mayor, while the dead president's funeral train was going through the State from Washington by the way of Harrisburg to Philadelphia. A universal gloom settled down on Pittsburg, as well as over every loyal city in the North, as this man with "charity for all and malice towards none" was borne to his last resting place among the prairies of Illinois.

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U. S. GRANT.

General U. S. Grant honored the city of Pittsburg with three regular visits, and of course very often passed through at other times. The first was on October 4, 1865; the second, September 13, 1866, and the last was after he was president, and was made September 14, 1869. His family accompanied him on the first and last visits. On his first visit, he was entertained at the Mononghela House, and was introduced to the throng, who greeted him, by Mayor Lowry, who made a befitting address, saying in part:

"It is the pious purpose of our citizens to rear on yonder eminence, a monument to perpetuate the memory of the fallen heroes of the late war. Let there be inscribed upon its lofty summit—'Washington, the Father, Lincoln, the Savior and Grant, the Defender of his country.' Through all the coming ages may their glorious names be saluted by the beams of the morning and illuminated by the evening sun." Mr. Grant stood in his carriage during the address, but modestly declined making reply. Accompanying the General, was his wife and Frederick, Ulysses, Nellie and Jessie, their children, together with Mrs. Grant's parents—Judge Dent and Mrs. Dent.

In 1866, when he visited Pittsburg, he accompanied President Andrew Johnson and Admiral Farragut. The party was entertained at the St. Charles Hotel, where the people clamored for Grant to speak in the evening, at a late hour, whereupon he came forward and remarked: "Fellow Citizens—Would it not be prudent now for you all to retire to your homes and to your beds? None others of this party will appear outside tonight and it will be desirable for you to go home."

On his third and last public appearance in Pittsburg, General Grant and family stopped at the Monongahela House, but declined to speak. He dined there and visited, out four miles, at the grove of Dr. Gross, of the Seventeenth ward, where Humboldt Day was being observed, and where he made a few remarks complimentary to the German people. The throng of citizens from all ranks in life, regardless of political lines, were eager to see and meet him. From this city he, with his family went to Washington, Pennsylvania, for a quiet visit.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Pittsburg Politics 1832-1856—Formation of the Republican Party.

In 1832 William Wirt, a florid orator and able statesman and lawyer of Baltimore, was the anti-Masonic candidate and the opponents of Jackson having no candidate of their own, voted generally for Wirt as the best means of defeating Jackson. Wirt carried the county and city both, for that year the party lines were pretty closely drawn. The city and county were each Democratic generally until this election of 1832 and had been so since the Whiskey Insurrection. It is true that James Ross was a Federalist and had carried the county in his race for the governorship, but his success was due mainly to his personal popularity and he carried the county rather in spite of his being a Federalist. The same was true of Walter Forward who was so popular and highly esteemed here that he could secure any office he asked for. The Federalist party originated shortly after the formation of the constitution of the United States. Their opponents were then known as anti-Federalists and this name was retained by them until about 1801, when they became more generally known as Republicans. This name was adopted by them long before it came into general use by which to designate them. James Ross was moreover President of the Select Council of Pittsburg from 1816 to 1832, though the members of council who elected him to the presidency were mostly Democrats. Politics was very little considered in the election of public officers until Jackson's administration. The rule of the Federal party was practically ended with the presidency of John Adams and from that time, 1801, until 1825 politics, as we know the term now, was almost unknown in Pittsburg. In 1830 the city of Pittsburg was divided into four wards with an election district in each ward In 1836 the Whigs, anti-Jackson men and anti-Masons, were united in opposing Van Buren and the county gave William Henry Harrison 3,622 votes while Van Buren received 3,074. In 1838 David Ritner, who was the candidate for governor, received 6,000 votes as against 4,500 for David R. Porter, the Democratic candidate. From that time on the vote of the county and city was generally with the Whigs. It was the anti-Mason party which in this section first broke up the Democratic majorities. It was somewhat of a moral question and

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its power was equally inveighed against all secret societies, but the Masons being the most prominent organization of that nature, drew most of the opposition and gave its name to the party. The anti-Masons were found in all sections but were most potent in the rural communities. Many Democrats took up the fight against the Masons and most of them became so embittered at Jackson and his followers that when the anti-Masonic party passed away they had no place to go but to the Whig party which profited therefore by the death of the anti-Masonic party. The United States Bank question came, it is true, before the death of the anti-Masonic party. There were, however, many anti-Jackson men who became Jackson men when their only alternative was the anti-Masonic party, not that they loved Jackson more but that they loved the anti-Masons less. The Democratic party of the state was split in twain by the contest for governor in 1835. The one faction representing about the one-half of the party, nominated George Wolf and the other faction nominated Henry A. Muhlenberg. The anti-Masonic party selected Joseph Ritner. He had made the contest on the same ticket in 1829 and again in 1832, each without any well grounded hope of success, though his vote in 1832 was greatly increased over his vote of 1829, and this led to his nomination in 1835. But in 1835 with the two opposing candidates in the field, both of whom relied mainly on the Democratic party for their support, the outlook was so promising that Ritner drew many votes from both factions and was elected by a large majority. Both branches of the state legislature elected that year were anti-Masonic and as a result the anti-Masons were in complete power in Pennsylvania. This power was so great that it very largely wrought their overthrow and death. It was clearly their duty as a party to exterminate Masonry but like Banquo's Ghost "it would not down." They canvassed the situation thoroughly in Harrisburg and found that the one thing they could do in the way of manifesting their power as anti-Masons was to pass an Act prohibiting the administration of extra-judicial oaths. This act was passed and signed by Governor Ritner. The object of act was to prevent societies of all kinds from administering oaths of secrecy to new members. The law became at once a dead letter, for no secret society was ever compelled to close its doors because of it. It remains yet in force as much as it did in 1836, when it was passed, or at all events the writer cannot find any evidence of its having been repealed. Indeed the Masonic fraternity and all secret societies seemed to be strengthened by this opposition for they grew more rapidly thereafter than before and it was but a few years until every vestige of the anti-Masonic party was gone. In its day it had undoubtedly a moral force but it could not legally enforce its power. United with the anti-Jackson sentiment around Pittsburg it contributed more than any other cause to break down the long standing Democratic majority. This was its chief political effect in this section and otherwise its existence would be thoroughly forgotten by the present generation. In the gubernatorial contest of 1838 the candidates were Ritner and Porter when Alle-

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gheny county gave Ritner a majority of 1,530, a marvelously large one. In 1840 it gave Harrison a majority of 3,000 over Van Buren and this was considered overwhelming.

The city of Pittsburg elected its first mayor in 1836 and elected one each year thereafter for twelve years when the term was increased to two years. Jonas R. McClintock, who was elected each year for the first three years, that is, 1836-37-38, was a Democrat, but was elected because he was a very popular young man, though the city during these years had clearly a Whig majority. In 1839 William Little, a Whig, was elected. In 1840 William W. Irwin, a Whig, was elected and in October he was elected to Congress. In 1841 James Thompson, a Whig, was elected mayor of Pittsburg and was succeeded by Alexander Hay, who was elected also in 1842-43-44; being elected for the latter year as an independent candidate. In 1845 the Whigs elected William J. Howard and in 1846 William Kerr, a Democrat, was elected. In 1847-48 Gabriel Adams, a Whig, was elected mayor and was succeded in 1849 by John Herron of the same party. In 1850 there was a strong anti-Catholic feeling in the city and Joseph Barker, who ran as an independent candidate, was elected mayor.

THE "LOG CABIN" CAMPAIGN—1840.

Pittsburg was the scene of great enthusiasm during the Harrison and Tyler presidential campaign of 1840, indeed more intense was the feeling than in the Andrew Jackson campaign. The Harrison and Van Buren elements brought to bear all the strength of their respective parties—the Democratic and Whig. General William Henry Harrison was the standard bearer of the Whig party and the watch-words of the campaign were "Log-cabin" and "Hard-cider"—"Tippecanoe and Tyler too." On February 11, 1840 there was a great mass-meeting held by the Whigs at the court house to support the nomination of Harrison. Hon. Harmar Denny was president of the convention and delivered a masterful speech on the issues of the day. All old soldiers of the war of 1812 were given seats on the platform. No such political gathering had assembled in Pittsburg since the General Jackson campaign. A meeting was then called for March 11, 1840 by those "who favored protecting the home industries of this country and taking into consideration the present embarrassed condition of the country." Thomas Bakewell was president of that meeting. At an adjourned meeting resolutions were passed, which, after first declaring the true dignity of labor, and the great importance of protection to domestic manufactures, reviewed the tariff legislation of the country. They recited that the policy of the country from the first tariff of July 4, 1789, to that of 1833, had been found by practice to be eminently conducive and useful to the great good of the masses of American people—that when the tariff was the highest, from 1824 to 1832, the country was most prosperous and that with the decrease of tariff rates, hard times and slug-

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gish business conditions had invariably obtained. The Pittsburg delegation which attended the Harrisburg convention nominating Harrison and Tyler was one made up of the most brainy and substantial looking men of Pennsylvania. They carried a banner displaying a splendid portrait of Harrison on the one side and on the reverse was a large picture of a log-cabin, with General Harrison following a plow in the foreground. The Whig candidates became popular at once and the well-drilled organizations were of a spirited type, sweeping everything before them. "Hard-cider" and "Log-cabin" became household words and won many a vote, as they met the sentiment of the common people.

On August 13, 1840, the Whigs of Allegheny City raised a log cabin that was forty by sixty feet in size. They were aided by hundreds who came from remote rural districts. The Whigs of Bedford county furnished and sent over by the turnpike, a distance of a hundred miles, a fine pine pole seventy feet high for a flagstaff. It was planted in front of the log labin, which was the parties headquarters during the campaign. However, the largest meetings were held at Tippecanoe Hall in Pittsburg. The issues of the day were labor and the tariff, which had been bitterly opposed but recently by the political leaders from the South. In the vicinity of Pittsburg, there were distributed 'five thousand medals, bearing the log-cabin and cider barrel emblems. On the sixth of October that year, a mass meeting was held in Pittsburg, at which John Tyler, candidate for vice-president, made a telling address. It was estimated that forty thousand people attended this meeting. Walter Forward and other eloquent speakers were present, and at night the streets were lighted up by the immense torch-light processions. Of this event the *Pittsburger* said the following day: "Yesterday afternoon the city of Pittsburg as well as Allegheny City, looked like a couple of spacious harbors in which the hulls of ten thousand ships lay almost invisible amidst a forest of masts adorned with cider barrels, streamers and flags." The *Advocate* of the same date remarked that "A more beautiful display it was never our fortune to witness. Almost every flag and banner bore an inscription that gave the lie to the charge that the Whigs had no principles."

The Bakewells, glass manufacturers, presented Mr. Tyler with a miniature log cabin of glass, while the Curlings and others gave him a glass canoe and cider barrel.

Greeley's "Log Cabin," a valuable campaign paper, published in New York, was sold and freely distributed in Pittsburg during this campaign. "The Log Cabin Rifle," was the name of another paper which was published in Harrisburg, but circulated much in Pittsburg. Its prospectus contained the following: "This paper will be got up in handsome style, well polished and mounted and the lock, stock and barrel shall be of the best of materials. It will be published on a sheet of royal size and sold at the low price of fifty cents a copy from June to November, 1840. Commissions liberal to agents."

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The Whig party on Fourth of July, 1840, got up a large celebration which was held in the grove, in the rear of Captain Broadhurst's Mansion (hotel). Dinner was served at two o'clock, and tickets for the same were on sale in the morning on the grounds. This was perhaps the only time when a political party took occasion to monopolize the National Independence Day for party purposes, exclusively, in the city of Pittsburg.

The hard times which came during the administration of Van Buren were unjustly attributed to his policy in a greater degree than it deserved. This served to make the campaign of 1840 the most exciting in Pittsburg's history. Because of the want of employment the people devoted most of their time in the summer and fall of 1840 to the discussion of the remedy and to the general contest for the presidency. The country was so impoverished that the show of affluence was distasteful to them. Jackson, who like Jefferson, was renowned because of his simplicity, had been eminently successful in securing the suffrage and loyal support of the common people. The Whigs in advocating the election of Harrison, did not claim that he was a great statesman, a wise and experienced ruler, or a man of superior intellectual force. His chief claims on the presidency seemingly were that he had fought the battle of Tippecanoe and had been born and reared in a log cabin. During Jackson's administration the social functions of the White House had been sadly neglected. This was due to his lack of interest in social life and to the fact that his wife had died shortly before his first inauguration, to the pressing demands of state made upon his time and to other matters which need not be enumerated here. When Van Buren became president he perhaps found it necessary to refurnish the White House, particularly the culinary department, in order that the social side of his administration might be in keeping with the dignity of the Nation he represented. These expenses were included in a general appropriation bill, introduced in 1839. Mr. Charles Ogle of Somerset, one of the brightest men in the Whig party, moved to strike from the bill the clause relative to the repairs and furniture of the president's house. On this motion he delivered on April 14, 1840, the most potent of his many public addresses. The address in pamphlet form, under the title, "The Regal Splendor of the President's Palace," was scattered broadcast throughout the country. Mr. Ogle spoke most eloquently, following the same line of thought, in most of the cities and large towns of the Union in the following campaign, and the address contributed greatly to the victory of the Whigs. Among other items he objected to the silver spoons of the White House. This brought him the name of "Spoony Ogle." The people who lived in log cabins and who had suffered during the Van Buren administration for many of the necessaries of life, could not see why he should eat with silver spoons. In Pittsburg and all over Western Pennsylvania, where Mr. Ogle's high character and ability were acknowledged by all, his address was extremely potent.

There were many "liberty poles" raised here and there in the city and its immediate environments. One was raised at Sharpsburg, September 10,

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by those who had forsaken the Van Buren party. The *Gazette* of that week contained a card announcing as follows:

"A boat will leave the Canal Basin, at the head of Liberty street at 9 a. m. Saturday, for the purpose of conveying all persons in the city desirous of attending the 'raisin' of the flag in Sharpsburg."

In raising the pole at Birmingham in the month of September, 1840, the pole broke and killed a young German who was assisting. He was aged twenty-three years and was without relatives in this country.

When the candidate for the vice-presidency, John Tyler, was in Pittsburg, to address the Whigs, he had rooms at the Pittsburg Hotel, corner of Wood and Third streets. At the presidential election held for Allegheny county in November, 1840, there were 7,620 votes cast for Harrison and Tyler, while the Van Buren party received 4,573 votes.

The Clay and Polk campaign of 1844 was also one of the most spirited political contests ever known in Pittsburg. Henry Clay was the Whig and anti-Masonic candidate for president of the United States, while James K. Polk was the candidate on the Democratic ticket. As usual, the "tariff question" was the great issue in the opinion of the Pittsburg people. Mr. Clay stood squarely on his words uttered sometime prior to his nomination: "I have everywhere maintained that in adjusting a tariff for revenue, discriminations ought to be made for protection; that the tariff of 1842 has operated most beneficially, and that I am utterly opposed to its repeal." This statement stood at the head of the editorial column of the *Pittsburg Gazette* all through that heated campaign. On the other hand, at the head of the Democratic papers was placed Mr. Polk's declaration: "I have all times been opposed to the protective policy. I am opposed to the tariff act of 1842." On the item of wool, then much talked of, he said: "The wool growers consider the duties on foreign wool as important to their prosperity; this opinion I apprehend is founded on error. My own opinion is that wool should be duty free." On the question of annexing Texas territory to the United States, he said: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas."

Among the special features of that campaign, in and about Pittsburg, were the numerous campaign poems and songs and the raising of the highest "liberty poles" ever erected in this country. Aside from the two political parties named in the field, was that of the Liberty or Abolition party, headed by James G. Birney, but their views being too radical for that day they did not poll a large vote. In the month of August, 1844, there was a great Whig mass meeting in Pittsburg, attended by about 3,500 Whigs, who had in their procession fully seven hundred transparencies and banners. Both cities joined in this gathering. The *Gazette-Advertiser* of that date said:

"It was truly an evening and a spectacle long to be remembered, or rather never to be forgotten." The procession was forty-five minutes passing a given point. An account of this affair in a daily paper published the next

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day, stated: "On, on the mass rolled in triumph from the lower to the upper bridge, one chain of resolute and determined Whigs extended a living stream, an irresistible throng of men, filled with high and holy feelings of patriotism, with minds made up to rescue our loved land from the domination of those who would inflict upon it the direct evils."

There were Young Men's Clubs from both cities from both the German and American people, speaking in their own tongue. The great convention was held in Pittsburg September 10, 1844, when thirty thousand Whigs were in attendance. They marched from Pittsburg to the slope of Seminary Hill in Allegheny City, where many eloquent speeches were made, including one from the fearless statesman, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. The National salute of twenty-six guns, was fired both morning and evening. The display of flagpoles was very striking. Baltimore had long boasted of having the tallest pole in America, but the one erected by the Whigs, in front of the Monongahela House in Pittsburg, was never questioned as being the tallest. It was three hundred and twelve feet high and from it floated a gigantic flag, with the beautiful emblematic streamers. On Wood street, there were erected sixty or more tall liberty poles. The *Gazette* in commenting on the wonderful display of poles remarked:

"Pittsburg turns out the tallest poles, the greatest conventions, the most gorgeous torch-light processions, shows the most flags, casts the heaviest votes and beats its opponents by the largest majorities of any in district with the same population in the country."

On October 30, Hon. Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, spoke to a vast audience in McFadden's spacious warehouse, for two hours, making a strong argument in favor of Henry Clay's election. The election resulted in Mr. Clay's defeat in the state and nation, but not in Allegheny county. The vote stood: Clay, 8,083; Polk, 5,743; Birney, 435.

The following was a paragraph in the editorial of the *Gazette-Advertiser,* after this election:

"Little wanton boys that swim on bladders get far beyond their depth, but the name and fame of Henry Clay will endure, while Freedom has a shrine on earth, an Historic tablet."

It is quite fair to say that the Republican party, as a national organization, was born in Pittsburg. It is true that other localities have claimed this honor by virtue of meetings which were held under the name of the Republican party prior to the Pittsburg meeting, one in Jackson, Michigan, and some smaller meetings elsewhere. There were also state organizations bearing that name, notably in Pennsylvania and Ohio. But these were all local or state assemblages purely, and had little or perhaps no bearing whatever on the ultimate formation of the Republican party, while the Pittsburg meeting was directly instrumental in its birth and formation as a national organization. The Whig party met for the last time in a national convention in 1852 and chose for its standard bearer General Winfield Scott. The Whigs of the

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North supported him generally but he was defeated overwhelmingly by Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate. The agitation of the question of African slavery as it existed in the southern states had been going on in Congress and elsewhere and steadily increasing since 1832. It excited great fear in the southern states and as the fear increased the power of the Whig party greatly waned. The Whigs had elected Taylor to the presidency in 1848, but when they convened in 1852 the southern element of the party was sufficiently strong and sufficiently excited on the slavery question to demand a plank in the platform deploring or forbidding further agitation of the question. The northern leaders knew that this would mean ruin to their prospect of success and were willing only to insert a plank which could be interpreted either way as might suit the northern or southern voter. This resulted in the adoption of a platform that displeased both sections, for it favored slavery enough to alarm and alienate many of the northern anti-slavery Whigs, and it did not favor the institution enough to suit the southern Whigs, a great majority of whom were either slave holders or strongly in favor of slavery. Neither faction being satisfied, the support given to Scott in both sections was lukewarm and the election went practically by default. Scott, though a man of high character, with the glory of the Mexican war to his credit, carried only four states, two in the north and two in the south, while all the other states gave their electoral vote to Franklin Pierce. The Whig party never recuperated from this overwhelming defeat. In 1854 came the Nebraska compromise and the attempts to make Kansas a slave state, and these questions drove the anti-slavery Whigs into smaller parties, most of them going into the Free Soil party, the anti-Nebraska party or forming the Know-Nothing party. But all this time the feeling against slavery was steadily increasing in the northern states. This hostility was manifested mostly in their efforts to prevent the spread of slavery in the new territories, which were rapidly being filled up by westward bound citizens from the East and South. The leading men of all parts of the North awakened to the fact that the best way to prevent the extension of slavery was to unite their forces and to form a new national party.

In 1855 Hon. Salmon P. Chase, afterward Chief Justice of the United States, came to Pittsburg to consult with David N. White, who was then editor of the *Pittsburg Commercial Gazette,* and perhaps with other men of like views on the slavery question. These two men decided to call a national convention, the purpose of which was to form a party whose chief object would be to prevent the further extension of slavery. After preliminary arrangements were made, Chase returned to Ohio and White, as they had arranged, sent out letters and began to correspond with most of the better known anti-slavery men in the northern states. Still later a call was issued for a national convention to be held at Pittsburg on February 22, 1856, and this call was signed by the anti-slavery men from nine states. The purpose was to gather up the members of all political organizations opposed to slavery and

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unite them in one great national party. It was not a convention of delegates as has often been supposed, but was more nearly a national mass meeting, for its doors were opened wide to receive all citizens of the United States who cared to come and who held views in accordance with its principles as enunciated in the call.

The Whig party, as we have said before, was practically disrupted by the election of 1852. In Pittsburg it fared worse than in most northern cities. It had to contend with an anti-Masonic feeling which, even at that late date, had a respectable number of adherents. Then there was the Free Soil party, and still later the Know-Nothing party. The latter was very strong in Pittsburg. In 1854 they polled 5,705 votes as against 5,115 on the part of the Democrats and 4,627 on the part of the Whigs. The Know-Nothing party was a secret oath-bound organization, which was opposed to the Catholic church and to the admission of foreigners. Because of their secrecy they could not draw from the anti-Masonic remnant. They came largely from the Whig party, which they regarded as a party that had outlived its day of usefulness. They were opposed to slave labor, but this was the main idea of the Free Soil party. Because of this one idea policy of the Free Soil party its friends could scarcely expect it to assume the proportions of a great national organization, for there were other issues of importance as well as the abolition of the black man. The situation in Pittsburg did not differ in the main, from the general situation in all parts of the north. The time was rife, therefore, for the formation of a new party composed of all these contending factions.

The call sent out which brought together the first national Republican meeting read as follows:

To the Republicans of the United States: In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned chairman of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in an informal convention at Pittsburg on the 22nd of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the national organization and providing for a national delegate convention of the Republican party at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, to be supported at the election in November.—David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; Lawrence Brainard, of Vermont; William A. White, of Wisconsin; A. P. Stone, of Ohio; J. Z. Goodrich, of Massachusetts.

Letters received by the committee some days before the convention, indicated, beyond a doubt, that it was going to be a great success. Two important committees were appointed, viz., the committee on arrangements and the committee on reception. On the first committee were E. H. Irish, Thomas Steel, Russell Errett, B. Singerly and Jared M. Bush. On the second committee were Thomas M. Howe, William Robinson, Jr., George Darsie, D. N. White, John P. Penney, David Reed, Dr. Edward D. Gazzam, James Marshall, T. H. Elliott, James McCauley, Neville B. Craig, John McCaskey, Wil-

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liam Coleman, G. R. Riddle, Robert McKnight, George W. Jackson and Joshua King. Representatives from the nearer states began to arrive in Pittsburg two of three days before the day set for the convention, viz., February 22. Many of them put up at the Monongahela House and in the large parlor on the night of February 21, a caucus, or perhaps more correctly called a spontaneous meeting, of the delegates then in the city was held. The purpose of this was to discuss the questions of the day that should be acted on by the convention and to learn, by an interchange of opinion, the prevailing sentiment of the delegates. There were present at this meeting Horace Greeley, Preston King, E. D. Morgan and Simon Draper, of New York; E. R. Hoar and A. M. Stone, of Massachusetts; Francis P. Blair, of Maryland; Owen Lovejoy, P. H. Bryant, J. C. Vaughan and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. There were of course more delegates present from Pennsylvania than from any other state. These, or most of them, held a special meeting on the morning of the 22nd to agree upon some plan which they should follow during the convention. At about eleven o'clock the main convention was called together in Lafayette Hall by Lawrence Brainard, of Vermont. After reading the circular as above given, which he had signed, he spoke as follows: "My first duty is to thank the convention for the honor conferred upon me, and my next to say that this meeting is simply to organize the Republican party and to put forth the principles, which are, as I understand them, the same as those by which our independence was achieved, on which our Constitution is established, and if we do our part with justice, wisdom and moderation, the country and the Union will be perpetuated. I have no more to say; that embraces my creed." The temporary chairman of the convention was John A. King, of New York. His address was a longer one than Mr. Brainard's, but the sentiment was the same. He spoke of this convention being but a "preliminary meeting, simply for organization, in order to make a convention which shall put forth the principles of the Republican party." Then came a prayer from Owen Lovejoy, then known as Rev. Owen Lovejoy, afterwards to make a name throughout the Union as an opponent of slavery if indeed he had not already done so. His prayer was earnest and eloquent and characteristic of the bold advocate of freedom. He asked that the present administration be removed from power and that its unholy designs upon the liberties of a free people be thwarted. The permanent officers of the convention were selected by a committee appointed, consisting of one from each state. The convention did not pretend to accomplish much during its first session, for many of the delegates had not yet reached the city. Hon. R. P. Spalding, of Ohio, was present but declined to address the convention when called on, saying he had come to hear, not to talk. Horace Greeley was then called on. A prominent newspaper of that day says upon being loudly called "the white coat and broad, bald forehead of the *Tribune* editor were seen moving towards the speaker's stand, and as he mounted it, he was greeted by a perfect whirlwind of applause." Mr. Greeley advised the convention to proceed with

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caution, moderation and wisdom, but disclaimed these qualities himself. His object was to win the American party to the Republican fold and touching this phase of the situation he advised the convention not to ask them whether they were in sympathy with the Republicans on the slavery question. Some of the delegates, he said, had journeyed a thousand miles to attend this convention and it was wisdom on the part of the convention to go slowly, taking plenty of time to deliberate calmly on every question. "Let us deliberate without haste. The future welfare of this Union depends on the action of this body." Preston King, of New York, declined to respond to a call for an address, but Joshua R. Giddings spoke briefly and then called on Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, who stirred the audience with some of his most flashing eloquence. He said the time for moderation had passed. He said it was now time for war to the knife and knife to the hilt, and that he was ready to lead a company of troops to Kansas, or if leadership was denied him, he was ready to go as private. William H. Gibson, of Ohio, was then perhaps, after Corwin, the most eloquent man, particularly on the stump, in this country, and both he and Mr. Carling of Illinois, delivered eloquent speeches. The convention, as we have said, was free to all and was in reality a national mass meeting, but there were some who were entirely too aggressive in their ideas on the slavery question to warrant success. There were many cool heads present who, whatever they believed, were anxious to conciliate the South and these brought about the election of Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, as permanent chairman of the convention. His nomination was perhaps the culminating event of the convention, so far as applause was concerned. In his address he said the South did not understand the North. That it was his opinion that the North did not demand the entire abolition of slavery, though such was the prevailing opinion in the southern states. He also read a letter from the Baltimore Republican Association which was prepared to make manifest to the convention the general view of the southern Republicans on the situation. Both his address and the letter fell on unwilling ears. The time had probably passed when such doctrines could be embraced by the northern delegates, who very largely outnumbered all others in this convention. There was present also George W. Julian, of Indiana, who with John P. Hale had been nominated by the Free Soil party as candidates for president and vice-president in 1852. Indiana also sent Oliver P. Morton, undoubtedly one of the greatest men in all her history; John A. Foote was there from Ohio, and Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan. The latter as well as Foote and Charles Remelin of Ohio, spoke at the afternoon session on the issues before the convention. Numerous others who had more or less fame at that time, but who are forgotten now, were introduced to the convention. Then came addresses from R. P. Spalding of Ohio, George Bliss of Massachusetts, Burrows of New York and from other noted men. At the evening session it was shown that sixteen northern states, eight southern states and four of the western territories were represented by delegates present and participating in the work of the convention. Addresses were delivered

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by A. Oakey Hall, Preston King, J. C. Vaughn, of Illinois; Josiah Brewer, C. G. Hawthorne, George W. Julian, David Ripley and by Joshua R. Giddings. The latter delivered one of his many great addresses on this occasion. He had spoken briefly several times before this.

At the close of the first day's session and by the newspaper reports the next morning, the people of Pittsburg for the first time learned the real importance of the convention being held in their midst. There had never been in the city at one time so many truly great and eloquent men, nor had they ever listened to more eloquent addresses. It made a great impression on the people and filled the lovers of freedom with enthusiasm for the cause of the slave. While the great questions were being discussed there was a constant stream of fervid eloquence from many of the brightest men of the nation. It was indeed one of the most inspiring meetings ever held in any city.

On Saturday, February 23, W. P. Sherman, a vice-president, occupied the chair and miscellaneous business was in order. Addresses were limited to ten minutes. A very strong letter was read from Cassius M. Clay. It was in this letter that he announced that "Cotton was no longer king." A very eloquent address was also delivered by Dr. E. D. Gazzam of Pittsburg. He had spoken eloquently in Pittsburg in 1826, when he welcomed Marquis de Lafayette. Other addresses were made by Stone, of Massachusetts, and Burrows, of New York. The latter criticised most bitter the attitude of the American party in opposing the Catholics, while it was entirely unmindful of the strong hold slavery was yearly gaining in the United States. This address was very powerful. The committee appointed on National matters reported in favor of a National Executive Committee and advised the formation of local organizations in every county and town throughout the Union. The convention appointed David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, of the "Wilmot Proviso" fame, as a member of the National Executive Committee. While the convention was in session in Pittsburg the American party was holding a convention in Philadelphia. In the closing hours of the Pittsburg convention a telegram was read from the Philadelphia convention, saying that the convention had dissolved and that, owing to the importance of the slavery question, the party had decided to cast its lot with the Republican party. A committee had been appointed to prepare an address to the American people. Mr. Horace Mann, of New York, was chairman of this committee, and the report was read by Mr. Dennison, of Ohio. Its reading took two hours. In introducing the report Mr. Mann in a very brief address said among other things, that if the administration by any authority it might assume, should shed one drop of human blood in Kansas, that would be the end of human slavery, not only in this country, but in every other land. The report read by Mr. Dennison demanded the repeal of all laws authorizing slavery in any territory already settled by freemen; it opposed the admission of any more slaves states to the Union and appointed a committee to call a National Republican convention to nominate a president and vice-president. It closed by urging upon Republicans through-

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out the Union, the importance of a thorough organization. It also asked the support of the American people for Kansas in her struggles to exclude slavery from their territory and asked for the overthrow of the national administration which it characterized as wedded to slavery and faithless to freedom. It was also announced that the national convention of the Republican party, the first in its history, would meet in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856. It afterwards adopted the resolutions as read by Mr. Dennison with nine cheers, and then adjourned.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Turnpike—Stage Coach Days—Taverns, etc.

The history of the pike leading from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, with the droves of cattle, Conestoga wagons and carriages which for half a century passed over it almost daily, has been properly treated of in a previous chapter. It is by far the most picturesque highway in Pennsylvania. It passes over rugged mountains and through fertile valleys, and in its construction was displayed some splendid engineering, though this feature of it has been censured somewhat because in some places it passes over hills when it might have been built on lower and more level ground. The object of the engineer was undoubtedly to secure dry ground and to pass through rich sections of farmland and through hamlets which might become busy centers of population, and thus afford traffic for the road. The pike being built in part by the state and in part by popular subscription, as we have explained, in many places the engineer was compelled to lay the road over a hill, or forfeit the subscription of a landowner whose residence would otherwise have been left farther from the highway. It must also be remembered that the country through which the pike was built was at that time almost entirely covered with a dense forest; that the low grounds were then much more marshy than they are now and through them it was very difficult to build a solid road-bed.

For these reasons the engineering is much better in the mountains than through the agricultural sections. There is perhaps only one place in its course through Chestnut Ridge going east where the engineering could be greatly improved. Passing up the western side of Laurel Hill in Ligonier Valley, and zigzagging down the more precipitous eastern slope, its course could not be improved by our best modern engineers. Likewise, it passes over the Allegheny mountains, going up the western side in a straight line for a distance of five miles, the road being all the way visible from any point on this part of its course. It passes down the eastern side by a system of curves and turns which our advanced science of modern engineering could not in any way benefit by changing its location. One curve in this descent, known nearly a century ago as the "horseshoe bend," not only exhibits the superior skill of the engineer, but affords one of the grandest and most sublime mountain views

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in Pennsylvania. From this curve the "horseshoe bend" on the Pennsylvania railroad is said to have taken its name. All through these mountains the engineers were free to select the best routes possible, for they were uninhabited by prospective stock subscribers, and were on dry ground all the way.

All along the old pike may yet be seen the crumbling ruins of the old taverns, built nearly a century ago, when the pike was the only highway of travel between the East and the West, and when the busy people of Pittsburg and Philadelphia were constantly passing back and forth.

But to our generation, as we look back through the dim years to the thirties or the forties, the most romantic feature is the stage coach, which closely followed the completion of the pike. No one it is said, who thoroughly saw a genuine stage coach in use can ever forget it. Its outside was tastefully painted and beautified with bright colors, while the inside was lined with soft silk plush. There were three seats within, splendidly cushioned, and three people could ride on each seat. There was also another seat by the side of the driver, which was very desirable in fine weather. Then on the top, others could ride in a way if the management allowed it, and these in turn took the inside seats as they were vacated on the journey. Thus sometimes a stage bore as many as fifteen people, while its capacity was nine or ten and the driver. The stage was made without springs as springs are now, but the bed or top part swung easily and gracefully on large leather girders called thorough-braces, which were stretched between high bolsters or jacks on the front and rear axles. By this arrangement, stiff springs were obviated, and whether the stage were heavily laden or nearly empty, the passengers rode with equal ease, a feature of comfort which cannot be obtained with our modern springs of steel. This also gave a gentle swinging back and forth, a rocking motion, which was by no means unpleasant to the passenger.

The horses were invariably showy animals, selected for their lightness of foot and their strong build. Most of them were of the North Star, the Murat, Hickory or Winflower breed, strains which are now extinct, but which for beauty of carriage, speed and endurance combined, have not been surpassed by the best of our modern thoroughbreds. They were driven very rapidly, frequently making ten miles an hour if the conditions were all favorable. The object of the stage line was to hasten passengers on their journey, and every possible arrangement was made to this end. A system of relays was very early established, and from this the Pittsburg and Philadelphia Transportation Company doubtless took their idea in moving freight. By this arrangement, fresh spans of horses were hitched to the stage coach about every ten or twelve miles. With his long whip the driver could touch his horses gently, or at his will could lash them to their highest speed. Under ordinary circumstances they made from six to eight miles per hour, and the relays enabled them to keep up that rate all day. The stage which carried the mail stopped at all postoffices on the road, at all relay stations, and at taverns at meal time to accommodate passengers, but did not stop elsewhere. They

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usually entered the little towns along the way at a very rapid gait, and drew up before the principal taverns, where the relay stations were kept. There awaiting its arrival were the fresh horses, each span held by a groom. The stage driver threw down the lines and the grooms unhitched the panting horses, and "almost in the twinkling of an eye," said an old stage driver,

STAGE COACH USED IN EARLY TURNPIKE DAYS BETWEEN PITTSBURG AND PHILADELPHIA.

"the new span took their places, the lines were handed to the driver, who, without leaving his seat, cracked his whip, and away rolled the coach for the next station." If it was at meal time the stay was longer, but even then it did not exceed twenty or twenty-five minutes. The mail coach had to stop at the the postoffice long enough to leave any incoming and secure the outgoing mail. This was called "changing the mail," a correct term in those day, which is even yet sometimes used. This took perhaps not over five or ten minutes, for letters were not so numerous then as now. In the early days of stage coach travel, there were two coaches leaving Pittsburg each day and two arriving. The first left very early in the morning, as early as five and six o'clock, the time varying with the seasons of the year. They not infrequently reached Greensburg at ten o'clock, having already exhausted three relays, that is twelve horses. The next relay station was at Youngstown, and the next at Ligonier, so by rapid driving passengers who left Pittsburg in the morning frequently tock a neon dinner at Ligonier, having traveled fifty miles

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in six and one-half or seven hours. The next fifty miles took them to Bedford, but the time occupied was much longer, for they had two ranges of mountains to climb and descend. The regular time between Pittsburg and Philadelphia was fifty-six hours, and a good line of stages invariably made it on time or nearly so. Of course there were more than two lines of stages on the eastern part of the road, where the thickly populated districts gave rise to more travel, and part of the time there were more than two lines on the western end. About one o'clock in the afternoon the other line sent a stage coach out of Pittsburg, which followed the first and kept up the same general rate of speed. This was kept up from day to day, from one year's end to another. One of these lines was called the "United States Mail Line" and carried the mail, and while more or less time was lost in waiting for the changing of the mail, it was made up by faster travel at other times. Another line was called the "People's Line," and still later its name was changed to the "Good Intent Line." These rival lines, as may be supposed, prompted each to give the best possible service and the most rapid passage from one end to the other.

The fare from Pittsburg to Philadelphia was twenty dollars, as a general rule, though sometimes, when the rivalry became bitter, passengers were carried for less money. For short distances the regular fare was eight cents per mile. Passengers generally changed coaches about every fifty miles. The heavier coaches were used in the mountainous region of the route between Ligonier and Chambersburg, while the newer and handsomer ones were near the cities at the beginning and the end of the pike. Teams were also arranged to suit the road, the heavier and stronger ones being used to draw the coaches over mountains, and the most showy horses being kept near the cities. These relay horses journeyed back and forth over the same road, and thus learned its easy and hard places thoroughly. The four horses which drew an outgoing stage to the first station, rested there ten or twelve hours, when they took back a returning stage of the same line to the station from which they started. Stage coaches did not stop at night. Passengers were required to travel in them day and night in a continuous passage until they reached their destination. The driver had a given length of time in which to make his run from one relay station to another, and he rarely ever reached the station behind time. Not infrequently, while going up the mountains in the western part of the state, passengers would alight and walk for exercise and to enjoy the beautiful scenery, for the pike was lined with a thick growth of trees which, for miles and miles, formed almost an archway of green foliage in the summer. A stage driver never attended to his team, though doubtless he assured himself that they were well cared for. No position seemed so commanding in the eyes of a boy in that day as that of a stage driver. Many a youth looked forward with bright anticipations to the time in manhood when he could reach the acme of fame in his estimation—that of a stage driver. He was paid about fifteen dollars per month and board, and the best of them

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rarely ever received as much as twenty dollars per month, which was considered good wages in those days. A good horse could be purchased at that time for fifty or sixty dollars, and a span of horses, with an occasional rest, were good for eight or ten years staging. While they were being driven they were forced to put forth their best efforts. They went slowly up a hill or mountain where the pulling was heavy, but as soon as the top was reached they started off more rapidly, and on the level rarely ever went slower than a trot, while down grade or down the mountain side they sometimes went on a slow but steady gallop. An old stage driver has told the writer that it frequently happened that a driver coming west started his team on a fast trot or slow gallop at the top of Laurel Hill and made each horse strain every nerve to keep out of the way of the stage, and thus kept up this speed for six miles until the first hill was reached, a mile or so east of Ligonier. There was little holding back done by the wheel-horses of the average stage coach when going down a hill or down the mountains. Wheel-horses, when made to hold back, in time became "sprung in the knees," and this was an evidence of bad driving. The horses, particularly in warm weather, came up to the relay stations panting for breath and covered with foam, but they then had a rest of ten or twelve hours before another effort was required of them. The regularity of their arrival at given points along the road was remarkable. Rarely ever was a coach more than a few minutes ahead or behind the time. For all these reasons, excitement followed the whirl of the stage coach all along the way. The driver invariably carried a horn with a very highly keyed loud sounding tone, which he winded at the brow of the last hill, or just before entering a village or town, to give notice of his approaching stage. New passengers, the relay horses, the postmaster, the landlord, were all notified in that way, and were ready waiting for its arrival. To the country village the arrival of a stage coach was the leading event of the day, much more so than the arrival of the important trains are now. Idlers collected around the station to learn the latest news, or become acquainted with the newest arrival should there be any. Farmers and workmen along the pike stopped their work when the stage passed by. They could regulate the time, in a measure, without a timepiece, for they knew the hour the stage was due to pass them. Washington Irving took great interest in the stage driver and wrote of him as follows:

"The stage driver had a dress, manner, language and air peculiar to himself and prevalent throughout the fraternity. He enjoyed great consequence and consideration along the road. The women looked up to him as a man of great trust and dependence and he had a good understanding with every bright-eyed country lass. His duty was to drive from one station to another, and on his arrival he threw down the lines to the hostler with a lordly air. His dress was always showy and in winter his usually bulky form was further increased by a multiplicity of coats. At the village he was surrounded by a crowd of loafers, errand boys and nameless hangers-on who looked up to him as an oracle and treasured up his cant phrases and informa-

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tion about horses and other topics. Both of them tried to imitate his air and rolling gait, his talk and slang, and the youth tried to imagine himself an embryonic stage driver. The horn he sounded at the entrance of the village produced a general bustle and his passage through the country put the world in motion. Some hastened to meet friends, some with bundles and band boxes to secure seats and in the hurry of the moment could hardly take leave of the group that accompanied them. As the stage rattled through the village every one ran to the window and a passenger had glances on every side of fresh country faces and blooming, giggling girls. At the corners were assembled the village idlers and wise men, who took their station there to see the Company pass."

The stage driver carried a long whip composed of a stock, lash and silk cracker. The stock was made of hickory, heavy at the hand end, and tapering until it was very slender and flexible at the lash end, and was about three feet long. The lash was made of plaited rawhide, and was much thicker at the upper middle than at the ends. Its shape and the flexible stock made it possible for the driver to handle it by a series of curves and swings that were very accurate, and made it very severe in its work when he chose to make it so. With years of practice the drivers learned to handle the whip with great dexterity. An old friend has assured the writer that he has often seen an expert knock a fly from the back and shoulders of his lead horses with his whip, and do it so gently that it would not injure the horse nor urge him to greater exertion. When the driver cracked his long whip over the horse it was like the report of a small gun, and without anything else urged each horse to strain every muscle. It was seldom that a careful driver was compelled to use his whip severely. Sometimes on the road, when one stage coach tried to pass another (for there was always a rivalry as to speed between them) the driver used his whip with all the skill he could command. Two stages abreast have thus often come down the Allegheny mountains or down Laurel Hill, coming west, every horse exerting almost its utmost strength, and the driver lashing them to still greater efforts. In a race of this kind the rumbling of the stages could be heard for miles. The heavy body with its tightly drawn sides and top, its glass doors and heavy thorough-braces laden to their utmost tension, gave it at all times a rumbling noise, but when two or more of them were making time or racing while coming down the mountain pike, the roadbed of which was stone, the noise is said to have been terrific. If the driver knew his business well, there was little danger in such a race, and it was to the passengers one of the most exciting events of their travels.

The stage driver with his four lines and whip, sat perched high up on the box, the position being somewhat imitated by that of the modern tally-ho. He began training for his work almost in boyhood by becoming familiar with horses, with their varied characteristics and dispositions when suddenly placed under apparent danger, with their weak and strong points, and how best to assist, care for and manage them under all circumstances. Indeed, his judgment of the noble animal was considered of the highest authority. By a life

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of daily service he was enabled to attain almost perfection in his business. Quite frequently his drive did not apparently require any particular skill, for one of the first lessons he was taught was to drive rapidly, but to avoid unnecessary danger. But he drove under all circumstances and at all hours of the day and night—through storms on the mountains when the lightning played in the sky overhead, and when the terrific roar of thunder excited his naturally spirited horses; through drifted snowbanks in mid-winter, with the thermometer below zero, or down the steep mountain grade covered with an unbroken sheet of frozen sleet, and all this perhaps in the darkness of midnight, made still more gloomy by the overhanging forests. He was moreover compelled to meet hundreds of wagons and stages daily, and to pass them at his high rate of speed by short turns and sharp curves, and he frequently encountered runaway teams in most dangerous places. The necessary speed and high mettle of his own horses made them liable at all times to become frightened and to try to break away from him, yet notwithstanding all this accidents were few. Indeed, compared with the amount of driving, they were generally so few and trivial that they were scarcely noted or remembered beyond their day. Hundreds of accidents were avoided by the skill, the clear head and nerve, of the driver. Those who have outlived him who are familiar with the best drivers of both his and our days, are not slow to assert that the stager managed his team under all the varied circumstances which confronted him, with a dexterity in horsemanship that has never been even approximated by our best modern drivers.

The road in its mountainous sections was much more subject to sleet and ice and to high banks of drifted snow than elsewhere. Either condition rendered it temporarily impassable. While the icy covering caused by sleet was likely to last but for a day or two, the snowbanks remained until the storm had passed, when they were promptly shoveled aside by the authorities of the pike, if it were possible, or were perhaps melted by warmer weather. In the meantime it not infrequently happened that one or more stage coaches with their passengers were snowbound at a wayside inn at the foot of the mountains. This might last for two days or more, and while the snow lasted there was no remedy whatever. The landlord entertained such parties in his most hospitable manner. Long before the pike had reached its palmiest days, the old four-roomed taverns had given place to larger ones of stone, brick or frame, with twelve or fifteen guest rooms, a large sitting room, bar-room and dining room, and with extensive stables, barns and wagon yards attached. The best men and women of our country traveled back and forth on the turnpike and their entertainment called for an improved style of inns. Many of them became famous and were well patronized by the people of Pittsburg. Accounts of them and their guests and landlords, written by very facile pens, are frequently found in our old writings. The stage driver would put forth his best endeavors to reach them before being snowed up by an impending storm, and the passengers were in some degree recompensed for their delay by the

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wholesome entertainment. Country ham and sausage, fresh eggs, smoking hot biscuit, buckwheat cakes and maple syrup, was often the tempting bill-of-fare for breakfast. But before this each man guest had an "eye-opener" of "old Monongahela" at the regular price of three cents a dram. Wild turkey, pheasants, partridges, venison and all kinds of game were common in those days, and the landlord bounteously supplied his table with these and with all other delicacies he could procure.

The inns were often named after Washington, Greene, Lafayette or Putnam—names then redolent with Revolutionary glory. The inn usually had a large sign about three and one-half by five feet, hung in a strong frame which allowed it to swing with the wind, and which was supported by a white painted post standing by the wayside. The rooms were warmed by grate fires, and the main sitting room of the inn had in it the old fashioned capacious fireplace, such as Dryden and Johnson loved to write about. In the forties the fuel used was mostly hickory wood, which threw out a great heat, while its crackling flames leaped brightly up the wide chimney. Around this fireplace sat the guests of the inn, like a happy family, cracking hickory nuts and spinning stories, some of which, could they be produced, would doubtless be fraught with more interest to us than the Canterbury Tales of the poet, Chaucer, which have already lived more than five centuries. Well may these surroundings have made the snowbound traveler think of England under the reign of the early Georges, so charmingly pictured in the measured beauty of Oliver Goldsmith, or embalmed in the matchless prose of the *Spectator*. The city people who chanced to become guests of these old-fashioned inns found them most enjoyable places, indeed, for a few days of idle comfort. "Can I not take mine ease in my inn?" was the question of Falstaff, which did not admit of a negative answer. It is the lingering memory of these enjoyments, now gone forever, which induces many elderly people to long for the good old days of the past. To them at least the busy age in which we live has robbed us of the chief glories of their youth, and brought us, as they think, but few compensations in their stead.

Though travel on this historic old state highway was practically abandoned nearly three-score years ago, yet here and there along its line may still be found old men who delight greatly in recalling the palmy days of the forties, when the pike was in its prime. They love to tell of the droves of cattle which, with heads bowed low, wound haltingly over the dusty pike, plodding on their weary way to the shambles of the cities; of the ponderous Conestoga wagons that with untold strength slowly bore the raw material to Pittsburg's infant industries and their weighty products to the eastern markets; of the whirling stage coach and its welcome rumbling which daily echoed through the valleys and awakened the sleeping communities to a new life and a new energy; and most of all they delight to tell of the wayside inn, the ivy-covered walls of which are among the last lingering momentoes of the good old days so long gone by; of its hospitable landlord and landlady, and then they point

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in sadness to the green mounds on the hillside hard by, covering them in their last and sweetest sleep.

"It stands all alone like a goblin in gray,
The old-fashioned inn of the pioneer day,
In a land so forlorn and forgotten, it seems
Like a wraith of the past rising into our dreams;
Its glories have vanished, and only the ghost
Of a sign-board now creaks on its desolate post,
Recalling the time when all hearts were akin
As they rested at night in a welcoming inn.

"Oh! the songs they would sing and the tales they would spin,
As they lounged in the light of the old country inn.
But a day came at last when the stage brought no load
To the gate, as it rolled up the long, dusty road.
And lo! at the sun-rise a shrill whistle blew
O'er the hills—and the old yielded place to the new—
And the merciless age with its discord and din
Made wreck, as it passed, of the pioneer inn."

It is probably within the true province of these pages to treat only of matters of the past, but we cannot pass from this subject without expressing a regret that this grand old highway has been neglected and has become, in some sections, almost impassable; that the people along its line have moreover allowed it to be encroached on by fences, telegraph poles and by tree-tops dropped by careless lumbermen, until the original right-of-way has, in many places been cut down to half its former width. The pike is not worn out by travel but, because of these obstructions, the drainage has been neglected and it has sustained its greatest damage from rains which have washed away the top dressing in many places, and laid bare the rough unbroken stones which form the Telford bottom. In at least four miles out of five, the original road-bed is yet perfectly solid, as substantial as it was ninety years ago when it was built. All that is required on this part of it is a thorough macadam crown and a system of drainage which will remove the apparent necessity of breakers on the hillsides and prevent the heavy rains of the future from again working its destruction.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout its entire length, and particularly in the western sections, that in this way its thorough rehabilitation can be accomplished for less than two thousand dollars per mile. The main expense, that is, the grading and the road-bed, was borne willingly by our ancestors in the days of hard-earned dollars, and this part of their work for the greater part of the way, is as solid now as our best modern road-makers can build. Connecting the two great centers of industry of Pennsylvania, indeed two of the most populous sections of the United States, and connecting them by a route that is 57 and 4-10 miles shorter than the most direct railroad, it is indeed lamentable that it has been allowed to go down in neglect.

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For nearly 150 miles after leaving Philadelphia it passes through the richest agricultural region of the state. On every side may be seen the well-kept farms and the inviting homes of a thrifty people. The traveler then passes

THE OLD TURNPIKE BRIDGE AT THE CROSSING, BUILT 1818

over 100 miles of mountain scenery as the "gray old pike" wormlike winds its way over the Appalachian system. On every hand are sublime views with enchanting beauties that would well repay the traveler, though he journeyed half across a continent to behold them. Leaving the foothills of the Alleghenies, its western section passes through the rich bituminous coal and coke fields, a region that surpasses all sections of Pennsylvania in natural wealth and in yearly products. To connect the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg by such a highway, even though its course lay over a barren waste, void of beauty and interest, one would think the energy and wealth of the cities would induce them to re-crown this pike at once. With our modern modes of travel, were the pike in the condition the yeomanry of ninety years ago placed it, a traveler might breakfast late in the Quaker city, might lunch in a hostelry nestled among the peaks of the Allegheny mountains and dine in the Iron City without exceeding the speed limit of an average automobile. Would not its re-building be worth while? Do the historic associations of the old pike over which the founders of our modern civilization journeyed slowly back and forth, count for nothing? Has the State lost its pride in the glories of the

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past and in the memory of the pioneer who, with many privations, opened up the West by hewing this highway through the unbroken forest? We trust not, and that the day is not far distant when the old pike will be rehabilitated and will again be one of the finest highways in the United States, connecting two of the most important cities.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Fire of 1845.

The fire of April 10, 1845, would have been a great fire for any city even in this age of stupendous events, but coming to Pittsburg when it was in the midst of its struggle for a foothold among the cities of the United States, the blow was indeed a heavy one. Fortunately, however, it was by far the greatest fire that has visited the city and in this Pittsburg is indeed fortunate. It broke out Thursday, April 10, 1845, at twelve o'clock at noon in some frame buildings situated on the corner of Ferry and Second streets. For perhaps three weeks prior to this the weather had been very dry and high winds had prevailed most of the time. For these reasons the frame buildings were in the worst possible condition to be visited by a fire. When the conflagration came there was a brisk wind blowing from the west. This very rapidly spread the fire from the square in which it originated and it was soon communicated to one of the adjoining squares. The wind increased apparently with the flames and in a short time fully one-third of the city of Pittsburg was enveloped in a raging tempest of fire. Like the great fire of Chicago in 1871 it began by an act of carelessness on the part of one of its citizens. A washerwoman had built a fire in a back yard thinking it more convenient and open there than in the house. From this the wind carried the sparks to a frame stable nearby and in a few minutes the great fire began. The city was not then well supplied with water and on this occasion it seemed unusually scarce. The fire companies were called out and they undoubtedly worked nobly, but in a short time the water supply was exhausted and with the high wind and the dry combustible buildings within easy reach, the fire soon had a good start and all efforts to subdue it were ineffectual. After the fire had gained some headway the wind carried the flames eastward faster than the firemen could have extinguished them even with an abundance of water, and in less than an hour it was entirely beyond control. It extended along Ferry street south to First street consuming the entire square. It then crossed from the south side of Third street to the north side and burned the entire block with the exception of one or two small houses. It passed east on Market street and consumed

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more than one-half of the block between Third and Fourth streets, and passed up the street to Diamond alley and destroyed the larger part of the block between Fourth street and Diamond alley, reaching the foot of Grant's Hill, and thus consumed all of the buildings between Diamond alley and the Monongahela river. Its eastern sweep was arrested only when every house or building, almost without exception, was destroyed. Kensington was the name given at that time to that part of the town lying east of Try street and between Grant's Hill and the Monongahela river. It is now included in the Sixth ward. It destroyed Kensington entirely. The burned district included most of the large business houses and some of the most valuable factories in the city. It was generally estimated that the fire covered one-third of the entire city in squares, and the most conservative and intelligent people estimated that two-thirds of its entire value in buildings went up in flames. The loss was variously estimated at the time at between six and eight millions of dollars, but a more conservative estimate would probably not be over four million dollars. The bridge over the Monongahela, at Smithfield street, being built of timber, was entirely consumed. The Monongahela House, which had recently been finished and of which the young city was justly proud because of its pretensions for that day, was ruined by the flames. Cotton factories, iron works, glass works, hotels and several churches were literally in ashes in a few hours after the fire began. The fire destroyed nine hundred and eighty-two buildings and among them were the largest and the most expensively built structures in the city. Household goods and merchandise carried out on the wharf for safety was caught in the flames and consumed. The burned district extended along the Monongahela side of the town from the place where the fire began to where the Tenth street bridge crossing the river stands. In the direction towards the city it was bounded by Fourth avenue then up to Wood street and from Wood by Diamond street to Ross street. It covered about fifty-six acres in all.

A committee was appointed consisting of Hon. Cornelius Darragh and Hon. Wilson McCandless, two of the city's leading men, who presented the matter to the governor of the state, Francis R. Shunk. The governor sent a special message to the Legislature and with it sent the statement made by the committeemen, Darragh and McCandless. From this statement the main description of the fire given above has been largely taken. The Legislature at once passed an act appropriating fifty thousand dollars for the city's relief, and it further exempted all property in the burned district of Pittsburg from the payment of state tax for the years 1846, 1847, 1848 and 1849. The news of the fire created great sympathy throughout the country for the stricken city and contributions began to pour in from all sections, even from foreign countries. These contributions amounted to nearly eight hundred thousand dollars, it is said, and there were large donations of provisions and clothing. Many sufferers of the city stood in great need of this immediate assistance for they had lost everything they had in the shape of clothing, furniture, etc.,

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and thousands of people were left homeless. Nearly all this property had been insured in Pittsburg insurance companies, for the present system of dividing insurance between home and foreign companies was entirely unknown in that day. Insurance companies were not reaching out much beyond the immediate vicinity of their home offices for business. As a result every insurance company in Pittsburg, and they were good, reliable companies for their day, was broken up and utterly unable to pay these losses. For this reason the fire of 1845 fell more severely on Pittsburg than other great fires have fallen on cities in a more modern age. Those who owned real estate in the burned district had to depend on themselves for new buildings, if any were put up. The banks of the city were not then able to assist very greatly in the work of rebuilding the district or placing the city on its feet, for there were not many of them, and, compared with the loss of property by the fire, they were but insignificant factors. Yet the banks helped amazingly and the people helped themselves, and in a short time the work of rebuilding the district was going on with considerable rapidity.

But two lives were lost in the fire. One was that of Samuel Kingston, a lawyer, whose office was on the corner of Fourth avenue and Smithfield street. While the building was burning he rushed into his office, it is supposed to procure some valuable papers, and was overcome by smoke and flames before he could get out. The high wind was not a local one. It was felt all over the country. The writer has often heard a man, who then lived in the Ligonier valley, probably forty miles southeast of Pittsburg by a direct line, say that the day after the fire a great many small bits of charred shingles and bits of wood reduced to ashes were carried there by the wind. The ruined city was a melancholy sight indeed. The iron and glassware houses were mostly on Water street and the ruins revealed great masses of glass and iron melted into all possible shapes, the whole a useless mass of material.

The losses of the real estate owners were not so great per man as one might suppose. Lyon, Shorb and Crossan were the owners of the Monongahela House and their loss was estimated at sixty thousand dollars. Lyon and Shorb were iron merchants and manufacturers and lost about fifteen thousand dollars' worth of iron in a warehouse adjoining the hotel. They owned a factory, but it was fortunately on the south side of the Monongahela river and escaped from the fire. The individual losses rarely exceeded twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars. While many manufacturing establishments were burned, the larger number of factories were not consumed, for the burned district included the business parts of the city. Bakewell's glass house and novelty works, both on Grant street, and a rolling mill in Kensington, were the largest of the factories destroyed.

It is said that the banks and nearly all others who were dealers in money, acted nobly with the sufferers and really laid the foundation of the rebuilding of the city, by exercising great forebearance with those who were borrowers. In this way they were able to tide themselves over the difficulties and

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begin anew in the business of the city. All who had money to lend could find plenty of borrowers whose real estate and rising buildings afforded abundant security. Those to whom money was due waited more patiently than might have been expected until the business of the city was resumed. In this way the city was apparently soon on its feet again, but in reality the prosperity was only apparent. New stores, and houses, and factories, better than those destroyed, soon appeared to occupy the lots made vacant by the fire. But it was many years before the heavy burden of debt assumed by the individual builders and business men was paid off. Every year since April 10, 1845, at twelve o'clock at noon on April 10, the fire alarm strikes 1-8-4-5 on its alarm bell to remind the people of Pittsburg of the time when the city was well nigh reduced to ashes by the greatest fire of its history.

This was Pittsburg's greatest fire. It was not only by far the greatest in proportion to the size and strength of the city, but was the greatest loss of property the city ever sustained by any one fire. An inquiry concerning the real strength of the city immediately prior to the fire has not resulted in any information that is sufficiently definite and authentic to be of value. The nearest approach to it must be gleaned from the United States census of 1840 but the reader must remember that nearly five prosperous years intervened between the time it was taken and the day of the fire. The census of 1840 gives the population of Pittsburg as 21,115. The city in the past ten years had increased about 70 per centum over its population in 1830, and between 1840 and 1850 it increased about 70 per centum. Averaging the percentage of these increases we should say that the population of the city of Pittsburg on April 10, 1845, was between thirty and thirty-one thousand. But we cannot do this with the business industries and must be content to take the popular estimate of the city and its loss which we have given. As we have said, the Legislature appropriated $50,000 to the sufferers. Pennsylvania, by private donations, gave $109,890; New York, $23,265; Massachusetts, $16,741; Maryland, $11,513; Ohio, $10,081; Louisiana, $7,167; Kentucky, $5,773; Missouri, $3,833; Alabama, $1,652; Delaware, $1,322; Mississippi, $1,291; Tennessee, $1,259; New Jersey, $557; Georgia, $470; Michigan, $100; Indiana, $52. From foreign lands, mainly from England, came $651, and the District of Columbia sent $2,872.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

The Mexican War.

When war was declared against Mexico the young man of Pittsburg knew little of war except by tradition and history, for thirty years of peace had followed the War of 1812 and over sixty years had passed since the Revolutionary War had ended. Texas had fought for its freedom from Mexico ten years before and the glories of the battle of San Jacinto and others were heralded over the United States like the fame of the Trojans which inspired the Carthagenians to greater feats of arms. In thirty or sixty years the suffering endured by an army is largely forgotten and its heroic achievements almost alone are remembered. Then there was something grand and attractive in the thought and expectation of waging war in a foreign country with a people who were not of our blood and kindred. What little was known of the Mexicans had only engendered feelings of enmity against them. The romantic and highly colored stories of the inhuman destruction of the American soldiers who had fought at Goliad and at the Alamo, and the glories of San Jacinto, all made the war with Mexico popular. It was a long journey to Mexico whether over the broad uninhabited prairies or down the river and across the waters of the Gulf. Mexico was an empire of the past and its capital was supposed to be filled with rare materials. There were marble baths and the lofty porticoes, and the historic palaces of the ancient Montezumas; there were the crumbling ruins of the temples dedicated by the Toltecs centuries before to the worship of the sun; crumbling indeed, yet still magnificent in their decaying splendor; there was the stone basin used to catch the blood of sacrificed human beings, and there were the grand cathedrals of the modern Spaniards. It was a journey, too, to a land where the luscious fruits of the tropics were ripening under the genial clime and bright rays of an unchanging summer. All these matters awakened the enthusiasm of the Pittsburg people and it was intensified by the transportation of heavy guns, mortars and all other war materials from the arsenal through the streets of Pittsburg to the wharf from whence they were to be sent to the seat of war in Mexico. Many companies were formed and offered their services to the government. But so far only one regiment from Pennsylvania was needed and other sections from the western part of the

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state claimed their rights to furnish their share of it. But two companies from Allegheny county were accepted at first. The one was Company A, commanded by Captain Alexander Hay. It was called "Pittsburg Blues," and was a continuation of the company under the same name which had fought in the War of 1812. Its lieutenants were Thomas A. Rowley, James O'H. Denny and William Charlton. The other company was Company K, which was commanded by Captain John Herron. It was called the "Duquesne Grays." Its lieutenants were William Ankrim, William Trovillo and John W. Hague. They were mustered in December, 1846, and sent down the Ohio river to the Gulf. About the time they were ready to embark another regiment was called for from Pennsylvania and was filled at once. Pittsburg having furnished more than its share of the first regiment was allotted but one company in the second. It was known as Company I and was commanded by Captain Robert Potter. It was in the second regiment and was called "The Hibernia Greens." Its lieutenants were William Rankin, James Kane and William P. Skelly. It was mustered into service in January, 1847. There were many young men from Allegheny county, who, not being able to enlist or be accepted from this county, had gone elsewhere and the county was therefore represented in the war by more than three companies. After the first companies had left Pittsburg with their regiments, two others were raised here and accepted, but were credited one to Maryland and the other to the District of Columbia. They were raised by Captains N. P. Guthrie and Thomas A. Rowley and joined the main army in Mexico in July.

Taken as a body the soldiers of the Mexican war were probably better educated and came from a higher grade of social standing than the average of any other war in which the United States was engaged. The romance of the expedition appealed to the educated youths of all sections and there were many professional men, merchants, clerks and college students enlisted in the ranks. The colonel of the First regiment was F. M. Wynkoop. The lieutenant-colonel was Samuel W. Black, and William Bowman was major. Of the Second Regiment William B. Roberts was colonel, John W. Gerry, afterward governor of Pennsylvania, was lieutenant-colonel, and William Brindle was major.

Pittsburg was the starting point South for most of the troops from Pennsylvania and the city assumed, for its day, a decidedly military appearance. Those from the East came here mostly on the Pittsburg and Philadelphia turnpike. All along the route westward the farmers turned out with their teams, wagons, carriages and sleds to transport the army and its supplies and munitions and thus hastened them on their journey to the far Southwest. It was so arranged that each relay of teams hauled them from ten to fifteen miles, where they were turned over to another relay and the first returned to their homes. All were finally assembled in Pittsburg and placed on board of boats or steamers. The First Regiment left the wharf on January 8, 1847. They went down the Ohio and thence down the Mississippi river, passing New Orleans and encamped on Jackson's old battle ground six miles below the city,

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the camp being called Camp Jackson. They were soon transported to Lobos Island. They left this island in March and reached Anton Lizardo in sight of Vera Cruz, where they disembarked and prepared at once to invest the city. These preparations were attended with great labor and the hot climate and bad weather ruined the health of many of the northern soldiers and caused them to break down. General Stephen W. Kearny commanded the Army of the West; General Zachary Taylor commanded the Army of Occupation and General Winfield Scott commanded the army; that is, he was chief commander of all the armies in Mexico. On March 22 General Worth had arranged his batteries and mortars at Anton Lizardo and was ready to bombard the city of Vera Cruz. General Scott first demanded a surrender of the city, for he preferred not to injure the soldiers and property of the citizens. This was most positively refused and the batteries and the fleet which lay in the Gulf nearby opened fire on the city. The fleet had with it a battery of Paixham guns with which the marines did a most destructive work. San Juan was the name of the gate to the city and it offered a stubborn resistance. The bombardment lasted two days and was attended with great destruction of property and loss of life. On the 24th of March the Mexicans asked for a cessation of hostilities so that they could have time to bury their dead. This was granted. Finally on the 27th the city and the castle were surrendered upon terms which had in the meantime been agreed upon and the American troops were in possession of Vera Cruz. When this was accomplished the sick and disabled of the regiment were at once sent home or to the rear. Among those was Colonel Hay and Lieutenant Thomas A. Rowley of Company A, First Regiment, and Lieutenant Trovillo of Company K. General Scott remained at Vera Cruz only long enough to complete arrangements for a further movement of the army and on April 7 began a march toward the interior of Mexico. On April 12 they reached Plan del Rio at the foot of Cerro Gordo, where General Santa Anna commanded the Mexican army and had strongly intrenched himself. Scott's first work was to reconnoiter the place. On the 14th he began to cut a road to the left of Cerro Gordo around the base of the mountains, the purpose of which was to cut off the retreat of the Mexican army. The termination of this road was near the rear of the Mexican forces and its construction required several days of hard work. On the 17th a part of the army charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they hurled them back in confusion and gained an important position. On the 18th the American batteries occupied the heights in front of Cerro Gordo. General Harney stormed the Mexican forts while General James Shields guarded the left occupying the new road which Scott had cut to prevent the escape of the enemy. The Mexican army was overpowered, their works taken and they were completely cut to pieces. The American army took three thousand prisoners, five thousand stand of arms, all siege guns and killed and wounded about twelve hundred Mexicans. General Santa Anna himself narrowly escaped capture by hur-

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riedly riding a swift running mule to the rear, and it is said that in his haste he left his cork leg and his chest of silver behind.

General Scott did not rest on his laurels but advanced his army to the city of Jalapa. Three companies of the Second Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Geary, had been quarantined on Lobos Island because of smallpox which prevailed there when the advance army left it. These companies now joined the regiment and all remained in Jalapa until about the middle of June, when the army was advanced toward the city of Pueblo. The hot weather began to deplete the fighting strength of the army so that only about five thousand out of a total of about fourteen thousand were able to march against the Mexicans. For this reason further movements were delayed till early in August, at which time by rest and medical treatment the effective army was increased to eleven thousand. It was necessary all this time for the army to keep up a line of communication with Vera Cruz, for there were its reserve forces and also its supplies. Scott had reached Pueblo on May 5. It was a long and tedious march for the northern soldiers in the hot climate and they were about worn out. But the road from there to the City of Mexico was the most strongly fortified in all Mexico, and to reach it by that route seemed to discourage even the stout heart of Winfield Scott. He remained in Pueblo strengthening his army till August. All this time he held out the olive branch of peace, for while no other result than the ultimate conquest of Mexico had entered his mind, he very much preferred to do it without bloodshed or with as little as possible. On the 8th he began to march toward the capital, but left the First Regiment in Pueblo and thus for the first time separated the regiments containing the Pittsburg soldiers. This displeased many who were left behind, for all seemed anxious to participate in the capture of the great City of Mexico. Some of them secured positions on detached service and went with the Second Regiment toward the city. Among these were O. H. Rippey, who was afterward a colonel and who met his death in the Civil war, and John Hamilton, afterward a member of the Pittsburg bar. The army advanced on the 7th and 8th of August. Early in the morning of the 11th of August, after three days of hard marching, it passed over the brow of the mountain and came in full view of the valley of Mexico with its famous capitol glittering in the distant sunlight. There were the lofty domes and castles of the Montezumas, and beyond, but in full view, were the snow-capped mountains and volcanoes. From this same elevated spot which they occupied now, Cortez and his followers three hundred years before had been cheered on their way in their search for the City of Mexico and its fabulous wealth. On August 12 the army encamped near Buena Vista. A careful survey of the positions of the Mexican army proved to the Union forces that they were even more strongly fortified on the national road than Scott had supposed. A council of war was held and the general opinion among the officers was that it was best to march by the way of Elpinal, a very strong Mexican fort. General Scott overruled this opinion. He had now an army of twelve thousand, while Mexico had a population of two hundred thousand. To take the city with an army of twelve thousand without first thoroughly defeating the Mexican army

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would be useless. He must therefore proceed cautiously and fight his way to the city and he was not willing to make any unnecessary sacrifices to reduce the strength of Elpinal. It was situated on Lake Chalco, and he now countermarched and made a detour to the left and passed Lake Chalco by cutting a road which the Mexicans thought could not be made. But before his army there lay the pass of San Antonio. It was a narrow gorge between two mountains that was strongly fortified. General Scott concluded not to attempt to take the pass until he would first take Contreras, a fortification which guarded the pass and lay between them and the City of Mexico. On August 19 four brigades of the American soldiers fought the enemy around Contreras all day. The Mexicans were superior in numbers and in the strength of their fortifications and held their own very well. Santa Anna was west of this and had about ten thousand soldiers with him. Finally the infantry of the American army moved to the rear of the enemy and the fight began from that section on the 20th of August at about an hour before daybreak. At sunrise the other divisions of the army began the attack, each from its position, bringing to bear against the enemy all the force it could command. Though General Smith was not the senior officer he had command of and outlined the place of battle. After the battle properly began from all sides at the break of day it took them but a few minutes more than a quarter of an hour to thoroughly defeat the enemy. At Buena Vista two guns had been taken from the American troops by the Mexicans and among the events of the battle at Contreras was the recapture of these two guns by a division commanded by Simon H. Drum. They also captured many prisoners and munitions of war. About four miles from Contreras was the fortress of Cherubusco. When Contreras was once thoroughly commanded by the American army General Worth's division was sent to attack Santa Anna, which would open a shorter route to Mexico. After taking Santa Anna they were to join another division of the army which was in the meantime moving toward Cherubusco. The Mexican troops at Santa Anna had become discouraged and did not wait to be attacked, but fled before the army reached them. Their flight, however, was only to Cherubusco, and thus added great strength to that fortress, so that the American army met a strong resistance at that place. It was situated on a high hill and the American forces crossed ditches and by great strength and fearless charging took one intervening point after another until at length they entered the citadel at Cherubusco with drawn swords and drove the Mexicans out even pursuing them till they reached the gates of the City of Mexico. Our army lost about one thousand men, while the Mexican army lost perhaps seven thousand in all, or nearly one-fourth of the forces that had been engaged. Nearly all of this fighting the reader will remember was done in two days; that is, August 19 and 20. There were five battles in two days, but most of it was done on the 20th. The battles of Contreras and Cherubusco and that of the one wing of Santa Anna's army were of such magnitude that a nation might exult in the glory of winning any one of them. General Scott had established his headquarters in a large

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stone building of thick high walls and high towers at each end. This building was at the foot of a hill about a mile from Chapultepec and was called Molino del Rey. Santa Anna's army with about fourteen thousand men lay west of this. The castle of Chapultepec and the city had to be taken before the army could hope to reach the City of Mexico. The castle was in reality the Mexican military college and the hillside upon which it rested was probably a volcanic eruption. On the 11th the American batteries opened up on it and after bombarding it most of the time till the morning of the 12th a general charge was made, which resulted in routing the defenders of the castle. The city of Chapultepec was three miles distant and the army followed up the charge on the castle by a general forward movement toward the city and toward the City of Mexico. On the 8th of September Scott attacked the Mexican lines in three places. He cut the Mexican army in twain, but could not support this advanced position and was driven back by the Mexicans, who reunited their army. On another attack he opened the army again and this time held his ground. There were now in reality two wings of the Mexican army and Scott's forces were united between them. This last battle is known in history as the battle of Molino del Rey, and was perhaps the bloodiest battle of the Mexican war, but the American troops won a great victory. Our loss was about seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, of whom fifty-eight were officers. The Mexican loss was still greater; counting killed, wounded and prisoners their army was reduced to less than three thousand soldiers. On September 12 the army began firing on Chapultepec. This fort was nearly a thousand feet long and was greatly strengthened by heavy stone walls. At the foot of the hill was a high stone wall and behind it were several companies of Mexican troops. In addition the ground over which our army must pass to approach the fort was mined and was supposed to be very dangerous. Beyond this was a strong redoubt heavily guarded. Further on was another wall and outside of each wall was a deep ditch. In these strongholds were the Mexican soldiers whom our army must dislodge, and in addition to all this the entire fortification was protected by eleven heavy guns. In the early forenoon of September 13 the command was given for a general move on the enemy from all sides. By this time the fortress or the bluff upon which it was located was almost surrounded. They were met by a perfect hail of bullets from the fortress and by incessant firing from the eleven guns surmounting all. The American soldiers bridged the ditches with fascines and passed over them quickly. Each company carried ladders and these were placed against the walls so that they were soon escaladed and regardless of loss of life one thousand soldiers rushed to the citadel. The South Carolina and the New York volunteers of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, in which it will be remembered were many Pittsburg soldiers, were in the thickest part of the battle at the time of the assault. The fierce struggle, of course, lasted but a few minutes and then victory came to the Union army. They took all of the artillery in the fort and a number of prisoners. All these misfortunes had greatly discouraged the Mexican army. The

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City of Mexico, which was originally supposed to be the stronghold of the nation and a place where our armies would be compelled to unite in order to conquer it, was taken with much less fighting. It was a walled city and a few soldiers defended the gates stubbornly. Our army marched toward it at once. General Quitman forced an entrance through the walls of the city by the Gartia de Belleu and General Worth's soldiers entered it by the Gartia Sancosme, these being the two main gates, and on the morning of the 14th of September, 1847, the army was in full possession of the city and all its castles, and was dictating terms of peace to the vanquished enemy in the far famed halls of Montezuma. General Scott's army had in the meantime marched about three hundred miles into the interior of Mexico, had captured forts that were supposed to be impregnable and at best had scarcely twelve thousand troops. When he entered the valley of Mexico in August his army was in four divisions commanded by Generals Worth, Quitman, Twiggs and Pillow. The Mexicans were moreover fighting in their own country, with which they were perfectly familiar and where they had selected the strongest points for defensive battle. In order to appreciate the work done by these soldiers it is necessary to consider these matters. Furthermore, the union soldiers who fought in Mexico were largely brought up in states south of Pennsylvania, and consequently were more accustomed to hot weather, such as they found in Mexico, than the Pennsylvania soldiers were. As a result of this they suffered much less from the blazing sun of the tropics than the northern soldiers did. It must be remembered also that from Vera Cruz to Mexico the army was marching through a hostile country and much of the time had a very doubtful base of supplies with which the rear of the army could communicate. At best they were compelled on much of this long weary march to subsist entirely on what they carried with them and on what they could procure from the surrounding country. They were not familiar with the topography of this unknown land, while all around them skirted hungry and desperate guerrillas, who required almost constant vigilance on the part of all who would protect themselves or their property. There were no railroads or navigable streams upon which they could transport the army. The route from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico lay over mountains, through deep valleys and across malarial swamps, all of which told with peculiar severity on the northern troops. Much of this road was moreover cut through a wilderness renowned for its density. Notwithstanding all this, General Scott did not lose a battle in all the war.

The army occupied the City of Mexico for nine months, when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and signed. Then they received orders on May 29, 1848, to return home. Most of them returned by the same route they had gone out. The regiments containing the Pittsburg soldiers were badly used up. Many of them had died at Vera Cruz, Jalapa, Parrote and Pueblo. Colonel William B. Roberts of the Second Regiment died a few days after the capture of the City of Mexico and his remains were brought home to Pittsburg by Lieutenant Kane. More of the Pittsburg soldiers died from sickness than from

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the casualties of battle. During the return march from Mexico to Vera Cruz in June the regiments marched mostly at night and rested by day because of the excessively hot sun.

It was the highest ambition of the surviving Pittsburg troops to bring home the bodies of a number of soldiers who had been killed and whose graves were known. Robert D. Nicholson and Joseph Berk of Company I, Second Regiment, were sent to Pueblo to secure their bodies. They left the union camp on June 1, 1847, in good spirits, expecting to join the regiment in two or three days again, but they never returned. The country, as we have said, was infested with guerrillas who concealed themselves in mountain passes, and the supposition was that they were murdered. All efforts to find them or to learn of their fate were in vain. The widowed mother of Berk went down the Ohio to meet the boat which should have brought her son home and there learned of his sad fate, which so overpowered her that she lost her mind. On June 20 the regiment embarked at Vera Cruz on the steamer "Mary Kingsland" for New Orleans. When they went out it required one steamer for two companies of Pittsburg soldiers, but on their return one steamer was sufficient for the entire regiment from Pennsylvania which landed at New Orleans. The steamer "Taglioni" brought them to Pittsburg, where they landed on July 10, 1848. Company I had left Pittsburg with eighty-six men fit for duty, but returned with but thirty, and the other companies suffered about the same per cent. of loss. The regiments were mustered out of service on July 18, 1848.

There were many good citizens of Pittsburg who throughout had been opposed to the Mexican war. They saw in it only an effort on the part of the slave-holding states to gain more territory south of Mason and Dixon's line as extended to the Pacific ocean. Pittsburg was strong in its anti-slavery sentiment, and the men holding these views were not enthusiastic supporters of the "War of Conquest," as they called it. Jane Grey Swisshelm employed her caustic pen in opposing it. When the troops were about ready to leave for Mexico she wrote: "Those who leave their families to the charity of the world well know that this winter, or while the war fever lasts, they will be kept from starving; after that their wives can sew for twelve and a half cents a day to support themselves and their children. If this country failed to support her old revolutioners and their widows, she will support no others. There is now an old woman in the upper end of Allegheny City, Mrs. Grove, who has had a cancer on her face for years. Her husband was in Washington's army during most of the war. After incredible exertions he secured a pension of forty-four dollars a year. It was his only dependence. I knew him for years when he lived here near us in a little house below the mill, and tottered on his staff, back and forth to Pittsburg, eight miles, with his silver hair hanging on his shoulders, *to beg his pension pittance* of fat, sleek office-holders."

But when the war was over and the soldiers were about to reach Pittsburg on their return, there were few who did not turn out to gladly welcome them. No matter how unjust the war may have been, the soldiers had performed

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their part bravely and well and were entitled to the highest measure of glory. Both cities and many hundreds from nearby communities united to give them an ever memorable welcome such as they deserved. Men, women and children came for miles to witness the arrival of the gallant band. The "John Hancock" and the "Taglioni" bearing respectively the Maryland and the Second Pennsylvania regiments, came up the river and were sighted about eleven o'clock or shortly after. Then the people began to shout and the bells of the city were rung, and the bands played, and every accessible cannon began to roar, in welcome greeting, as the boats neared the wharf. These boats bore but one Pittsburg company, the Irish Greens, but every one was proud of the gallantry they displayed in Mexico. The river front from above Smithfield street to the point was filled with men and women, patiently awaiting their arrival. Every window and every housetop in view of the wharf was filled with people, and every steamboat lying in the wharf was apparently a living mass of humanity waving handkerchiefs and cheering as the soldiers disembarked. About five o'clock in the evening rapid artillery firing, steamboat whistling and church bell ringing announced the arrival of two more boats bearing soldiers. As they slowly approached the wharf the volunteers began to cheer. The soldiers of both arrivals were marched to the corner of Wood and Water streets, where they were addressed by the renowned orator, Judge William Wilkins. His address to the first arrival of troops was responded to by Col. Hughes and Col. Geary, and the evening address by Col. Samuel W. Black. The Duquesne Grays were on a boat, the "Jewess," which had not arrived yet. All who arrived were marched through the city amid such acclamations of joy from every side as have but seldom been heard in any land or in any age. The bodies of ten soldiers who died in Mexico were brought back and were buried in the Allegheny cemetery on July 21. A large procession of returned troops and citizens marched to the cemetery and participated in the military funeral accorded them.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Allegheny County Bench.

"The courts are an integral and vital part of our government, and it would be a sad day for American civilization if their functions were degraded or weakened. They are the balance wheel and check in our system between contending passions and policies. This is not idle rhetoric. It is the sober truth that the courts are the guardians of our rights and liberties. It is high time that the people should remember this and should soberly reflect upon the current heresies. It is high time that public sentiment and conviction should loyally support the judicial power, recognize the patriotism and good faith of the courts, and maintain their authority and independence."—Philander Chase Knox, United States Senate, March 28, 1906.

At the time of the Revolution many of our most distinguished men did not seek a separation from England, but rather a relief from the unjust burdens which the Crown was imposing on the Colonies. They did not in reality regard the colonists as fitted to govern themselves. This want of confidence in the people for self-government is shown in the early organic laws of the commonwealth. The constitution of 1776 and those of 1790 and 1838, provided that all judicial officers should be appointed for life by the governor, and as we have seen, most other officers were selected practically in the same way instead of being elected by the people, as they are now. This was a reflection of the English idea which did not regard the people as safe depositories of political power. Although the constitution of 1776 was formed after the patriots of the Revolution had thrown off the British yoke, yet it left us under the reign of the English law, which it modified to but a limited extent. The office of judgeship, we may say here, remained an appointive one until 1850, when an amendment to the constitution of 1838 was passed, which made the office an elective one. During all this time it was not infrequent that judges were chosen from other counties than those in which they were to preside. This power is yet lodged in the chief magistrate of the commonwealth when an appointment to the bench becomes necessary, but it is a very rare occurrence that the appointee does not come from the bar of the county to the bench of which he is appointed. The same appointive power and the same general custom applied then to the office of district attorney. A governor from the East could, and frequently

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did, quarter his personal friends on the western counties by appointing them to the offices of judge and district attorney. This was done without special complaint by more than one governor, even in Allegheny county. The amendment to the constitution passed in 1850 also limited the term of the judgeship to ten years for county judges and to fifteen years for supreme court judges. Up until 1790 our judges were not necessarily learned in the law and none of those who were appointed on April 6, 1773, were lawyers. The province of a judge differed widely in those days from that of our judges of today. Many matters which are now ruled by the higher courts were then settled by the jury, for there were few decisions to guide them and the judge did not necessarily need to know the law as they do today. Binding instructions to a jury were practically unknown then. The judge's charge to a jury set forth his opinion of the case as he viewed it rather than the law and the decisions of the courts which governed it. It must not be too rashly presumed therefore that because our early judges were not learned in the law that our courts were necessarily of an inferior quality. It will be remembered that Ebenezer Webster, the father of Daniel Webster, though not a lawyer, sat for many years on the Common Pleas bench of New Hampshire, and rendered eminent services in that capacity. These early justices were selected with great care and were well suited and well equipped to carry on the litigation of the primitive age in which they lived. They brought order out of chaos and steadily advanced the pioneer standard of jurisprudence until 1790, when the community was intellectually ready for the more exacting principles of the new constitution. They were men of high standing in the community, but were little more than justices. This was the case all over the province at that time and yet a writer of no less distinction than Henry Cabot Lodge in his "History of the English Colonies of America," page 232, speaks of the judicial system of Pennsylvania as "far above the colonial standard, both as to the bench and the bar." The manner of appointing judges or justices, though referred to elsewhere, may serve here to refresh the reader's memory of our early courts. The act of September 9, 1759, provided that "five persons of the best discretion, capacity, judgment and integrity," should be commissioned for the common pleas and orphans' courts, any three of whom were empowered to act. All were appointed for life or good behavior. By the constitution of 1776 the term was limited to seven years, but the constitution of 1790 restored the life-tenure. The act of May 22, 1722, had authorized the appointment of justices for each county and provided that any three of them had the power to hold the ordinary quarter sessions and common pleas court. The same act also provided for the appointment of a supreme court of three judges, afterwards increased to four, before whom the proceedings of the county court could be reviewed. This supreme court had a further jurisdiction over all capital cases and for this purpose they were compelled to sit in each county twice a year. The justices or county judges were not enabled by the act to try a case, the punishment of which might be death. By the act of May 31, 1718, the crimes of treason, misprision of treason, murder, man-

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slaughter, mayhem, arson, burglary, witchcraft, etc., were made capital offenses, that is, they were punishable by death. When three or more of these justices met together they had the power to hold a county court and were authorized from the beginning to elect their own president judge, and this rule obtained up until the constitution of 1776, after which the act of January 27, 1777, was passed which authorized the President of the Supreme Executive Council to appoint and commission one of these justices or judges as president judge. In the old courts prior to the formation of Allegheny county the custom seemed to be that when they met if the regular president judge was not present, they selected one of their number to preside in his absence, but he did not hold this office by any legislative authority prior to the act of January, 1777, which provides as follows: "The President and Council shall appoint one of the justices in each county to preside in the respective courts and in his absence the justices who shall attend the court shall choose one of themselves President for the time being." The formation of the county, the selection of a court house and county seat and the earlier cases tried in the Westmoreland courts while Pittsburg was yet in that county, are matters which have been considered in a former chapter. The first judge who presided in those courts was William Crawford, a man of high standing and character with whom the reader is quite familiar, for he figured greatly in the Revolutionary period, both as a judge and as a soldier. He was born in Virginia in 1733 and came first into Western Pennsylvania with Braddock's army, taking part in the memorable defeat. In 1767 he took up land in the region of Connellsville and resided there for the remainder of his days. He is described as a gentleman of the Old School, and was certainly a man of superior attainments for that day. It will be recalled that he was visited by Washington and frequently made journeys with him. Those who are familiar with Washington's letters will remember of him distinctly. In the difficulties in Southwestern Pennsylvania, known and considered under the head of Dunmore's war, Crawford took sides with Virginia, and this led to his retirement from the bench, he being removed from the office by the President of the Supreme Executive Council in 1775. The order removing him recognized him as Presiding Justice. But his memory has not suffered in history because of his leaning toward his native state. When the war of the Revolution came he raised a regiment in Western Virginia and in Southwestern Pennsylvania, was made its colonel and with it performed good services in the Continental army. Toward the close of the war he was sent to guard the frontier against the Indian incursions and to this end built Fort Crawford on the Allegheny river near the present town of New Kensington. In 1782 he was appointed to command an expedition against the Indians on the Sandusky. It is known as Crawford's expedition, and is the basis of one of the most heartrending chapters of border history. His army was outnumbered, and he himself was captured by the Indians under the leadership of the notorious Simon Girty. After much torture he was tied hand and foot and, amid fiendish yells of joy, the Indians, thinking they were avenging

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their race, put the bold and intrepid frontiersman to a most cruel death by burning him at the stake. Thus died the first of Westmoreland's provincial judges. Crawford had been retired from the bench prior to the act of 1777 authorizing the appointment of a president judge and therefore the judicial distinction by legislative authority came first in reality to John Moore. At the commencement of the Revolution he was engaged in clearing out and cultivating a farm of four hundred acres on the Crab Tree Run, a branch of the Loyalhanna, two miles southeast of New Alexandria, in the present county of Westmoreland. A comfortable stone dwelling house, still in good condition, marked the place of his residence and indicated a man in advance of the crude civilization of his day. His wife was a daughter of Isaac Parr of New Jersey. He was about thirty-seven years old when he went on the bench. His first appearance in public life was as a delegate from the county of Westmoreland to the convention which met at Philadelphia on July 15, 1776, to form a constitution and frame a government for the state. This body met at Carpenter's Hall. The people of the state had been invoked "to choose such persons only to act for them in the ensuing convention as are distinguished for wisdom, integrity, and a firm attachment to the liberties of this province." In pursuance of this recommendation delegates were chosen on July 5, 1776, and John Moore was one of the eight who represented Westmoreland county. In the convention he was placed on the committee to draw up a declaration or bill of rights and also on the committee to report a plan or constitution of government. The convention selected "a council of safety to exercise the whole of the executive powers of government, so far as relates to the military defense and safety of the province." This committee was composed of twenty of the most prominent men in the convention and John Moore was one of them. On September 30 he returned to Westmoreland. While in session with the council of safety he had procured for the defense of the frontier about four hundred pounds sterling, half a ton of rifle powder, one ton of lead and four thousand flints. This doubtless added to his popularity on the frontier. At all events in 1777 he was commissioned a justice of the peace and about the same time was appointed surveyor of public lands in Westmoreland. In 1779 he was commissioned one of the judges of the several courts of Westmoreland county, and in 1785 was appointed president judge of the same county. No appointment was made for Westmoreland county until October 24 of that year. (Col. Rec., Vol. 14, page 516.) His commission bore date on the day following and is recorded in the Register's office in Book A, Page 544. This position of president judge of the county he filled until the constitution of 1790 came into power, when he was retired because he was not learned in the law. After his retirement from the bench he was elected two terms to the state senate from the district composed of Allegheny and Westmoreland. What opportunities for education he had had in his youth are not known. He wrote a good hand and the language and orthography of his composition indicated a strong, vigorous and clear intellect. Some time after the death of his father, William Moore, his mother was married to James Guthrie, by whom she had several

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children, one of whom, James, was afterward sheriff of Westmoreland county. John B. Guthrie, afterwards a mayor of Pittsburg, was a descendant. One of Judge Moore's daughters was united in marriage with John M. Snowden, a well-known Pittsburg editor of the early days, and mayor of the city, and also one of the associate judges of Allegheny county.

On the formation of Allegheny county in 1788 new judges and justices were appointed, who held the first court in Pittsburg on December 16. A court house had not been built then and the courts were held in a room on the corner of Second and Market streets. For three years after the formation of the county, that is, up until the constitution of 1790 went into effect, the court was composed of justices of the county. In Allegheny county the council had commissioned George Wallace as president judge and he served until 1791, when he was retired by the workings of the constitution, which implied that only those who were learned in the law should sit on the bench. He had given good satisfaction while on the bench, for the position, as we have said, required a man of good judgment and of integrity rather than one widely learned in the law. He had been appointed originally a justice in Westmoreland county and on the formation of Allegheny county was reappointed. He was a large landholder and a good business man and withal gave general satisfaction while he sat on the bench. At the first session of court nine persons were admitted to practice law, and these became the first members of the Allegheny county bar, though but four of them were residents of Pittsburg. The associate judges on the bench on December 16 were Joseph Scott, John Wilkins and John Johnson. The judge read a letter from William Bradford, Jr., attorney general of Pennsylvania, appointing Robert Galbraith, Esq., a deputy attorney general of the county and he was accordingly sworn in. After this the nine members of the bar, namely, Hugh H. Brackenridge, John Woods, James Ross, George Thompson, Alexander Addison, David Bradford, James Carson, Daniel St. Clair and Michael Huffnagle, were sworn as members of the new bar. The attention of the court was directed entirely to matters of that kind and was a court of quarter sessions only. The first term in the common pleas court was held on March 14, 1789, for which term the appearance docket contained fifty-six cases. The minutes for that day are very brief and only show that the court was held before Judge Wallace and his associates, but they are not named. They were doubtless the same as given above for December 16. All of the members of the bar who were admitted when the courts of Allegheny were opened had probably been members of the Washington and Westmoreland bars. Of the four who lived in Pittsburg, three were Hugh Henry Brackenridge, James Ross, John Woods and the other is unknown. Among the five from the other counties were two from Washington, namely, David Bradford and Alexander Addison. Bradford has been referred to sufficiently in the description given in these pages of the Whiskey Insurrection. Alexander Addison was a man of high attainments and will be referred to hereafter.

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When the constitution of 1776 was formed it was at best an experiment, for it was formed when the war clouds of the Revolution were gathering and was in want of many important provisions. Resultant from the dissatisfaction engendered by these defects, was the convention which formed the constitution of 1790. It certainly had its faults, too, but nevertheless was an able product and lasted the state for forty-eight years. Two of the ablest members of the convention of 1790 were James Ross of Allegheny county and Alexander Addison of Washington County. The constitution, as we have intimated, reconstructed the courts of the state and practically limited the judicial power to those who were learned in the law. Agreeable to other provisions regulating the judicial system of the state, the Legislature, on April 13, 1791, organized the Fifth Judicial District, to be composed of the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny. This, it will be remembered, included all of Western Pennsylvania save Bedford and Somerset. Greene county was included in Washington until its formation in 1796. All the territory west of the Allegheny and north of the Ohio was included in Allegheny county, and with parts of Armstrong and Indiana were included in the Fifth Judicial District, though in reality there were but four counties in the district. The constitution itself provided that not more than six nor less than three counties should be included in one district. By the act of 1791 a president of each judicial district was to be appointed by the governor and he was also to appoint not less than three nor more than four associate judges; the latter were rarely ever experienced lawyers.

Of this Fifth Judicial District, Alexander Addison, then practicing law in Washington county mainly, was appointed president judge by Governor Thomas Mifflin, when Wallace retired from the bench because of the provisions of the constitution of 1790. He was appointed August 22, 1791, and was therefore the first judge learned in the law who presided over the Allegheny county courts. Like many prominent men of his day he was born in a foreign land, at Morayshire, Scotland, in 1758. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, and received the degree of Master of Arts in 1777. Entering the ministry he was admitted to the Presbytery of Aberlowe in 1781. In 1785 he came to America in company with Dr. Charles Nesbitt, who was then president of Dickinson College at Carlisle. On December 20 he applied to the Redstone Presbytery at Brownsville for admission, but for some unknown reason his examination proved unsatisfactory, and, while he was not admitted he was allowed to continue preaching for he was already supplying the church at Washington, Pennsylvania. Perhaps because of the difficulties relating to his examination he became disgruntled and, abandoning the ministry, took up the study of law with David Reddick, of Washington. He was admitted to the Washington bar in March, 1787. After the custom of the day, Addison practiced law in both Washington and in Pittsburg. The district was then composed of the four counties mentioned above, and it also included, during his term, the counties of Greene,

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Armstrong, Beaver and Butler. These counties furthermore included all of the territory in western Pennsylvania, though the northern counties were not yet erected. Crawford, Erie, Mercer and Venango were added to the district in 1803, and must have produced considerable litigation even before they became separate counties. The duties which confronted him when he assumed the duties of the judgeship were indeed arduous. To bring order out of the chaotic conditions of affairs, the result of the justice's court and the Virginia courts, was perhaps a greater undertaking than that which subsequently fell to any judge of the district, yet he performed the work nobly and became known as one of the ablest men in Pennsylvania. He was a Federalist in his opinions and when the Whiskey Insurrection originated in the four principal counties of his district, he took decidedly a stand in favor of law and order, as indeed an equitable conservator of the peace was compelled to do. This made him very unpopular and brought upon him the bitter hostility of Hugh Henry Brackenridge and many others. On July 17, 1800, there was appointed to the position of associate judge a Frenchman named John B. C. Lucas, who seemed to regard it as his highest duty to annoy and provoke Judge Addison. Lucas was not a lawyer, yet he frequently differed with the Judge on points of law and tried to overrule him. The opposition did not result seriously until the Federalists lost their power and the enemies of Judge Addison were in the ascendency. Lucas then tried to charge the grand jury contrary to the custom and set forth views opposite to those expressed by Judge Addison. Judge John McDowell was then on the bench and he with Judge Addison constituted a majority of the court. They remonstrated with Lucas for his conduct, and put a stop to his further haranguing the grand jury. This gave Lucas a pretext for legal proceedings against the Judge. He made an application to the Supreme Court to file an information in the form of an indictment against him for misdemeanor in office. The result of this was disappointing to Lucas for the court dismissed it because the paper did not show any indictable offense. The proceedings may be read in 4 Dallas R., 225. Lucas's next step was to have Judge Addison impeached by the legislature. The predominating element there was anti-Federalist and they proceeded to try him by impeachment. The articles of impeachment contained but two charges, both relating to Lucas's attempt to charge the juries. "No person can read the report of the trial," says Judge J. W. F. White, "without feeling that it was a legal farce; that gross injustice was done Judge Addison from the beginning to the end, and that the whole proceeding was a disgrace to the state. The trial took place at Lancaster, where the legislature sat. The house and senate refused to give him copies of certain papers or to give assistance in procuring witnesses from Pittsburg for his defense. The addresses of the counsel against him, and the rulings of the senate on all questions raised in the progress of the trial, were characterized by intense partisan feeling. It was not a judicial trial, but a partisan scheme to turn out a political opponent."

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The result of the trial was that on January 27, 1803, Judge Addison was found guilty, and removed from the bench, yet he was undoubtedly one of the best and ablest judges who ever graced the bench of Pennsylvania. He was moreover a scholar and learned writer. He published "Observations on Gallatin's Speech" in 1798; "Analysis of the Report of the Virginia Assembly" in 1800, and also the Addison's Pennsylvania Reports in the same year. A great writer of that day has spoken of him as "An intelligent, learned, upright and fearless judge; one whose equal was not to be found in Pennsylvania." His charge to the grand jury during the Whiskey Insurrection is a monument to his talents and his worth and those who will recall the political surroundings of that day cannot read it without being impressed with the fact that Judge Addison was possessed of a high degree of moral courage and a clear perception of the law."

When Judge Addison was impeached the citizens of Fayette county, over which he presided, tendered him a public dinner and came in large numbers to show their disapproval of the action of the legislature.

On the removal of Judge Addison the governor appointed Samuel Roberts, of Sunbury, to the position. He had been born in Philadelphia in 1763, and admitted to the bar in 1790. He practiced first in Lancaster, then moved to Sunbury. He was commissioned on April 20, 1803, by Governor Thomas McKean, and sat on the bench in the Fifth District until his death. While judge of these courts he edited and published a digest of English statutes then in force in Pennsylvania, and it is yet a standard work though rarely ever referred to. He died in 1820.

Judge Roberts was succeeded on the bench by William Wilkins. His father, John Wilkins, had come to Pittsburg in 1786, and is referred to elsewhere in these pages as an early church worker in Pittsburg. The son was born in Carlisle on December 20, 1779. He was educated in Dickinson College, and also read law there with Judge David Watt. He was admitted to the Pittsburg bar December 28, 1801. In Pittsburg he was president of the common council in 1816-17-18, and was a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1819. On December 18, 1820, he was appointed judge of the Fifth Judicial District. This position he filled until May 25, 1824, when he resigned to accept the position of judge of the United States courts for the Western District of Pennsylvania. In 1828, while on the bench, he was elected to Congress, but resigned from the office before taking his seat, giving as a reason that he could not afford to give up the judgeship and live in Washington on the salary then paid members of Congress. Two years later he was elected to the United States senate and took his seat; the higher position perhaps induced him to resign the judgeship. He remained in the senate until 1834, when he was appointed minister to Russia by President Andrew Jackson, though he remained but one year at the court of St. Petersburg. In 1842 he was again sent to Congress as a member of the lower house. The fearful explosion of the gun on the "Princeton" on the Potomac in February, 1844,

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killed the Secretary of State Upshur and the Secretary of War Gilmer, and President John Tyler appointed Judge Wilkins as Secretary of War, which position he filled from February 15, 1844, until March 4, 1845. In 1855 he was elected to the state senate of Pennsylvania for one term as a representative from Allegheny county. He was also the first president of the Bank of Pittsburg. For him Wilkins township and Wilkinsburg in Allegheny county were named. He was one of the most distinguished men ever connected with the Pittsburg bar; though elected and appointed to many positions he filled them each and all in a way that reflected great credit upon himself and upon his constituents. His last years were spent in retirement at his home in Homewood, yet even then he, as chairman of the celebrated Committee of One Hundred, busied himself in the many war measures taken by the patriotic people of Pittsburg to assist in putting down the Rebellion of 1861. Indeed it is said that in his last hours with waning breath he gloried that he had lived to see the flag again waving proudly over a union which had passed through the war and was united in peace and harmony. He died June 23, 1865.

Charles Shaler, whose name will ever be tenderly remembered by Pittsburg people, succeeded Judge Wilkins as president judge of the Fifth District. He was born in Connecticut in 1788, and was graduated from Yale College. He read law in Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in Ravenna, coming to Pittsburg for admission in 1813. After filling one or two minor positions he was appointed judge of the courts of Allegheny county on June 5, 1824. This position he filled with signal ability until May 4, 1835. He then practiced law until 1841, when, on May 6, he was appointed assistant law judge of the district court of Allegheny county, and filled that position until May 20, 1844. During the administration of President Pierce he was United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania. Judge Shaler was a man of high standing whether in the bar, on the bench or in the councils of the church. He was a tall man and had a grace and a personality which commanded the attention and respect of all with whom he came in contact. In arguing matters to the court he was unusually clear and brief. Before a jury he frequently brought to bear a florid eloquence, or a master stroke of wit, or perhaps a thrust of sarcasm by which in a word he sometimes silenced his opponent. In the days in which he lived, platform speaking in political campaigns was almost a duty of the lawyer who had any power of eloquence, and in this Judge Shaler was scarcely surpassed by the ablest men of his day. He figured largely in Pittsburg's early history, and has been many times mentioned in this work. He died at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. D. H. Hodges, in Newark, New Jersey, on March 5, 1869, and was buried in the Allegheny cemetery of Pittsburg.

On May 15, 1835, Trevanion B. Dallas was commissioned to succeed Judge Shaler on the Allegheny county bench. He was a son of Alexander J. Dallas, of the Revolutionary period, and a brother of George M. Dallas, who

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was afterward vice-president of the United States. He was born in Philadelphia, on February 23, 1801, and was educated at Princeton. He began the study of the law with his brother, George M., in Philadelphia, but later came to Pittsburg to finish his studies with his brother-in-law, Judge William Wilkins, who was then on the Allegheny county bench. He was admitted to practice in the Pittsburg courts on June 29, 1820. For a time he was deputy attorney-general of Allegheny county, and solicitor for the city of Pittsburg. He served as president judge of the courts from May 15, 1835, to June 4, 1839, when he was appointed assistant law judge of the district court of Allegheny county with Judge Greer, who was then judge of that court. This position he filled until his death on April 7, 1841. He was a man of fine appearance and affable manners, who had the intellect of his family, but unfortunately died before he reached the place in life which his talent, industry and knowledge warranted him to attain.

Judge Dallas was succeeded on the bench by Benjamin Patton, who was commissioned July 1, 1839, and who sat on the bench ten years and six months. Judge Patton was born in Bellefonte, on July 21, 1810, being the son of Benjamin and Phoebe (Wheeler) Patton. He had come from an old Revolutionary stock, which had settled among the earliest in the Juniata valley. His grandfather was a lieutenant in Braddock's army, and was among the Virginia troops furnished through the aid of Colonel Washington. A grand-uncle of Judge Patton's was Benjamin Patton, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Judge Patton was graduated from Dickinson College in the class of 1828, and began to study law with Andrew Carothers at Carlisle. When admitted to the bar he settled in Nashville, Tennessee, but shortly afterwards returned to Lewistown, where Samuel Douglas, who was then attorney-general of the state, appointed him deputy attorney-general. In 1832 President Jackson appointed him United States attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, and this brought him to Pittsburg in June, 1833. In addition to attending to the duties of the office of district attorney he practiced law in the courts of Pittsburg. On July 1, 1839, he was commissioned by Governor David R. Porter, as president judge of the Allegheny county courts, and assumed his duties at once. He was then less than thirty years old, and the position was growing more and more arduous with every year. He, it is said, made some mistakes, due perhaps to his inexperience, for he was the youngest man who had, up until that time, occupied this high position in the courts. At all events he was never charged with being intentionally unfair or dishonest. In addition to his youth he was not a man of commanding appearance, for he was crippled in one of his legs and walked with difficulty. Furthermore, his general physical appearance was that of a man who would not long survive, yet he sat on the bench ten years and a half, and lived nearly fifty years after his retirement. He was appointed commissioner and clerk of the circuit court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania by Judge Robert C. Greer,

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who by that time, had become one of the justices of the supreme court of the United States. This necessitated his removal to Philadelphia. After filling this position for twelve years he purchased a farm and home named "Fontland," near Hicksville, Ohio, and lived there somewhat in retirement. In 1880 and 1881 he was a member of the Ohio legislature. This rural life seemed conducive to his health, for he lived there until February 10, 1897, when he died in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He had been on the bench in 1842 when the old court house, so called by the present generation, was first used and dedicated, and he attended the dedicatory services of the present court house in 1888.

William B. McClure succeeded Judge Patton, and his services dated from January 31, 1850. That year came an amendment to the constitution, of which we have spoken, making the judgeship an elective office. This amendment applied not only to the county judges but to members of the supreme court as well. All judges in the state were legislated out of office. This seemed somewhat drastic, yet they were each holding office for a life tenure by virtue of the constitution of 1838, and when it was modified in this particular, it was but fair that each should secure his position from the people. The election took place in October, 1851. Judge McClure had been on the bench but little over a year by appointment, but he was now elected for a term of ten years from December, 1851. In 1861, he was again elected and commissioned for the full term of ten years, but he died December 27, in the same year. He was born near Carlisle, on April 11, 1807, and was graduated from Dickinson College in the class of 1827. He was admitted to the Pittsburg bar in 1829, after having read law with John Kennedy, who afterward went to the supreme bench. His term on the bench was a very busy one, for he was the sole judge of the common pleas, orphans', quarter sessions and oyer and terminer courts, yet Pittsburg and its adjoining boroughs alone, without counting the remainder of the inhabitants of Allegheny county, had a population of 79,830 in 1850, and of 124,844 in 1860. There was, it is true, at the same time a district court at Allegheny county, but even with that the work must of necessity have been great. The population of the cities is now scarcely more than four times what it was in 1860, yet there are fifteen judges at present, and all are kept busy to transact the business. The inference is that litigation has increased more rapidly than the population. The court business transacted by Judge McClure each year was enormous. He had scarcely a day's vacation, and sat on the bench from eight to ten hours each day. Nor has the county, in all her history, had a more thoroughly conscientious and earnest judge than he. This close confinement and the impure air of the quarter sessions court, with perhaps too little exercise, undermined his constitution which was naturally a strong one. As a result he died when but fifty-four years of age. The records of the courts during the years he was on the bench, show that he tried more criminal cases and more homicide cases than any other judge in Pennsylvania. The excessive business of these courts was due to the building of the railroads in and about Pittsburg during that

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period. The Judge put forth his best energies to suppress crimes which were occurring daily around him because of the many foreigners brought in by railroad building. He made his court a terror to evildoers and gained for himself almost a national fame as a trial judge, but the hard work practically cost him his life. Nor was the increase in the litigation, superinduced by railroad building, confined to the criminal courts. All the court business was correspondingly increased though the civil cases could be postponed with better grace than cases in the quarter sessions. This increase in business led to a movement on the part of the citizens of Pittsburg to have a law passed providing for an assistant law judge of the county. This movement resulted in the Act of May 26, 1859. The same act enlarged the jurisdiction of the court to include all cases wherein the sum in controversy did not exceed three hundred dollars. This act was followed by the Act of April 11, 1862, which gave the county a second associate law judge, and abolished the office of associate judge. The same law extended the jurisdiction of the common pleas court, making it equal with that of the district court, regardless of the amount in controversy. This act of 1862 was brought about because the courts were overcrowded. The office of associate judge, generally called lay judges, which was abolished by this act, was filled by those who were not learned in the law; they were generally of but little or no use to the trial judge. We had engrafted the system on our courts from the English system. They had been placed on the bench in Great Britain during the reign of the early kings, and were supposed to be an additional safeguard thrown around the rights of Englishmen. By this arrangement the defendant was tried not only by a jury of his peers, but before a court composed of judges, one of whom at least was unlearned in the law and belonged to the same grade of life to which he himself belonged. The act of 1862 abolished them only in Allegheny county. They were usually prominent men in the county, and after a short term of service were often of some small value to the president judge in the conduct of business. Among the more prominent ones of the Allegheny county may be named George Walls, who after being retired by the constitution of 1790 from the president judgship, was an associate law judge from 1791 to 1814; John McDowell served from 1791 to 1812; Francis McClure from 1812 to 1838; James Riddle from 1818 to 1838. Others of equal note and distinction were Samuel Jones, Richard Butler, John Wilkins, John Gibson, George Thompson, Hugh Davis, who had rendered services in our earliest courts. Still later came Thomas L. McMillan, Gabriel Adams and John E. Parke. Prior to 1851 they were appointed by the governor and held office for life or during good behavior. After 1851 they were elected each for a term of five years.

Judge McClure was followed on the bench by Judge James P. Sterritt, who was born in Juniata county on Nov. 7, 1822, and was graduated at Jefferson College, in Canonsburg, in 1845. The first year after his graduation was spent as a teacher in the preparatory department of the college from which he was graduated, after which he studied law in the University

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of Virginia. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar in Virginia, but in 1849 came to Pittsburg, where he was admitted on June 9, 1849. He became a thorough, painstaking lawyer, devoting himself to a general practice rather than to a specialty. On the death of Judge McClure he was appointed to succeed him, the appointment being dated on January 4, 1862. During the year he was nominated and elected by the Republican party for a full term of ten years, and was re-elected ten years later. In February, 1877, he was appointed by Governor Hartranft to succeed Judge William W. Williams, who had died while a justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Receiving the nomination of his party he had every prospect of being elected, but the state went Democratic that year, and he was defeated by their nominee. Serving by his appointment till the first Monday of January, 1878, he returned to Pittsburg and resumed the practice of the law. His short term on the supreme bench was entirely satisfactory to his friends, and he was accordingly placed in nomination again in 1878, there being another vacancy that year. He was elected in the fall of that year for the full term of twenty-one years from the first Monday of January, 1879. On January 20, 1893, he was made chief justice, Justice Edward M. Paxon having resigned to engage in railroad business. He was therefore chief justice of Pennsylvania for about seven years, when he returned at the close of his term. While a member of the supreme court he removed with his family to Philadelphia, because the longest sessions were in that city. Justice Sterritt was a large man of strong build, who, under ordinary circumstances, should have survived his term for many years. Unfortunately he came from the bench in poor health, superinduced largely by the hard work which the position had subjected him to. Though scarcely past sixty-seven years on his retirement to private life, he survived but one year. He died in Philadelphia on January 22, 1901, and was buried in Pittsburg. Lafayette College had conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

When the bills were passed creating the office of assistant law judge of the common pleas of Allegheny county, John Wesley Maynard, born in Vermont, in 1806, was appointed by Governor William P. Packer. His appointment was dated April 16, 1859, and was commissioned until the first Monday of December following. He had been admitted to the bar in Tioga county in 1831. In 1840 he removed to Williamsport, and resided there and at Easton until he was appointed to the bench in Allegheny county. He sat on the bench less than nine months, and in this he demeaned himself as a lawyer and a judge and won the confidence of both the people and the bar. In 1862 he was elected judge of the Williamsport District, but resigned in 1867.

David Ritchie was the associate law judge appointed under the Act of April 11, 1862. He was commissioned by Governor Andrew G. Curtin on May 22, following the passage of the bill, his commission to expire on the first Monday of December. He was born in Canonsburg, Pennsylania, on

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August 19, 1812, a son of Craig Ritchie, and was graduated from Jefferson College in the class of 1829. He had read law in Pittsburg with Walter Forward, and was admitted to the bar June 16, 1835. He was a member of the lower house of Congress three terms, serving from 1853 until 1859. Though he did not succeed himself on the bench he rendered good service during his brief term. After retiring from the bench he began practicing law in Pittsburg and died on January 24, 1867.

Several references have been made to the district court of Allegheny county and to judges going from the common pleas bench to that court, and an explanation is probably due at this place. In 1833 the legal business of the county had greatly increased, presumably because of the internal improvements of the state, mainly consisting of the building and operation of the Pennsylvania canal. The population of the county and city was also greatly increased. To meet this the legislature was induced to establish the district court of Allegheny county by Act of April 8, 1833, which was to have one judge. It was a higher court than the court of common pleas, for it had jurisdiction only in cases where the sum in controversy exceeded $100, the common pleas then having jurisdiction only in sums under that amount. This court was an experiment and was established for a period of seven years. By the Act of June 12, 1839, the court was made perpetual or continued until a later act should abolish it. The act of 1839 also added to its force another judge and limited the jurisdiction of the common pleas court to actions wherein the amount claimed did not exceed one hundred dollars. The court became a very important one in Allegheny county and because of the higher grade of cases brought before it and because of the absence of criminal business, the position of judgeship on the district bench was made more desirable than that of the other courts. It was continued about forty years when it was abolished by the constitution of 1873, and in its place came the common pleas court No. 2, of Allegheny county.

The first judge who sat on the district court bench of Allegheny county was Robert C. Greer, and he was appointed by Governor George Wolf on May 23, 1833. He filled the position with marked ability until 1846, when James K. Polk appointed him associate justice of the United States supreme court. He was born in Cumberland county, March 5, 1794. After being graduated from Dickinson College in 1812, he taught one year in the college and was then engaged as principal of an academy, of which his father was the head, for several years. He then read law and was admitted to the bar in 1817, practicing in Bloomsburg and Danville, until he was appointed judge of the district court of Allegheny county. He therefore came to Pittsburg only with this appointment. He lived in Allegheny City from 1833 until 1848, when he removed to Philadelphia. In 1870 he resigned from the supreme bench, after a service of twenty-four years. He had also served in Pittsburg thirteen years. He died in 1870.

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Hopewell Hepburn succeeded him as judge of the district court of Allegheny. He was born in Northumberland county, October 28, 1799, and was graduated from Princeton College. He read law with his brother Samuel, and was admitted to the bar in Easton in 1823. He remained there until he was appointed to succeed Judge Shaler as associate judge in the district court on September 17, 1844. Two years later he was appointed to succeed Judge Greer as president judge, when the latter was elevated to the United States supreme bench. This position he held until November 3, 1851, when he was defeated by Walter Forward, and on motion of Edwin M. Stanton was admitted to practice in the Allegheny county courts. After some years of practice he was made president of the Allegheny Bank. In 1863, while in Philadelphia, he was taken ill and died suddenly.

Walter Forward, who succeeded Judge Hepburn, was the lawyer, statesman, orator and judge of the Pittsburg bar. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1786, and came to Pittsburg to read law with Henry Baldwin in 1803, and was admitted to the bar on November 12, 1806. He was a very successful lawyer, indeed he became the leader of the bar at an early age. In 1822 he was elected to the lower house of Congress to succeed his preceptor, Baldwin. He served in this position from December 12, 1822, to March 4, 1825. He was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1838, and in April, 1841, was made first comptroller of the United States Treasury. On September 13, 1841, he was made secretary of the treasury by John Tyler, who had succeeded William Henry Harrison as president of the United States. Tyler thus found two members of his cabinet, William Wilkins and Walter Forward, in the Allegheny county bar. He resigned as secretary of the treasury on February 28, 1843, and returned to Pittsburg to practice law. In November, 1849, President Zachary Taylor appointed him minister to Denmark, which position he filled until October 10, 1851, when he resigned and came home to accept the appointment of president judge of the district court. He was on the bench only one year. He was a very careful, deliberate judge, and brought to the bench a riper wisdom and a greater name than any of his predecessors. The last case he tried was the case of a contested will, which lasted several days. He lived a short distance from Pittsburg, though now within the limits. On Monday morning he walked from his home to the court house, and perhaps caught cold, for it was a dismal, damp day. He took a chill in the court-room, but afterward charged the jury which retired to deliberate in the afternoon. Before the jury returned their verdict the judge had expired. Few men have died in Pittsburg in all her history who were as deeply lamented as Walter Forward. He was not only admired because of his intellectual attainments, but because of his moral excellence as well. He was a giant both intellectually and physically. He was equally eloquent and impressive whether before the court, before a jury or on the political platform. He was better known as a lawyer than as a judge, because his early death prevented him from serving a long term on the bench.

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As a lawyer he perhaps had no equal in his day in Pittsburg. He tried cases with but little show of unnecessary bluster or eloquence. He cross-examined very little, apparently paying no attention to the testimony, unless he thought the witness was mistaken, or was wilfully perverting or concealing the truth. Usually he sat quietly until a vital point or a weak place in his case, which he saw with unerring certainty from the beginning, was touched by his opponent. Then it was that his fiery nature was aroused, and the spectator saw him come like a warring eagle to the rescue of his endangered interests. He was a thorough scholar and student in the law, and in preparing his cases for trial bestowed on them a pains-taking care and study that was almost universally crowned with success at the trial. Mrs. Ann Royal, who has been quoted elsewhere, came here in 1828, and in her publication refers to Walter Forward as follows: "Walter Forward is another Yankee, a second, if not equal to Mr. Baldwin at the bar, and some do say he is superior. Mr. Forward is also a man of towering talents and a great pleader. He is a brother of Chauncey Forward, of Somerset, member of Congress, and is a stout, middle-aged man of fine appearance. His face is round and rather sallow; his eyes are full, dark, keen and intelligent; his countenance open and pleasing; his manners manly, though mild and alluring, and take him all in all, one of the most high-spirited and noble-looking men in Pittsburg. This gentleman, as well as Mr. Baldwin, seems to have lived for the world and not for himself, both being men of the first talents, legal knowledge and extensive practice, but from their excess of good nature and generosity have been able to lay up but little for themselves."

Peter C. Shannon was appointed to succeed Judge Forward by Governor William Bigler on November 27, 1852, he being commissioned until the first Monday of December, 1853. He was born in New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on August 25, 1824. He was educated in the Blairsville and Greensburg Academies and began to read law with John A. Wills in Pittsburg. Because of failing health he went South and afterward read for a time with General Henry D. Foster in Greensburg, where he was admitted to the bar in August, 1845. In December, 1846, he was admitted to the Pittsburg bar. He took rather an active part in politics, and was defeated for Congress by David Ritchie in 1852. During the term for which he was appointed judge, he was nominated for the following term, but being a Democrat was defeated by Moses Hampton. When war came in 1861 he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry. At the same time he was elected to the Legislature, and resigned his commission in the army to sit in that body during the session of 1861-62, and was re-elected to the Legislature, serving in 1862-63. President Grant offered to appoint him minister to Ecuador, and on his declining this position, the president appointed him chief justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Dakota, in which position he served from March 21, 1873, to June 2, 1882. President Arthur appointed him one of a commission of three to ne-

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gotiate with the Sioux Indians relative to lands in Dakota, and this position engaged his time for three years. He was also appointed by Attorney-General Brewster a commissioner in the Government service in Montana. While chief justice of Dakota he was president of a commission which codified the laws, and the report which the commission made was afterward enacted by the Legislature, thus becoming the code of the territory. He died in California, where he had gone in quest of health, dying from injuries received by being thrown from a carriage on February 13, 1899.

Moses Hampton was elected to the office of president judge of the district court in October, 1853, succeeding Judge Shannon, whom he defeated. He served ten years and was re-elected in October, 1863, and served a second full term. He was born in Beaver county on October 28, 1803. He was brought up in part in Trumbull county, Ohio, where his father had moved in 1812 to engage in his trade of blacksmithing, which trade he also taught his son. He entered Burton Academy in Ohio and was graduated from Washington College in the class of 1824. After graduating he taught in Lafayette Academy in Uniontown, where he also read law with John M. Austin, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. Moving to Somerset county he was appointed prothonotary of that county, but resigned after one year's service. In 1838 he was admitted to the Allegheny county bar and in 1839 removed to Pittsburg, where he rapidly attained a leading position in his profession. He was elected to Congress in 1846 and again in 1848. In 1867 the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the Western University of Pennsylvania. After retiring from the bench in January, 1874, he practiced law to some extent. His home was Hampton Place at Wilkinsburg, where he died January 24, 1878. As a lawyer and a judge he has had few equals in all the history of the Allegheny county bar. He was a man of fine presence and of impressive speech. He had all the necessary elements of a truly eloquent lawyer and added to this was a ready wit and quickness of repartee and a self-control which never, under any circumstances, deserted him in the trial of a case. These marked qualities rendered him able to cope successfully with his eminent contemporaries at the bar of Western Pennsylvania. His charges to the jury were characterized by the plain English and simple terms he used. He was immensely popular as a campaign speaker and in this had few superiors anywhere in his day. The older people of the present generation remember him mostly as a judge. It is difficult to find another in Allegheny county whose length of term and high character as a judge equalled those of Judge Hampton. A still older generation remembers him as a lawyer and ascribed to him the first place in the bar of his day. Though many years younger than Walter Forward, he was contemporaneous with him and they are frequently mentioned as rivals in the wit and eloquence of the bar. As lawyers they were marvelously alike. In their day they had no equals, and few if any have appeared since who can fairly rival their fame.

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Walter H. Lowrie was born March 31, 1807, of Butler county parents, and was brought up in Pittsburg. He was graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1826 and read law with Charles Shaler and Walter Forward, being admitted to the bar on August 4, 1829. From the time of his admission he was engaged in the practice of the law in Pittsburg and was appointed judge of the district court of Allegheny county by Governor Francis R. Shunk in August, 1846, taking the position made vacant by the elevation of Judge Greer to the Supreme bench of the United States. He filled this position until 1851. That year, it will be remembered, the supreme court judges had been legislated out of office by the new constitution. The Democratic nominees for justices that year were John Bannister Gibson, Jeremiah S. Black, Ellis Lewis, Walter H. Lowrie and James Campbell. Richard Coulter and four others were nominated by the Whig party. At the fall election all of the Whig candidates were defeated except Coulter, who defeated James Campbell by several thousand votes. Under the constitutional provision lots were drawn for length of term. Justice Black drew the short term of three years and thereby became chief justice of Pennsylvania. Lewis drew the six year term, Gibson the nine, Lowrie the twelve and Coulter the fifteen year term. By the retirement of Justice Black and the death of Justice Lewis, Walter H. Lowrie became chief justice of Pennsylvania on December 7, 1857, and retained the office until the close of the twelve year term which he drew, namely, December 7, 1863. After his retirement from the Supreme bench he was elected president judge of Crawford county, which had just then been made a separate judicial district. He presided with great dignity and ability at Meadville until his death, which came suddenly in March, 1876.

Henry W. Williams was elected assistant judge of the district court in October, 1851, over Charles Shaler and was re-elected in 1861 without opposition, each time for the regular period of ten years. He served until October 28, 1868, when he was elected a justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. He was born in Groton, Conn., and was graduated from Amherst College in 1837. He came to Pittsburg in 1838 with Walter H. Lowrie, and was admitted to the bar on May 24, 1841. In 1867 he was nominated Justice of the Supreme Court as a Republican and was defeated by George W. Sharswood. In 1868, when Justice William Strong resigned from the supreme bench of Pennsylvania, Judge Williams was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1869 he was nominated by the Republicans for the position he then held by appointment, and was elected. That year his opponent was Cyrus L. Pershing, who afterward served many years as president judge of the Schuylkill county courts. Justice Williams remained on the Supreme bench until his death, which occurred on February 19, 1877. Amherst College had conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1866. From 1863 until his death he was Professor of Law in the Western University of Pennsylvania. The announcement of his death was made from the Supreme

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bench by Chief Justice Daniel Agnew, in a memorial which is found in Volume 82, Pennsylvania State Reports, page 20.

In the early period of Pittsburg's history all matters within the jurisdiction of the United States courts were necessarily carried to Philadelphia, and this was one of the great hardships to which the defendants in the Whiskey Insurrection were subjected. But by the Act of Congress of May 20, 1818, the United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania was established. President James Monroe appointed Jonathan H. Walker a judge of the court, and he assumed the duties of his office at Pittsburg on December 7, 1818. He was born in Cumberland county in 1756 and was of English descent. His grandfather, William Walker, was an officer under the Duke of Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars. He was graduated from Dickinson College in 1787, read law with Stephen Duncan, being admitted to the bar in 1790. In 1806 he was appointed by Governor Thomas McKean as President Judge of the Fourth Judicial District, embracing Centre county among others, and this necessitated his removal to Bellefonte. He filled this position until the appointment came which brought him to Pittsburg. He remained judge of the United States District Court until his death in 1824. Judge Walker was the father of Robert J. Walker, who read law and was admitted to the bar in Pittsburg, after which he removed to Mississippi and became a noted man in the councils of the nation, having been United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, etc. Judge Walker was succeeded on the United States bench by Judge William Wilkins, who has been referred to as a judge of the Allegheny county courts. When Judge Wilkins entered the United States Senate in 1831 he was succeeded by Thomas Irwin, who was appointed by President Andrew Jackson, and who held the position until 1859, when he resigned and retired to private life. He was born in Philadelphia February 22, 1784. His father was Colonel Matthew Irwin, who gained distinction as an officer in the Revolutionary service. He was moreover a man of considerable wealth and at one time gave five thousand dollars toward furnishing provisions for the suffering army at Valley Forge. Matthew Irwin was married to a daughter of Benjamin Mifflin, a relative of Thomas Mifflin, the first elected Governor of Pennsylvania, after whom Judge Irwin was named. The Mifflins were early arrivals in the East and were generally Quakers, though they were active in the Revolutionary war. Upon the retirement of Judge Irwin, President James Buchanan appointed Wilson McCandless to the position. He was born in Pittsburg June 19, 1810, and was graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1826. Reading law with George Shelden he was admitted to the Allegheny county bar June 15, 1831. He was a Democrat and a member of the Presidential Electoral College of 1844, 1852 and 1856. He was also a member of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1848. On February 8, 1859, he was appointed to the judgeship and served until he retired in 1876, after which he lived in Pittsburg, without being specially engaged in any business, until his death on June 30, 1882. He was a large man of dignity

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and gracious bearing and one of his chief characteristics was his friendly face and kindly eye. He had great power before a jury or the court. He began life as a Whig and went over to the Democratic party in 1840. His style of speech made him popular on the political platform and there were few sections that were not thrilled by his impassioned eloquence. His law partners in Pittsburg were W. W. Fetterman, and later William B. McClure. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Union College of New York in 1862. Though prominent in politics he laid such matters aside when he tried cases, either as a lawyer or as a judge on the bench. He was a social leader both in the functions of the bar and in the city generally. In 1852 there was a long contest in the Democratic National Convention for the presidential nomination. Many were voted for, but the strong candidates were James Buchanan, Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglas, none of whom were able to secure the two-thirds requisite for a nomination. At last a committee was appointed to present a name on which all should unite and who should therefore be the nominee of the convention for the presidency. This committee, after a great deal of deliberation, voted on those whom it favored and Franklin Peirce was selected by but one vote over Wilson McCandless of Pittsburg. The committee therefore reported the name of Franklin Peirce, who was nominated and elected to the presidency.

Winthrop W. Ketcham succeeded Judge McCandless on the bench. He was born in Wilkesbarre on June 29, 1820. He began life as a teacher and in 1848 and 1849 was engaged as such in Girard College in Philadelphia. After reading law he was admitted to the Wilkes-Barre bar on January 8, 1850. In 1855 he was elected prothonotary of Luzerne county for three years. In 1858 he was sent to the Legislature of Pennsylvania and in 1860 to the State Senate for three years. He was a delegate to the National Republican Convention in Chicago in 1860, which selected Abraham Lincoln for the presidency, and was again a member of the Baltimore Convention in 1864 and a Presidential Elector in 1868. President Lincoln appointed him Solicitor of the United States Court of Claims, but, tiring of the position, he resigned in 1866 and resumed the practice of law. In 1874 he was elected to Congress from the Wilkes-Barre district and while yet in office was appointed to succeed Judge McCandless in July, 1876. On Saturday, December 6, 1879, he seemed in his usual health and after holding court went to his rooms in the St. Charles Hotel. Late in the afternoon he was stricken with apoplexy and died before 12 o'clock that night. He was a large, portly man, with yellow hair and blue eyes. He did not live long enough to make a great record on the bench, but the work he did, not only on the bench but in all positions to which he was called, was eminently successful and satisfactory to all concerned.

Judge Ketcham was succeeded on the bench by Marcus W. Acheson, who was appointed by President Rutherford B. Hayes as judge of the United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania on January 14, 1880, and filled this position with great ability until February 3, 1891, when he was

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appointed Judge of the Third Circuit of the United States Court. This position he filled until his death in 1906. He was born at Washington, Pa., June 7, 1828, and was graduated at Washington College in the class of 1846. He read law with his brother, Alexander W. Acheson, and was admitted to the Washington bar May 17, 1852. After practicing law ten years at Washington he moved to Pittsburg in 1852. He was succeeded in both positions by Joseph Buffington, who is yet living and therefore does not come within the purview of this work. Judge Buffington was moreover succeeded in his first position by Judge Nathaniel Ewing, the present incumbent, who came to the bench with a long experience as a judge of the Fayette and Greene county courts, and with a most remarkable line of ancestors who had been eminent jurists in Pennsylvania.

Judge J. W. F. White was born January 19, 1821. He was born in Washington county and was the son of Rev. John White, a minister of the Methodist church. Educated in Allegheny College at Meadville he began the study of the law with T. M. T. McKennan in Washington, Pennsylvania, in the early forties and was admitted to the bar there on July 14, 1844. He opened an office in Washington and though admitted to the Allegheny county bar on December 10 following his admission in Washington, he did not permanently locate in Pittsburg until March, 1851. For more than twenty years he gave his time entirely to the practice of the law, and won a very enviable standing in the profession. In 1872 he was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, which met the following year to frame the document, known since as the constitution of 1873. While absent from Pittsburg he was nominated for the office of judge of the district court of Allegheny county, and was elected in October following. He was, moreover, the last person elected to the bench of that court for the constitution framed by the convention of which he was a member, reformed the courts, and the District Court of Allegheny county, established in 1832, became the Court of Common Pleas No. 2, the judges of the abolished court being continued as judges of the new. Under the old law the judicial term began on the first Monday of December. The constitution of 1873 was adopted by a popular vote on December 16, and Judge White accordingly began his work and remained a few days as judge of the district court. His services on the bench were highly satisfactory and he was re-elected in 1883 and again in 1893, though he was then over seventy-two years of age. Judge Thomas Ewing was president judge of the District Court and of Common Pleas Court No. 2 until his death in 1897, when, on May 13, Judge White was commissioned in his stead.

Before reading law Judge White had contemplated entering the ministry and had preached more or less, though not in any regular work. All his life, however, he took an active part in the affairs of the church. He frequently delivered public addresses and lectures on church work on the stump and was always listened to with interest, for he was indeed a truly eloquent man. He was strong before a jury, though his style of address was more suited to plat-

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form speaking. His charges to juries, equalling from a legal point of view those of most judges, were superior in point of clearness, both in language and in statement, for he had the power in an eminent degree of adapting his language and reasoning to the mind of the hearer. He was something of an iconoclast, in his administration of the law, perhaps too much so to attain the highest success. He had a contempt for custom or precedent and would throw them to the winds when they seemed to be in the way of public justice. He was noted while on the bench for his contempt for expert testimony, and these characteristics sometimes subjected him to severe criticism, notwithstanding his learning and acknowledged ability. He could not see why, when a defendant pleaded guilty, he could not sentence him at once without the expense and delay of sending the matter before a grand jury. In this, as in many other matters, he did not hesitate to depart from the established custom. Outside of the law he was no less a student and a scholar. His tastes led him largely into historical researches and into the study of the sciences, such as botany, astronomy and chemistry. Allegheny College had conferred upon him the degree of LL. D., and his learning outside of his profession warranted this distinction. He reminded the members of the bar of their errors in the use of English not generally in a severe way but rather in a kindly manner, his purpose being not to show his learning but to raise the bar to a higher standard of elegance and accuracy in expression. For many years before his death he resided at Sewickley and died there on November 5, 1900.

Judge John M. Kirkpatrick was born December 1, 1825, in Northumberland county, but was brought up in Westmoreland county. He was a son of Rev. David Kirkpatrick and Eliza Moore, his mother having been a daughter of Judge John Moore, of the early bench of Westmoreland. The son was graduated from Jefferson College in 1846, and at once began the study of the law with Judge Shaler in Pittsburg. He was admitted to the Allegheny bar on December 1, 1848. He was a member of the legislature in 1854-5 and was district attorney of Allegheny county from 1862 to 1865. On the appointment of Judge Williams to the Supreme bench in 1868, he was appointed by Governor John W. Geary to the vacancy, taking his seat on November 21, 1868. The year following he was elected for the full term of ten years and in 1879 was again elected. Early in the eighties his health failed him and he was compelled to resign on September 23, 1885. After his retirement his health improved and he survived thirteen years, dying at his home on Stockton avenue on October 16, 1898. He was a tall man of fine presence and was particularly strong before juries or on the rostrum. During his years on the bench he served mostly in the criminal courts and had a manner of dispatching business that made him valuable to the courts of the county.

Judge Edwin H. Stowe was born in Beaver on January 22, 1826, and was educated in Washington College, where he was graduated with the class of 1845. He read law with Moses Hampton and was admitted on January 10, 1849. He was a candidate for the nomination in the judicial contest of

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1868, but was defeated by Thomas Mellon. He was elected for the term of ten years in 1862, and was re-elected in 1872, 1882 and in 1892. It thus fell his lot to sit forty years consecutively on the Allegheny county bench, a term of service that has been but seldom equaled in the United States. On March 15, 1877, he became president judge and held the position for nearly twenty-six years.

There has always been a strong and most commendable sentiment in the Allegheny bar and among the people generally, that a judge should be re-elected if his services during his term warranted it. But this feeling is not strong enough to continue the incumbent for forty years unless his services were eminently satisfactory. Judge Stowe was a Republican, even at the birth of the party, and in 1902, when he was serving his fortieth year on the bench, there was a unanimity of sentiment in favor of his having a fifth term. He was accordingly placed in nomination. Unfortunately for him there was a political upheaval in the city that year. The People's party put a ticket in the field and in this manner Judge Stowe was defeated by Hon. James R. MacFarlane, a young man of fine ability. There was no special desire on the part of the people to defeat Judge Stowe; it was in a great measure an accident, a concurrence of circumstances against the force of which, precedents, long terms of service or party loyalty had little or no weight. Judge Stowe's work on the bench was not in any sense an issue. When he was ready to retire from the bench he administered the oath as president judge to Judge Collier and then the oath to his successor, Judge MacFarlane. Congratulating them he left the bench and became a practicing attorney at the bar. Judge Stowe's exceptionally long service on the bench entitles him to this mention notwithstanding the fact that he is yet living and in active practice.

Judge Jacob F. Slagle was born in Washington, Pennsylvania, on April 6, 1830, and was graduated from Washington College in 1848. He entered the office of William McKenna in Washington and was admitted to the Washington bar in 1852. He did not attempt to practice law in Washington but came at once to Pittsburg, where he was admitted on December 10, 1852. Always an inviting field for bright young men from surrounding counties, Pittsburg seemed unusually so at that time, for a railroad connection with the East had just been opened up. Several other roads were building or were already completed. The city was filled with business of all kinds. He practiced in all of the courts, but paid more attention to municipal law than to any branch of the profession. In 1861 he was accordingly made city solicitor for one year and was again selected for the same position and filled it with marked ability from 1866 till 1873. His first term as solicitor was cut short because of the Civil war which he entered with the One Hundred and Forty-ninth Regiment. During the service he was appointed judge advocate general with the rank of major, this being a tribute to his education and standing in the service. At the close of the war he returned to Pittsburg to quietly resume his profession, which he followed closely for over twenty years. In 1887 he was elected judge

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of the Court of Common Pleas No. 1 for ten years from the first Monday of January, 1888, and was re-elected ten years later. His services on the bench were highly satisfactory, both to the people and to the bar of Allegheny county. In the early fall of 1900, he was taken suddenly ill and died at his home on Center avenue on September 6. He had scarcely filled the one-fourth of the second term to which he had been elected. His public services and character were such that his death was most deeply lamented by the people of Pittsburg.

Judge John H. Baily was born near Pittsburg in 1830 and at nineteen years of age was graduated from the Western University. He began the study of the law shortly after being graduated and was admitted to the bar in Pittsburg on October 9, 1852. After practicing a few years Judge Wilson McCandless appointed him clerk of the United States court at Pittsburg. This position he held till 1863, after which he devoted his entire time to his practice. In 1877 he became a candidate for the office of judge of the Common Pleas Court No. 1 of Allegheny county and successfully made the contest against Judge Fetterman, who was then on the bench by appointment. He served the full term of ten years from the first Monday of January, 1878, to the first Monday of January, 1888. During most of his years on the bench he was deeply afflicted with a malady which eventually carried him off before he had filled out the full measure of life usually allotted to man. He was, at times, a great sufferer even while sitting on the bench, but was determined not to give up. He will always be remembered as a man of high character, of clear perceptive qualities and as a judge who laid down the law as he thought it should be.

Judge Charles S. Fetterman was born in Beaver on May 19, 1840, but was brought up largely in Allegheny county. He read law with his father and was admitted to the bar in 1862. When Judge Sterrett resigned to go on the Supreme bench in 1877, Judge Fetterman was appointed to fill the vacancy. He served from March, 1877, till the first Monday of January, 1878. In the meantime, he was defeated by Judge Baily and retired accordingly at the close of the term for which he was appointed. He resumed the practice in 1878 and continued it with much success till his death, which occurred on August 17, 1900.

Hon. Thomas Ewing was for more than twenty-four years a judge of the Court of Common Pleas No. 2, in Pittsburg, and was one of the ablest judges in Pennsylvania. He was a native of the village of Cross Creek, in Washington county, born July 3, 1827, and was the son of Samuel Ewing, a prosperous farmer of that section. His parents lived there until he was about five years of age, and then moved to Harrietsville, Allegheny county, in what is now South Fayette township. The judge's early days were spent on the farm, assisting his father, and he attended the country schools during the winter months. In early life he displayed great aptness for learning and outstripped his fellow-classmates. After several terms in the country schools, he was sent to college at New Concord, Ohio, where he remained two years,

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acquitting himself with honors, and from there, he entered Jefferson College, at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated with high honors in 1853. He was immediately made a tutor of that school and remained one year, when he resigned and came to Pittsburg, where he was made principal of the memorable old Third ward school, which was then the leading school of the city. Still later, he was employed as instructor in a young ladies' seminary, at Natchez, Mississippi. While in Pittsburg, he had developed a great liking for the law, and began its study in the office of Robert Woods, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. He still continued his law studies in Natchez, and was admitted to the bar there, and subsequently in Memphis, Tennessee. He returned to Pittsburg, however, in 1857, and opened a law office here. In 1859, he was united in marriage with Miss Julia R. Hufnagel, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who had gone South as a teacher and whom he met there. From his admission until 1873, he practiced law in Pittsburg with unusual success. In 1870, his health failed him, but he regained it by a short time spent in New Orleans, after which he returned to Pittsburg and resumed the practice of law, with renewed vigor. He was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1873, serving on many important committees. While serving in this capacity, he was elected judge of the district court, taking his seat December 1, 1873. Under the new constitution, he became president judge of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 2, beginning his duties January 1, 1874. In the district court he succeeded Judge Moses Hampton. He presided as judge in Allegheny county courts up to the time of his death, having been elected three times, to terms of ten years each. He handled many celebrated cases and rendered many important decisions, and had the well-earned reputation of being one of the ablest law judges in Western Pennsylvania. In trying cases, he was always very painstaking and conscientious. When the Brooks License Law went into effect, he was the first judge in Allegheny county to hold License court. His colleague was Judge White. The number of drinking places in the county was reduced by them to ninety, in 1888.

In his manner he was very retiring and inclined to be lenient, whenever duty would permit him to do so. It became his painful duty to pass death sentence on Murray and Meyers, who had murdered a Deerstown farmer. He had never before been called to perform this duty, and it greatly affected him. As a consequence he was incapacitated for court work for several days afterwards. The two men were later hanged. Another of his homicide cases was that of Gerade, who had murdered his step-child and was twice tried and convicted of murder in the first degree. A motion was made before Judge Ewing for a new trial. He held his opinion open for a year, during which time he took up the study of insanity, and finally concluded that the defendant was only guilty of murder in the second degree, on the ground of temporary insanity; this plea was accepted and he was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. He then instructed the prisonkeeper to keep a close watch on the con-

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vict's every act, and it finally developed that each month, regularly, the prisoner had fits of violent insanity, which proved the judge's theory and his wisdom in not sentencing under the original verdict.

Judge Ewing was an enthusiastic church worker, being a ruling elder of the Third Presbyterian Church of Sixth avenue. Three times he was made a delegate to the General Assembly. He took much interest in all kinds of charitable work, and was for many years a member of the board of trustees for the Western Pennsylvania Theological Seminary. He was naturally a great lover of home life and this accounted in a measure for the extent of his knowledge, for his evenings were spent in research and study. He was possessed of a wonderful memory, and could quote correctly many old supreme court opinions, as though they were but recent decisions. Politically, he was a Republican and for many years took an active part in the campaigns of his party in this section of the state.

No man was better posted on prison topics, than Judge Ewing and he served for fifteen years on the Allegheny county "Prison Board." He accumulated property to a considerable sum, and had a summer home in West Liberty borough, but resided in Allegheny.

Hundreds of attorneys, and every judge in the county, assembled at the Bar Association's rooms, to take action over his death, which came suddenly on May 9, 1897, he having held court the day previous. The immediate cause of his death was pneumonia superinduced, it is said, by over-work. The resolutions and eulogies of the members of the bar, were eloquent in his praise, and the county officials, among other resolutions, passed the following:

"In all matters of concern to our official duties, he was as courteous and kind as he was conscientious, ready with advice, quick with sympathy, ready with assistance, willing at all times to give the help of his clear mind and great learning to any question affecting public service. We deplore his death as the loss of a great jurist from the bench and deeply mourn him as a friend."

JUDGE THOMAS MELLON.

Whilst in these pages we have written as little as possible about the living, no explanation is necessary when we depart from that rule to refer at length to Judge Thomas Mellon. The span of life meted out to him, more nearly than that of any other, connects the old with the new in Pittsburg. One can only appreciate the number of his years when he recalls that he was prominent in the bar before railroads connected the city with the East: that he was a well-grown lad in the last years of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, and that his boyhood carries us back to the pack horse age, when turnpikes were unknown in this section, and when Pittsburg was little more than a rude outpost on the western border of civilization.

Born in Ireland, his parents brought him to the new world in a sailing vessel, and were twelve weeks between England and America. The family

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came west from Baltimore in a covered wagon through an almost unbroken forest. Out of necessity they slept in the wagon all the way, and kindled fires by the roadside by which to cook their daily meals. They settled first in the northern part of Westmoreland county, and there the oldest son, Thomas, grew to manhood. From his youth the boy had a taste for books, and though his library was limited to a stray copy of Shakespeare and Franklin's Autobiography, a desire for a higher life than that of a farmer was enkindled in his bosom. In this he was opposed by his father, Andrew Mellon, but encouraged by a noble mother. As his love for reading increased he received other books and letters of encouragement from his uncle, Thomas Mellon, who lived in Philadelphia. Earning money by working on the farm and teaching school, he passed through an academic course in Greensburg, and entered the Western University, from which he was finally graduated in 1837, when he was past twenty-four years old. Shortly after that he began the study of law with the renowned Judge Charles Shaler, in Pittsburg. To support himself while a law student he secured employment in the prothonotary's office, where he worked for over a year as deputy. Finally on December 15, 1838, after the usual examination, he was admitted to the Pittsburg bar. Finishing up his work in the prothonotary's office, he opened a law office on the corner of Fifth street, now Fifth avenue, and Market Alley, in June, 1839. His own words may best portray his surroundings in the bar, and the condition of the city in those days:

"Fifth avenue was not then a business street, and mine was the first law office opened on it. The law offices were chiefly on the west side of the Diamond behind the court house, as some of the lots fronted on the Diamond and extended back to Fifth avenue in those days. Some few offices were on Fourth street between Market and Wood. It was before the courts were removed to Grant's Hill. The location on which the new court house was afterwards built was yet a part of Lawyer Ross' apple orchard, and rather out of town. The old court house stood where the Diamond Market House, on the west side of Market street, now stands. It was an ancient looking square brick structure with a cupola and bell on top, and a low, one-story building on each side. That on the north side contained the office of the prothonotary and clerk of the Orphans' and Criminal Courts, all in one room, which was convenient enough as these different official functions centered in one individual. The buildings on the left side contained the register's and recorder's office in one room, and with one individual officiating for both purposes."

He had been gifted by nature with the intellectual qualities requisite in a successful lawyer, and those who knew him best, were not surprised therefore that the profits of his first year's work exceeded his highest expectations. Even then his judgment was mature, and being naturally cautious, industrious and painstaking, he soon made himself felt in the bar, and was regarded among business men as an unusually able young member of the profession. It was the age of oratory among lawyers. There were abler advo-

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cates in Pittsburg than he, but so concise and convincing was his style of address, that there were few who were really more potent before juries than Thomas Mellon. There was nothing showy about his address, nor the manner he adopted in the trial of cases. His strength lay rather in the fact that by close application he made himself in all cases, complete master of the situation.

In August, 1843, he was united in marriage with Miss Sarah Jane Negley, a member of one of the oldest and best known families in Western Pennsylvania. To them eight children were born, three of whom are yet living, and are well known as leading bankers and business men of Western Pennsylvania. Andrew William Mellon is president, and Richard Beatty Mellon is vice-president of the Mellon National Bank, which is the center of their activities; James Ross Mellon is president of the City Deposit Bank, president of West Penn Hospital and the Ligonier Valley railroad. William L. Mellon, Thomas A. and Edward P. and Thomas Mellon, are grandsons of Judge Mellon and are among the leading young men in the business interests of Pittsburg.

Without interruption in his professional life, he continued in practice for twenty years after his admission to the bar, and earned for himself a place that was equaled by but few lawyers in Pittsburg. In the meantime court business of all kinds had so greatly increased in Allegheny county that an additional judge was necessary. This was granted by a special act of the legislature, passed in 1859. Mr. John Wesley Maynard was appointed by Governor William F. Packer to fill the position until one could be selected at the ensuing election. About this time, a committee of the bar called on Mr. Mellon and asked him to become a candidate for the judgeship. Politics and office-holding had always been entirely foreign to his nature and he at once declined the proposition. But on further reflection, and on being urged by his friends, he consented to the use of his name. Two strong candidates opposed him for the nomination, but his high standing as a lawyer, and his well-earned reputation for integrity, easily won the nomination for him. The county being strongly Republican, he had but little difficulty in the October election, and accordingly assumed the duties of the office on the first Monday of December, 1859. On the bench with him was Judge William B. McClure, a hard working, pure minded man of high culture and great legal attainments. Judge McClure died shortly after this and was succeeded by Judge James P. Sterritt, and before the close of Judge Mellon's term a third judge, in the person of Hon. Edwin H. Stowe, was added to the bench in Allegheny county. Judge Mellon's term of ten years covered over the period of the Civil war, which was a very busy one in Pittsburg, and which added greatly to the cares and duties of men in his station in life.

At the close of his term, thirty years had elapsed since he began business and in this time he had accumulated a large estate, as estates were rated in those days. Another term, or perhaps a life service on the bench was easily

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within his grasp. Urged by his friends to again be a candidate, with the office practically tendered him, he deliberately laid down the ermine, which he had so worthily worn for ten years and returned to private life. The bar of Pittsburg at the close of his term, tendered him a complimentary banquet as an evidence of their appreciation of his services while on the bench. Years afterwards in writing of this testimonial of regard, Judge Mellon said:

"Their kind appreciation was gratifying and the request of course complied with, and at the Monongahela House on the evening designated, my relation to the bar as a judge was concluded in one of the most agreeable festivities of my life, constituting one of those bright spots by the way which afford pleasant memories to revert to."

In the meantime he had invested money in real estate and buildings in Pittsburg, in coal lands in Western Pennsylvania, and in the iron business in West Virginia, etc. His sons were ready to begin business, and in a great measure to start them properly he concluded to found a banking house in Pittsburg, rather than to resume the practice of the law. He therefore procured a suitable situation on Smithfield street, and on January 1, 1870, the bank of T. Mellon & Sons was first opened for business. The manner in which this project prospered and became a great power in the up-building of Pittsburg's industries, and one of the greatest banking institutions in the United States, need not be noted here.

For nearly twenty years following Judge Mellon was one of the leading and most active business men of Pittsburg. During this time he but seldom appeared in court, rarely ever indeed unless his interests were deeply concerned. Gradually, as the years advanced, he turned his business interests and property over to his sons and finally, on February 3, 1893, on his eightieth birthday he retired entirely from all cares and duties. All of his life he has been a man of regular and abstemious habits, avoiding late hours and excesses of all kinds. In business he studiously shunned hazardous speculations, and has therefore been subjected to the least possible worry incident to an active business life. He was always willing to lend financial assistance to those who stood in need, and this even without security when they had proved themselves worthy of it. He may now, therefore, as he nears its close, look back over a life that is filled with good deeds and its record marred by no single action he could wish to erase or forget. Old age has touched him lightly, though nearing ninety-five years he has always been free from the aches and pains which usually come in the decline of life. He is comforted by the wife whom he married more than sixty-four years ago, who, though now past four score and ten years, is yet in the possession of all her faculties. She has not even thought of giving up home duties and benevolent work, but still hold the office of president of "Home for Aged Protestants," also vice-president of the "Home for Aged Protestant Women" and to these homes and to other charities, she has contributed thousands of dollars.

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Judge Mellon is apparently in splendid health, though he has long since turned his face toward another world and now awaits the transition with that calmness and fortitude which have characterized every action of his long and busy life. (Since writing the above, Judge Mellon passed quietly away on the morning of February 3rd, 1908, thus dying on the ninety-fifth anniversary of his birth).

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Bar.

The practice of the average old-time lawyer was not confined to the county in which he resided. Most of the early lawyers of Pittsburg were well known in all of the adjoining counties and were regularly employed to conduct business in them. This was particularly true in the counties composing the Fifth Judicial District. There was but one judge over all the counties and consequently no two of them could have sessions of court at the same time. The judge rode on horseback from one county to another and many of the more prominent lawyers who had business there or who hoped to secure new clients in them, mounted their horses and rode with him. This custom was similar to that of the English barristers and was brought about by the same circumstances which necessitated it there. The greater part of the lawyer's work was then transacted during the sessions of court and consisted very largely in the preparation and trial of cases. As a result a large majority of the early lawyers were jury lawyers, and the office lawyer so prominent now who makes no pretensions as an advocate, was almost unknown in that day. Addresses to the jury were longer then than now, for the questions in controversy were largely questions of fact which must be argued to and determined by the jury and there were but few questions of law, and even these were not ruled by previous decisions of higher courts as they are today. The day upon which the session of the court began was a great one in all of the rural county seats. It was the universal custom in those days for the sheriff of the county, after the ancient English custom, to collect a body of mounted men and ride out to meet the coming judge and escort him into the village and to the court house or to his tavern. This custom was kept up until the forties and passed away finally only with railroad building, after which the judges no longer arrived on horseback. The judge and the lawyers usually put up at the principal tavern at the county seat. They were mostly bright and intelligent men, fond of amusement and anecdotes who had a lively and enjoyable time while the session lasted. The litigants also came to the county town to consult with their attorneys and brought their witnesses with them. Indeed the witnesses for an entire week's trial were brought to the court on the first day of the session, for the cases of

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the whole week were set for trial, and any one of them might be called on the first day of the court. In many instances the defendant in a suit employed his leading attorney only when he appeared at the county seat for trial. Frequently a lawyer who made an eloquent appeal, or by a happy hit won a case over his adversary, was called into other cases, perhaps to be taken up and tried immediately and of which he had not previously had any knowledge. Many younger members of the bar who did not expect to have cases to try, rode the circuit also with the judge and older lawyers, their object being to learn how to conduct trials and to extend their general acquaintance. This method of travel from one bar to another was only abandoned entirely when the business of the several counties had increased so as to warrant a separate judge for each county. It was common many years later in the western courts and has been described frequently in their annals, and particularly by writers who have portrayed the life of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer in the early courts of Illinois.

There were no specialists in the early bar; there was scarcely a prominent member of the Allegheny county bar even up to the forties who might not be engaged in a murder case one week and take up an ejectment case, involving the abstruse questions of title to real estate, the day following. When litigation increased lawyers began to devote their time and attention particularly to one branch of the profession, so that there are now corporation lawyers, banking lawyers, insurance lawyers, criminal lawyers, office lawyers, etc. The modern lawyer, devoting his time entirely to a specialty in the profession, has probably surpassed in proficiency in the one line the ablest men of the past. As advocates before juries the members of the bar of the first half of last century achieved a proficiency which our ablest lawyers of the present day cannot approximate. They presented their cases to juries with a force, a beauty of speech and an impassioned eloquence that passed away with them and their times, and in this alone they have had no equal since their day. Addresses to the court were fewer then than now for the reason, as we have stated, that there were fewer questions of law to be passed on by the court and more questions of fact to be determined by juries. And inasmuch as the trial depended largely upon the witnesses, there were many more examined in those days, and this also gave rise to longer and more important addresses to juries. In fact in a case of average importance, the lawyer was unlimited by the court as to the time he should consume in presenting his side of his case to the jury. A few years ago an old gentleman who is now dead, told the writer that when a boy in the thirties he saw a celebrated lawyer whose name need not be repeated, take a drink in a tavern which those who were with him said was to stimulate him for an address that he was to deliver that afternoon in a very important trial. Holding up the glass, showing the liquor, scarcely concealed by his hand, he said: "Four fingers, gentlemen, and for every finger the old judge gets an hour this afternoon." Shortly before that when Webster was about to reply to Hayne, as he was passing down the senate chamber,

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Clayton said to him: "Are you loaded, Mr. Webster?" Glancing angrily at Vice-President Calhoun and holding up his hand, he said: "Four fingers." It was a pioneer hunter's expression, meaning originally the depth of a heavy charge of powder, a load for big game.

When the courts were first opened in Pittsburg in 1788, there were but three or four resident lawyers in the town. Those known of now were: John Woods, Hugh Henry Brackenridge and Alexander Addison. Even with this monopoly of the business, it is not presumed that their receipts were very large, for Pittsburg had then less than five hundred people, and the county was but sparsely populated. John Woods was what they called a scrivener, for he did little else than draw legal papers. He was a son of George Woods, of Bedford, who came to Pittsburg as a surveyor in 1784 to lay out the first permanent plan of lots, doing the work in company with Thomas Vicroy. For him Wood street was named. The son was admitted to the Westmoreland bar in 1784, but resided in Pittsburg. He filled some important offices early last century, but there is no record of his having been a member of Congress, though that honor is usually attributed to him. He died in 1817.

Brackenridge was one of the brightest lawyers in the history of the bar. He had been a resident of Pittsburg seven years and could have taken a leading place in any court. He was thoroughly educated, both in law and in literature, and was not only fluent in speech, but wielded a most facile pen. His work on "Modern Chivalry" is an amusing novel filled with wit, sarcasm and adventure. No one can look into it even now without being entertained and instructed. From it we have quoted often in these pages and cannot but regret that the book is now out of print. He was the author of much other less pretentious material, but always wrote in a most interesting style. He wrote "Incidents of the Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania," a "Eulogium of the Brave Who Fell in the War with Great Britain." Later he wrote a composition in verse which, though it has not lived, shows a marked degree of poetic temperament. In the profession he wrote "Law Miscellanies" with other less important matter.

These were avocations purely which did not draw him from his professional studies, for as a lawyer he always stood at the head and must have earned large fees for that day. He had been born in Scotland in 1748 and came to America with his parents in 1753. He was graduated from Princeton in 1771, and was teaching in an academy in Maryland at the beginning of the Revolution. At that time he was a student of theology and was appointed a chaplain in the Colonial army. During the Revolution he abandoned theology as a life work, read law and was admitted to practice in Philadelphia. In 1781 he was admitted to the Westmoreland bar and located in Pittsburg. He at once took a high standing as a lawyer, an orator, a writer and a politician, as the reader of these pages has seen. There was scarcely ever a public assemblage that did not call on Brackenridge for an address. It was the age of oratory when people were reached and sentiment molded

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largely by platform speeches. It was he who first effectually advocated the formation of Allegheny county. For this purpose he was elected to the legislature in 1786, and it was mainly through his efforts that the bill was passed in 1788. All his life he was a very resourceful political leader, as we have seen, and some of his methods appear quite as modern as those of our age. He has been called a demagogue because of his course in the Whiskey Insurrection. He was too well trained as a lawyer and too much of a reasoner to be openly for the insurrection or to believe that it could in any event succeed by force, but he was too much of a politician and perhaps too much a demagogue to openly oppose it when all of his followers were rushing headlong into it. But when its weakness was manifest to the whole community and the government under Washington asserted itself, he at once came out on the side of law and order. Though he had a great personal following, easily more than any other man of the county, Albert Gallatin, though not a resident of the district, defeated him overwhelmingly for Congress for the reason that the people were suspicious of the integrity of his attitude and were not therefore willing to trust him. Gallatin sympathized deeply and truly with all who were burdened by the federal system of taxation, but he was outspoken from the first against any forcible resistance of the measure. Brackenridge, however, never lost the respect and confidence of the people generally. He held his place as the leader of the bar and as the head of the political organization of the West, until December 17, 1799, when he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. For this position he was well fitted, better than any other man west of the mountains. He filled it with great honor to himself and to the Commonwealth until his death. He died at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1816.

Many of the early lawyers were, like Brackenridge, men of fine education, particularly in the classics, and of highly cultivated tastes generally. Education was much more confined to the professions in those days than now. There were fewer books then, but they were of a high order of literary merit and otherwise were not in general circulation. The classics of the language were read and studied and had their effect in lending a beauty of diction and a strength of speech to the student. They knew more about history, poetry and philosophy than the modern lawyers of equal standing in the profession. They had but few law books but studied the principles of the law as laid down by Blackstone, Coke and others, and in these the ablest exponents of the early bar were thoroughly grounded. They were the leaders of thought and of the social life of the city in their day, much more than modern lawyers are. There was an aristocracy of intellect in the early days which is almost unknown to our generation. The old-time lawyer was not brighter nor more entertaining than the modern one of equal application, but the general diffusion of education, the commonness of what men call culture, renders the lawyer of our day less distinguished among the people because of his intellectual attainments, and consequently less a leader of thought and action in his generation.

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James Ross was one of the ablest of Pittsburg's early lawyers. He was born in York county, July 12, 1762, and came west first, perhaps, to finish his early education in Canonsburg. In 1784 he was admitted to the Washington county bar and to the Pittsburg bar in 1788. In 1790 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and in 1794, when but thirty-two years old, was elected to the United States Senate instead of Albert Gallatin, who had been elected, but was declared ineligible. Three years later he was re-elected for the full term of six years. Ross was a Federalist and strongly discouraged all unlawful proceedings on the part of the citizens during the Whiskey Insurrection. In the Senate he was twice elected president pro tempore. In 1799 while a member of the Senate he was nominated for the governorship by the Federalists and was defeated by Thomas McKean. In 1802 he was again pitted against McKean, with the same result. In 1808 he was a candidate against Simon Snyder, but was defeated by the latter, receiving but 39,575 to 69,975 for Snyder. The defeat each time was attributed, not to Ross, but to the fact that the state was overwhelmingly anti-Federalist. When he retired from the United States Senate he returned to Pittsburg and devoted himself to practicing law. In this he was very successful. Early in his professional life he won a leading place at the bar and retained it until he retired in his declining years. He became a large land owner in and about Pittsburg. While a candidate for governor he was greatly maligned, the opposition representing him as being mercenary and avaricious in his dealings. It has long since been proven that this charge was entirely unfounded. He, it is true, had a great deal of money to put out and did not lend it without the hope of its return. Yet when money during the embargo was readily loaned at ten, fifteen and even twenty per centum per year, he refused to lend at more than six per centum, the lawful interest. When General James O'Hara was in danger of bankruptcy because his landed possessions were unproductive for the time being, Ross came to his rescue and purchased much of his lands lying up the Allegheny river, and it is said, in that way, saved the General from financial ruin. He owned and resided on Grant's Hill. The place was called "Oregon." Part of it lying between Diamond Alley and Fifth street he sold to the county commissioners in 1837 for $75,000. Upon this a court house was erected and it is yet used for the same purpose. As a lawyer he was best seen in the trials which involved the title to real estate, known in their day as land cases. He was a solid rather than a brilliant lawyer, and in his knowledge of the law and its precedents he surpassed most men of his day. He was a very tall, broad-shouldered man and was not given to intemperance in any direction. He died in 1847 in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

To Henry Baldwin we have referred many times. Aside from being closely connected in a business way with Pittsburg, he was one of its greatest lawyers. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and was graduated from Yale College in 1797. He came to Pittsburg in 1799, and soon became a leader in every line of thought. We have touched on his being engaged in

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the iron industry and on his influence in Congress. He was first elected to Congress in 1816 and served till 1822, when he resigned. A strong quality in his make-up was his affability. Ann Royal, in her sketches of travels, refers to him in the following extravagant language:

"Mr. Henry Baldwin is the darling of Pennsylvania and the pride of Pittsburg. He is about thirty-five years of age, a thin, light figure, of good height, round, delicate face and sallow complexion; his eye is keen or rather sparkling, deep hazel, or what some would call black. His countenance would not indicate talents of the first rate, although he certainly does very justly rank among the first men of the state. But of all men he has the most pleasing countenance and the most fascinating manners. He appears to most advantage when pleading. It is impossible to portray the winning smile which plays upon his countenance, while his head is elevated and his figure erect and manly. His voice is harmonious and his actions pertinent and graceful. He is said to be an able statesman, and of unshaken integrity. Well may Pittsburg be proud of him. His talents are devoted to it, and have been for some years, while his generosity and goodness of heart keep him in the background. On my way to Pittsburg the people would say, 'You will see our idol, Mr. Baldwin.'"

After retiring from Congress he devoted his time almost entirely to the practice of the law, paying but little more than a general attention to the iron business in which his money only was invested. In 1830 he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Jackson, and this ended his work in Pittsburg. He was a few years older than Walter Forward, but otherwise they were very much alike. Forward had read law with Baldwin and they were partners for a time, but were afterwards often against each other in the trial of great causes. They were undoubtedly the ablest lawyers in Pittsburg in the first half of the nineteenth century. Baldwin's elevation to the Supreme bench of the United States was a high tribute to the Pittsburg bar. While on the bench he wrote "A General View of the Origin and Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States." He remained on the bench till his death, in 1844.

Harmar Denny was born in Pittsburg on May 13, 1794. He was the son of Ebenezer Denny, who is mentioned many times in these pages and who came first to Pittsburg as a dispatch bearer from the Cumberland valley. The father was an officer in the army raised by General Harmar in 1790, to march against the Indians in Ohio. Being also connected with the army a year later under General St. Clair he named his sons Harmar and St. Clair, after his commanders. Harmar was graduated from Dickinson College in the class of 1813, and was admitted to the bar of Allegheny county on motion of Henry Baldwin on November 13, 1816. His first appearance in public life was his election to the Lower House of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Otherwise than this he devoted his time studiously to the practice of the law and laid the foundation for an eminence in the profession which he afterwards achieved.

He first became prominent in Pittsburg in the late twenties, when the fight against the Free Masons was beginning. He was an anti-Mason and as

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HARMAR DENNY

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such was nominated and elected to Congress in 1828. Two years later he was elected as a Whig and was re-elected in 1834 and again in 1836. He was therefore in Congress from March 4, 1829, to March 4, 1837. During this period came President Jackson's ever memorable war against the United States Bank. In all the bitter contest Denny opposed the President and was heartily sustained by a majority of the Pittsburg people. He was the sole representative from Allegheny county, for though Pennsylvania in his last term was entitled to thirty members in Congress, but one was allotted to the Pittsburg district. When he retired from Congress he returned to Pittsburg and divided his time between his profession and business matters generally till his death. Early in life he was married to a daughter of General James O'Hara. This brought him a large amount of property, consisting mainly of real estate, and much of his time was spent in looking after it, that it might pass with increased value to her descendants. It has been said that almost every important movement for the material improvement of the city was submitted to him and that great respect was paid to his advice. This was equally true in church work and in philanthropies of all kinds, and in charities. In the latter he had the heartiest support and sympathy of his wife whose charities in Pittsburg are remembered even to this day.

Harmar Denny was a man of fine personal appearance, a most excellent lawyer and a high minded gentleman of the old school, whose polished manners, with his other qualities, made him many friends in Pittsburg. Except that he was president of the common council in 1849, we believe that he never sought office after his retirement from congress in 1837. He died on January 29, 1852.

Samuel Kingston has been mentioned as an early day school teacher. He was born in Ireland and was a man of fine education. He read law while teaching in Pittsburg and was admitted to the bar August 10, 1813. Like Baldwin and Forward he was a man of highly polished manners. He was a well read lawyer and a safe counselor, who cared but little for court work, but was one of the first lawyers in Pittsburg to devote his time almost exclusively to conveyancing. His office was on the corner of Fourth and Smithfield streets and was therefore destroyed by the great fire in 1845. Seeing it sweeping over Smithfield street in dense clouds of smoke and flame, he entered his office to remove some papers that were valuable to him, and was probably overcome before he could find his way out. His charred body was found in the cellar a day or so after the fire had subsided.

Another great lawyer of that day was Richard Biddle, who following a very common custom in the early years of the century, had come from the East and settled in Pittsburg as one of the promising cities of the West. He had been born reared and educated in Philadelphia and was related to Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States Bank. He was a man of decided genius and was particularly noted as a public speaker. His oratory was clear-

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cut, convincing and polished in the highest degree. He was elected to Congress in 1836 and 1838 but becoming tired of congressional life he did not served out his last term. He was a scholarly man naturally and kept up his studies all his life. Before coming to Pittsburg he had served in the War of 1812. After this he read law with his brother William, in Philadelphia, and after a short practice there was admitted to the Pittsburg bar in 1817. From 1827 to 1832 he spent most of his time traveling in Europe making many historical investigations. Then he returned to Pittsburg and resumed the practice with great success. In 1831 he published a Life of Sebastion Cabot. He was born March 25, 1796 and died at Pittsburg July 7, 1847.

Alexander W. Foster was born in Chester county in 1771. Receiving a classical education he read law with Edward Bird and was admitted to the Philadelphia and also to Chester county bar in 1793. His father was Rev. William Foster and his mother was a daughter of Rev. Samuel Blair, D. D. In 1796 the Foster family moved to Meadville. The son practiced law there but on December 7, 1798, was admitted to the Allegheny county bar, though he remained in Meadville for some years after that and earned a very high standing in the bar, particularly for a young man. From Meadville he removed to Greensburg where he remained some years and ranked with the ablest men of the bar. At that time he came to Pittsburg more or less to try cases and finally settled here permanently, becoming one of the prominent ment of the city and one of the leaders of the bar. He did not possess the impassioned and florid eloquence of some of the men with whom he came in contact nor had he the legal erudition of Walter Forward, but as a trial lawyer and particularly in the cross examination of witnesses, he easily surpassed most members of the bar of his day. It is said that he could, better than any other lawyer in Pittsburg, expose the falsehood or fraud of an evilly disposed witness and that he could do it in a mild, genteel way that won him the sympathy of the jurors. There were few who could more ably present a case to a jury than he. He was of a kind genial disposition and this precluded the possibility of his being genuinely sarcastic, yet when necessary, he could be extremely severe. He excelled in the marshalling of his ideas and also in his command of language. He could most suitably express his thoughts without halting, without error and apparently with but little effort. He illustrated his arguments copiously with amusing anecdotes, some of which, like Lincoln, he seemed to invent for the occasion. He excelled in conversation and was always a social leader who enjoyed company. In person he was of medium size and weight and of the nervo-bilious temperament. He delighted in agriculture and wrote articles and delivered addresses on the practical application of chemistry to farming. Being almost a constant smoker he had hot-houses built in which to grow Spanish tobacco for his own use. In 1802 he was united in marriage with Jane Heron, of Franklin, Pennsylvania, who was a daughter of Captain J. G. Heron of the Revolutionary army. Their son was J. Heron Foster who was afterward a member of the Allegheny county bar, and a

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EDWIN M. STANTON

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very prominent man in Pittsburg. Alexander W. Foster had also a brother who became an eminent member of the Mercer county bar and whose son, Henry D. Foster, of Westmoreland county, was one of the strongest lawyers in Pennsylvania. In his latter years Alexander W. Foster removed again, leaving Pittsburg to pass the remainder of his days in Mercer, where he died on March 3, 1843.

Edwin M. Stanton achieved more national fame during the Civil war period than any other member of the Allegheny county bar. In one way he belongs to the nation rather than to any particular locality. Nevertheless he practiced law here and left Pittsburg when he first entered public life in Washington. Stanton was born at Steubenville, Ohio, on December 19, 1814. His education was somewhat limited. Aside from a preliminary training which he received in the indifferent Steubenville schools of that day, and from a few months attendance in Kenyon College, his early education did not amount to much. He was a clerk in a book store in Columbus and while there improved his mind by general reading and afterward read law during leisure moments and was admitted to the bar in 1836. He began practicing in Cadiz and was district attorney of the county. Three years after his admission he was elected reporter of the supreme court, the selection being made by the state legislature. In the meantime he removed to Steubenville, selecting it as a more progressive place than Cadiz. He was court reporter for three years and they were very advantageous ones to him in his law studies. On October 20, 1847, he was admitted to the Pittsburg bar and located here early in 1848, when he was thirty-four years old and had been twelve years in the profession. He rapidly became a very strong lawyer, though he did not, by reputation at least, surpass the ablest men of the city. He had about him a naturally imperious manner that did not add to his popularity. In 1858 he was associated with Abraham Lincoln in the trial of a very important patent right case in the West, and Mr. Lincoln thought him a very able man. In the entire trial Stanton ignored Lincoln treating him as an unknown back-woods lawyer and imperiously excluding him from the final argument of the case. This was particularly disappointing to Lincoln who had prepared himself to make an address. It may be of interest to note here that Lincoln's biographers agree that with the fee earned in this case he made his campaign against Stephen A. Douglas and thus paved the way for his final elevation to the presidency. It is probably fair to say therefore that in 1858 he was one of the ablest lawyers in Pennsylvania. He was a civil lawyer and paid but little attention to criminal business, yet his versatility in his profession was shown in his conduct of the defense of General Daniel E. Sickles when tried for his life for killing James Barton Key. The eyes of a nation were turned on him then and he bore the burden of the trial in a manner that brought the highest plaudits from the American bar.

Jeremiah S. Black, who had been chief justice of Pennsylvania, was made attorney general in President Buchanan's cabinet. In the general political

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breaking up which followed the election in the fall of 1860, Black became secretary of state and the President called Stanton from the Pittsburg bar to become attorney general of the United States. This position he filled with fine ability from December 20 till the inauguration of President Lincoln when he was succeeded by Edward Bates of Missouri. During this time he was a Democrat and during the entire year of 1861 he was very bitter in his denunciations of Lincoln's conduct of the war. Nevertheless he had an aggressive power, an ability and a courage which Lincoln appreciated. Accordingly, when Simon Cameron retired from the cabinet, the President, who was too great to care for Stanton's churlish criticism, appointed the latter to the office of attorney general. He entered the cabinet as a Democrat and it undoubtedly brought great strength to the Northern cause. He had moreover, many sterling qualities which Lincoln needed in his cabinet, and the latter found no difficulty whatever in sinking his own personality, if by so doing he could strengthen the cause of the Union. Stanton's loyalty to the Union and his services as a war minister are a part, and indeed a very important part, of the history of the Civil war. Writers of great eminence, high in authority on Civil War history, have differed widely on his real character and the effects of his ministry. He has been called the ablest war minister in American history and has on the other hand been written of as prejudiced, unreasonable, inhuman, brutal and even as insane. The truth is probably between these extremes. That he did not have the charity, the kindness and leniency of the President, is undoubted, but it may be that by his opposite qualities he supplied in that important period, a necessary balance in the cabinet. It is known that by his imperious will he dominated the administration in many unimportant matters, but that when his views conflicted with those of the President on matters of great import, he was disciplined and set aside as though he had been a child in the hands of a giant. No one has doubted Stanton's integrity nor his executive ability, nor his loyalty to the cause of the Union. He remained as secretary of war in President Johnson's administration until May 28, 1868, when his health, which had been undermined by hard work during the war, impelled him to retire. On December 20, 1869, he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a position which his attainments as a lawyer eminently qualified him to fill. But four days after his appointment, and before he had assumed its duties, his remarkable career was ended by death. Pittsburg may well be proud that it was her privilege to furnish a man so eminent and useful in a period which was by far the most trying and important in our national history.

Cornelius Darragh, prominent as a lawyer and as a citizen in his day, was born in Pittsburg in 1809. Being graduated from the Western University in 1826, he read law with James Ross and was admitted to the bar on November, 3, 1829. In the years 1836-37-38 and '39 he represented the city in the state senate and succeeded William Wilkins in Congress in 1844, by a special election held in February. He was re-elected in the fall of 1844 serving till

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March 4, 1847. Otherwise he devoted most of his years to the practice of the law. On January 4, 1849, he was appointed attorney general of the commonwealth by William F. Johnston and filled the position with credit to himself and to the bar till April, 1851.

He was a man of small build and had more than the usual wit and eloquence of the Irishman. He was, however, a splendid lawyer, being not only strong, exceedingly so, before a jury, but was well grounded in the principles of the law. He has left a name now remembered only among the older people Pittsburg as one whose wit and eloquence livened up many a weary case. On the stump he was excelled by few in Western Pennsylvania. He died in Pittsburg December 22, 1854.

Robert M. Gibson was another very eloquent member of the Pittsburg bar and belonged to a comparatively modern age, for he did not come to Pittsburg until 1869. He was born in Washington county on October 27, 1828, and read law in Washington with the celebrated William Montgomery. From his admission in 1853 till 1869 he practiced in Washington. He had not been extensively educated but nature had given him all the requisites of a finished orator. Many who yet remember him distinctly speak of him as the most truly eloquent member of the Allegheny county bar in his day. He spoke with the precision of an actor reproducing the thoughts of Shakespeare. He had an epigrammatic style of speech that impressed his thoughts upon his hearers, so that they remembered them and could reproduce them long afterwards. There was nothing bombastic about his address, such as we are too likely to ascribe to the eloquence of the past. Were he yet living his eloquent tongue would stir his hearers just as it did in his day. He was a well trained lawyer and weighed well his words. There is a tribute paid to him in the minutes adopted by the bar when he died, that is said to most truly describe his style of eloquence. It is as follows: "Passages of such exquisite beauty, of such incision, of such overflowing humor, of such moving pathos and of such true grandeur and sublimity of manner, with such originality of manner, with such simplicity and apparent unconciousness of their magnificence, it has rarely been given man to utter. Before the court and jury alike he was for the time resistless, and swept away all obstruction as a mountain torrent in its rush to the meadow and the sea." He died November 27, 1882, at his home in Allegheny and was buried in Washington, Pennsylvania.

One of the most widely known members of the bar in the latter half of the century that has just passed was Thomas M. Marshall. He was born in Newton, County Derry, Ireland, on November 20, 1819. His family came to America when he was a child, arriving in Pittsburg in 1821 and three years later removing to Butler county. He was brought up mainly by the brother who lived in Pittsburg. He learned but little else in the limited private schools of that day than the rudiments of an education and at a very early age became a bookkeeper in a small mercantile establishment conducted by his brother, who made

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him a partner in the business before he reached his majority. When twenty-three years old he began to read law with Judge Shaler. He was admitted to the bar on December 8, 1846, when twenty-seven years old. Though at that time he had scarcely any education whatever, he was able, because of his natural ability, to take a leading place at the bar, even in the first years of his practice. He was richly dowered by nature. He was of medium build and of athletic mold, and his every feature and every movement indicated strength, courage, will-power and determination. His voice was strong, deep and musical and there was about him and in his speech a personal magnetism which charmed his hearers and held them spell bound while he spoke. Kingly-looking at all times, he was seen at his best only when wrought up in addressing a jury, or when fired by the excitement of the forum. To form any conception of his strength one had to sit under his magic spell, to see him as with the boldness and carriage of a lion, he pressed his points upon his hearers. Perhaps not a little of his well known power over juries and popular assemblies depended on his positive manner. He is remembered mostly because of his addresses in defending homicides. For forty years in Pittsburg there was scarcely an important murder trial in which Mr. Marshall did not conduct the defense. He was wont to begin his address by a few plainly stated principles, that even a juror most hostile to his cause, could not but admit in his own mind. In doing so he spoke his short sentences in a low clear tone of voice that at least riveted the attention of every hearer. Gradually he warmed up, or perhaps it was more the hearer that warmed up, as he led him step by step into new and delightful fields of thought, which perhaps a few minutes before he had determined not to enter. Then the advocate grew more impressive and emphatic. Presently it was apparent that a storm was brewing, and the juror heard its approaching rumblings, then the lightnings flashed and rolling thunder filled the air, and "Glorious Old Tom," as he was called, was in complete action and was thoroughly a master. The air seemed to be filled with something indescribably grand and magnetic that caught and overpowered the hearer, and controlled his every impulse, yet nothing about Marshall's manner indicated that it was manufactured for the occasion. Every gesture, every tone, every impassioned appeal and above all his very look indicated that all this was but the tempestuous outbreak of his pent up feeling, the outward expression of his deep earnestness and his determination to impress it upon his hearers and win their approval or die in the attempt. His oratory particularly in presenting a defense to a jury, was superb in its grandeur and was enjoyable alike to the cultured scholar or the unlearned laborer, to the busy man of affairs or to the court room idler, all were delighted and carried away with it, and while it lasted no one took his leave.

It was claimed by some, in the exaggerated expression of the day that Marshall had but one address which he used on all occasions, yet be that true or false in the idea it was meant to convey, it still remains an undisputable fact, that

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from youth to age he exercised a marvelous power over juries and won more verdicts of "not guilty" than any other man in the history of the Allegheny county bar. He had also a most retentive memory. He rarely ever took notes of the testimony, yet he could conduct a case from day to day and sometimes for weeks and in the end sum up the strong points in the testimony and quote them even more accurately than those who had taken copious notes. Those who are quite competent to judge, claim that he was also a strong civil lawyer, "a good lawyer wherever you took him," said a prominent attorney to the writer. Yet it cannot be denied that his fame rests most on his work in the criminal courts, and that it far overshadows his achievements in all other branches of the profession. There is no doubt but that he was a tower of strength in any trial, though it would be unfair to write of him as a strong lawyer where equity or corporate rights were concerned for to such matters he had given but little attention. General Archibald Blakely, in his most exhaustive History of the Bar of Allegheny County, refers to a many-sided civil action which he once heard presented to the Supreme Court. Several lawyers had made elaborate arguments when Marshall concluded the case on his side by stating a principle of law in a few words, after which he added. "That principle governs this case and the authorities I have cited in my paper-book establish that principle, and that is all I have to say." With this he took his hat and left the room. The manner of the man was so tragic that the general followed the case and found that the Supreme Court had affirmed Marshall's point and thus the case was won. Such a man as Marshall could not otherwise than be a power on the stump, particularly when he lived through the age in which that style of oratory was at its height. He was a Whig and began to make addresses in 1840, years before he began the study of the law. Indeed it was likely that power which induced him to enter the profession. Whether it was a public reception of some dignitary, an anti-slavery meeting, a war meeting or a political convention, he was always in demand and could stir and excite an audience at his will. His arraignment of his opponents, and particularly of the slave trade was "terrible as an army with banners." He had the proverbial wit of the Irish race and could, when argument failed, entertain his hearers by the hour with story, joke, ridicule and bitter sarcasm. Though not thoroughly educated in his youth, he was widely read, and with his retentive memory, lacked little in his mature years, of being a complete scholar. Prominent all his days among the leaders in political life, and often urged to become a candidate, he always declined. In 1882 the Republican state convention nominated him without his consent for the office of Congress at Large. A few weeks later the convention was called together again to fill the vacancy on the same ticket, for Marshall had positively declined to enter the race.

He was a lover of nature, of the trees, of the singing birds, and of the country generally, while he was passionately fond of horses, dogs and the pet animals. By birth he was a commoner and in his law practice his natural predilections prompted him to favor the weak rather than the strong, and this

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feeling bound him indissolubly to any one who was in trouble or in need whether arraigned in court or not. His purse was never closed to the poor, and particularly to the less fortunate members of the profession. The same spirit prompted him to assist the young lawyer in his trials and perplexities. He cared nothing for wealth or for the prominence which it brought. The strongest of all his characteristics was his affection for his immediate family. This was well known to be phenomenal with him. The news of the sudden death of his wife reached the Supreme Court when it was in the midst of its daily session. The court knowing how deeply he was stricken adjourned immediately and taking carriages the justices all drove out at once to his residence to comfort and console him in his great sorrow as best they could. It is said that this was a compliment which the court had never before paid to the family of any, save its own members.

He never grew old in spirit. There was never a time when he was too old to be companionable and on intimate terms with young men.

Samuel W. Black was born in Pittsburg, September 3, 1816. He was the son of Rev. John Black, D. D., and had good educational advantages from his youth. In 1834 he was graduated from the Western University and at once began to read law with Richard Biddle. He was a man of fine presence and had the gift of eloquence in a high degree. In April, 1857, he was appointed associate justice of the territory of Nebraska, serving in that capacity faithfully. He was appointed governor of the territory in February, 1859, both appointments coming from President James Buchanan. He had prior to these appointments, been through the Mexican war with the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania Infantry. He was not deeply learned in the law and confined his practice almost entirely to the criminal courts, where he could offset the thorough knowledge of his opponent with his really brilliant oratory. He had all the gifts necessary in an advocate and in addition had a very ready wit which always stood him in good stead. There is little doubt but that in controlling the feelings of the jury and in extracting from them a verdict, regardless of the law and the facts, he was excelled by few if any lawyers in Pittsburg in his day. Gifted as he was, it was but natural that he should make a name on the stump. This he did at a very early age. It was this quality which made him known in all parts of the Union, that led to his appointments mentioned above. Few audiences could resist his transcendent power over them. His Union speeches in the spring of 1861, were beyond all doubt the most inspiring that were delivered in Pittsburg. His efforts did not consist in idle declamation. Every thrilling sentence came from his soul and this was one of the secrets of the power of his oratory. He had instincts which prompted him to perform brave and daring acts. No one could have led a dangerous charge in battle with less fear than he. He left Pittsburg in the early months of 1861 at the head of one of the city's best regiments, the Sixty-second Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. He led it with his intrepid spirit for a year and

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fell at its head at the battle of Gaines' Mill on June 27, 1862. No officer in the Civil war was more deeply lamented in Pittsburg than he.

The Montooth brothers, Edward Alexander and Charles Carroll, were prominent members of the bar in the last years of the last century. Edward, the elder was born in Pittsburg, September 18, 1837, and was admitted to the bar on December 7, 1861. Almost at once he entered the Union army as a member of the One Hundred and Fifty-fifth regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. He was breveted major for gallant and meritorious services performed on the field of Gettysburg. After the war he was engaged in the practice of the law continuously till his death. In 1874 he was elected district attorney of Allegheny county. This brought him into practice in the Criminal Courts and his work ever after that, was laregly in that direction. A noted writer on the Pittsburg bar has said of him: "His jury addresses were earnest, clear, persuasive, impassioned and strong. When it came to a sentence his great heart often impelled him to plead with the court of mercy." Charles C. Montooth was graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1867, and was admitted to the bar May 12, 1870. From the beginning of his practice he devoted himself almost entirely to the civil side of their practice, while his brother and senior partner looked after the criminal business. Both were strong lawyers in their respective parts. Both were men of the highest ideals of professional life, and in all instances they not only lived up to them but tried to inspire others to do the same. Both were, moreover, highly successful as practitioners. Though Charles attained a very high standing as a civil lawyer, there were abler men at the bar than either of them, but there were none who are remembered more kindly by those who came in daily contact with them. Both were men of fine personal appearance, exceedingly so, and were moreover men of highly-polished manner, not such manners as might be assumed by unworthy men, but such as could emanate only from admirable traits of character, from men who were gentlemen indeed in the truest sense. Charles was born December 26, 1846, and died died July 4, 1893.

A very noted lawyer during the latter half of the last century was Marshall Swartzwilder, who was born in Carlisle, March 13, 1819. He was educated at Princeton and read law in Hagerstown. In 1840 he located in Pittsburg and was admitted to the bar on May 31, 1841. He was almost entirely a criminal lawyer, but in that line was fully competent to hold his own with the ablest lawyers in Pennsylvania. He was sent to the legislature in 1848 and 1849, and while there is credited with having introduced the measure providing for an amendment to the constitution of 1838, which changed the judgeship from an appointive to an elective one. It is said, too, that in riper years he regretted having done this, for he regarded the change which it brought about as a serious mistake on the part of the state. He died on October 1, 1884, and was buried in Laurel Hill cemetery in Philadelphia.

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Another criminal lawyer of great eloquence was William D. Moore. He was born at Harpers Ferry, on January 15, 1824, and was graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1841. After a theological course he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church and preached with much success until the breaking out of the Civil war, when he was made chaplain of the Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Artillery. He served in this capacity until the close of the war. After the war he abandoned the ministry and read law in Greensburg with Edgar Cowan, who was then representing Pennsylvania in the United States Senate. On his admission to the Westmoreland bar he removed to Pittsburg, where he was admitted on November 27, 1866. He was a man of fine scholarship and of burning eloquence, but began the study of the law too late in life to master its intricacies. Further than the limited knowledge necessary to practice in the criminal courts, he was not by any means a thorough lawyer, though he had such talent, that had they been devoted to the law during his earlier years, would have enabled him to excell in any branch of the profession. As it was, he was a scholar, a thinker and a reasoner and above all a man of transcending eloquence. His mind had naturally led him in earlier years into scientific investigations. In botany, chemistry, anatomy and indeed in any science, he was able to hold his own, even among experts, and this power stood him in great stead in many of the trials in which he was engaged.

Perhaps there was no field of eloquence in which he was so potent as in presenting resolutions on the death of members of the bar. Had those he delivered in Pittsburg been taken down and printed they would form a most valuable volume and would indeed be classics in their line. In vituperative language, in depicting the evil character of the defendant and in portraying the villainy and barbarity of bloody life, he undoubtedly surpassed all men of his day in Pittsburg. He died on November 2, 1896.

John H. Hampton was brought up in the profession, for he was a son of Moses Hampton, eminent alike as a lawyer and a judge. Growing up in Pittsburg he was sent to the Western University, but was afterward graduated at Washington College in the class of 1847. He began reading law with James Todd of the Philadelphia bar, but afterwards finished under Edwin H. Stowe, of Pittsburg, and was admitted to practice on December 23, 1850.

From his youth he manifested strong intellectual and quick perceptive qualities, but his mind was not supported by a vigorous body. The fact that he achieved a high degree of success is all the more to his honor when it is remembered that throughout his life he was in poor health. Two years after his admission, the bar began to hear of railroad lawyers, for railroads had just reached Western Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania railroad employed him as its counsel and later he appeared for other roads, so that it may be said that he devoted his life largely to railroad and corporation law. It is even now an intricate subject, always demanding the ablest talent of the bar, but the administration of it was still more difficult in Hampton's early days, for the

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subject was entirely a new one then. He had also inherited the honor and integrity of his father. Rights which the state reserved and delegated to corporations were almost a new feature in Pittsburg a half century ago, and the railroads found in him a man of the highest character who could stand between them and the people and protect the latter in the enjoyment of their rights, no less than the former, whom he directly represented. Such a man was greatly needed then. It is said to his credit that he never willingly permitted his clients, though strongly entrenched in the law, to infringe on the rights of the people. Nature not only gave him a strong mind but gave him complete mastery over himself so that he never lost his temper or his self control. His manners and deportment were those of a complete gentleman in every sense, and won him the friendship even of those whom he generally appeared against in court. For many years after he began practicing his father was on the bench and his sense of honor was such that he never voluntarily appeared in a trial in that court or to make any important motion. He was not only great as a lawyer but was great in any branch of the civil practice, and particularly was this manifest in long and hotly contested trials. In his power to stand up under damaging testimony, to meet unforseen and unlooked for turns in trial of cases, and in the end to answer every phase of argument that could possibly be brought to bear against his case, he had perhaps no superior in Pittsburg in his day. He livened a long wearisome trial with an inexhaustible fund of wit and humor, and this perhaps often won for him when a prosy argument would have been fruitless. He was engaged in the practice of the law continuously for over forty years and died April 11, 1891.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Cotton Manufacture—Lost Industries—Cotton, Oil Refining.

The manufacture of cotton and woolen goods was formerly a very important one in Pittsburg. Small factories had sprung up in many parts of Western Pennsylvania, invariably located on a small stream where the spindles and looms could be propelled by water power. Their work was almost exclusively in woolen goods. With the Ohio river passing by and through several cotton states Pittsburg seemed an inviting field for cotton factories, for it was easy to ship the raw material up the river, and return the manufactured product by the same route, or dispose of it in nearer markets. The cotton producers of the South had learned to ship their raw material to England and to repurchase it in manufactured fabrics. During the War of 1812 all commerce between the United States and England was suspended. As a result cotton goods became very high. This probably induced Hugh and James Jelly to build a cotton factory in Pittsburg. It was located in Northern Liberties, now the Lawrenceville section of Pittsburg. About the time it was completed, the war closed. They had, in fact, scarcely started their mills when peace was effected in 1815. There was at that time no duty to materially interfere with the importation of textile fabrics. English factories had been filling up with goods which they were unable to dispose of during the war, perhaps in anticipation of a ready market in America when the war would terminate. At all events the markets of the United States were flooded with all kinds of imported fabrics in the early months of 1815. Pittsburg was an easy market to reach from any English port, for boats not infrequently passed down the Ohio, and thence by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic ocean, carried Pittsburg products to the seacoast cities of Europe and returned laden with the exports of the Old World. The result was that almost as soon as Hugh and James Jelly were ready to start their spindles in their new factory, Pittsburg received untold quantities of imported fabrics, and at much lower rates than they could spin and weave them. Their factory was therefore closed and stood idle for years. In 1822 two commission merchants, Allen & Grant, united with James Adams and James S. Craft and rebuilt the factory and began to make machinery for the manufacture of cotton. They also embarked in the cotton business and brought to Pittsburg many skilled workmen who

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carded, spun and wove successfully for the first time in Pittsburg in 1824. Their factory was called the Phœnix Steam Cotton Factory. It employed nearly two hundred hands and produced seven hundred pounds of yarn and four hundred and fifty yards of cotton cloth daily in 1825.

Their success prompted others to engage in the same business. The Fleecedale Woolen Factory was built on Chartiers creek by A. & J. Murphy in the same year. Their output in cassinets and broadcloth alone was nearly $20,000, the first year. They furthermore did a large business in wool carding. The same year bought John McIlroy who made plaids, fancy stripes and plain cotton goods of various grades. His factory was on Front and Second streets and increased rapidly so that he soon employed from eighty to one hundred hands. Another large factory was owned by James Shaw on Wood street, above Liberty. Thomas Graham had built a large mill and still another was owned by Tilford & Sons and there were several smaller ones. In all it is well known that there were over five hundred hands constantly employed in this class of manufacturing in Pittsburg in 1825 and that they produced more than a million yards of goods valued at over $200,000. These industries all sprang up under the protection afforded them by the tariff bill of 1824. The duty on cotton and woolen goods by this act was thirty per cent.

The raw material for the early cotton factories was brought to Pittsburg from the cotton producing states by the Ohio river. Each manufacturer was compeled to go south to lay in a stock of material and he was furthermore compelled to purchase a stock sufficient to last him at least six months, for otherwise in the winter his Pittsburg factory might have been closed because of the freezing over of the Ohio river. The manufacturer found himself in the same predicament in the summer months when the river was too low to afford transportation. The factories used at best about 13,000 bales per year, which was not sufficient to warrant commission merchants in establishing a constant cotton market in Pittsburg, though the importance of such a market was patent to the board of trade and the producers of cotton textile fabrics. These necessarily long investments in raw material before any money could possibly be realized from the product, greatly hindered the Pittsburg factories. Another ill which befell them was the tariff laws of 1832 and 1833. These acts reduced the tariff generally but made a heavy reduction on cotton goods. Nevertheless, by industry and economy the business not only survived but increased until in 1847 there were seven large factories in Pittsburg, the size and product of which may be seen by the following table.

Name	Bales of Cotton	Product	Men Employed
Hope Factory	3,100	$216,000	375
Eagle Factory	3,000	205,200	250
Union Factory	1,600	116,500	200
Pittsburg Factory	1,600	138,000	200
Penn Factory	2,400	207,000	260
Star Factory	800	62,100	80
Allegheny Factory	400	27,000	40
Totals	12,900	$4,759,000	1,405

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In 1848 a difficulty occurred which illustrates the difference in the employment of labor then and now. The majority, if not all of the workmen, were employed then by the day, and a day's work was twelve hours. The legislature of that year passed a law limiting a day's work to ten hours, and it went into effect on July 4, 1848. A great deal of cotton was then being spun and woven in Lowell, Massachusetts, and at other points in the East and all were working on the twelve hour a day plan. The Pittsburg manufacturers claimed that they were already laboring under difficulties that the eastern factories knew nothing of and that they could not afford to pay the same wages for ten hour's work that they had formerly paid for twelve. They therefore proposed to reduce the wages correspondingly, but the laboring men who had clamored for the ten-hour law refused to stand the reduction and refused thereafter to work more than ten hours per day, although the law provided for a special contract between the operators and the employes, by which they should still continue to work twelve hours per day. The result was a general strike among the employes and a close down among the factories. The strike was attended with all the features of a modern conflict between labor and capital. Men who were thus thrown out of employment became violent. Even the women, wives and daughters of the strikers stoned the manufacturers and threw eggs at them as they passed through the byways of Pittsburg. The manufacturers refused to communicate with the agents of the strikers, but offered to hold conferences with the men themselves. This aggravated them more than ever, for they seemed to be under the power of the delegates. Much damage was done by the leaders of the strikers. The difficulty became more serious and riots ensued. They were known as the factory riots. Many of them were indicted by the grand jury. Among those against whom true bills were found were five women. As the fall progressed the conflict became more bitter. The newspapers took sides, and although nearly three score years have passed away, many of the comments and editorials are couched in terms that are quite familiar to the modern reader. By the papers which catered to the laboring man the manufacturers were denounced as tyrants, robbers and oppressors, and one would conclude that the money invested in manufacturing was a curse to the community. They were charged with making immense profits and concealing them for the purpose of still further grinding down the employes. The contest became so bitter late in 1848 that a number of manufacturers visited other cities in quest of new locations, with the purpose of removing their factories from Pittsburg. Pittsburg had long before this been noted for its advocacy of the American system, as it was first called, which afterwards assumed its true name of a protective tariff. Newspapers throughout the country took up and magnified the "Pittsburg Riots," and made it a political measure. Gold had but recently been discovered in California. The usual overland trip began by going down the Ohio river and Pittsburg, being at the head of navigation, got credit of furnishing more than her share of those who sought the precious metal on the Pacific coast. A Pittsburg paper dealt with the question as follows:

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"And what is Pittsburg? Ask the hundreds and thousands of her citizens who are flocking off to California, where there are no factories, no improvements. They will answer, 'We are going to a place where we hope capital cannot oppress us. At the risk of our lives, we will not be enslaved by the money power.' This is their significant and withering reply. Now, what do we propose? Simply and undeniably this: To introduce such reforms here as will prevent the necessity which drives away to distant lands our very best, most useful and industrious citizens. We appeal to every honest thinking man if it is fair that we should be hunted down, as we have been, by any class of people for this?"

A Philadelphia paper was still more severe.

"Pittsburg can lay claim to a complete savageism, a stultified barbarity which the red cutthroats of Fort Duquesne never knew. Pittsburg of the present hour, of the year of grace 1849, stands out in bold relief from the annals of barbarism. She is no longer the Smoky City, but will henceforth be known as the Blot City, the Blot of Pennsylvania. But we call upon the man who keeps a slave pen in Baltimore to go to church next Sunday and publicly thank God that he is not a Pittsburg factory-owner. Hereafter we shall look upon shambles, red with blood of the negro, as something better, more Christian, than the law of Pennsylvania as 'dug up' in Pittsburg, and hailed with steam-engine hosannas by Pittsburg slave-holders. Let no congressman from Pittsburg ever dare to talk in Washington about the evils of black slavery or the blessings of free soil. Your Pittsburg law, gentlemen, can give the shambles of Jeffreys nine points of the game and beat them, too, in every detail of absurd barbarity."

The strike ended with the usual result, the factory employes were at length forced to resume labor at a reduction of sixteen per cent. on the wages paid for twelve hours' labor, and the day's work was thereafter ten hours. In a few instances by virtue of the special contract clause, the employes worked twelve hours per day and did not suffer a reduction of wages. The ten-hour law was practically disobeyed by both the employer and the employe, but it was in the end fraught with good results, for it was a step in the movement which has since brought about legislation which has been of great advantage to the laborer.

It is not a fact, however, that the severe words of the Eastern newspapers were in any special degree deserved by the Pittsburg manufacturers. They simply held to their rights to pay the increased wages or allow their factories to stand idle, and did but little in the way of bringing in new workmen.

The cotton industry has long since passed almost entirely from Pittsburg, and its loss in this direction was suffered in common with many northern cities. Prior to the abolition of slavery the southern states were engaged largely in producing cotton, but scarcely pretended to manufacture it into textile fabrics. This was done almost entirely in England and in the northern states. But after the close of the Civil war manufacturers saw that it would be more profitable to locate their factories in the cotton belt, thus saving the transportation of the raw material, which because of its great bulk was extremely expensive to move. Labor was also cheaper in the Southern states than in the North, and for these

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reasons the manufacture of cotton was removed largely from the northern to the southern states.

In all these years Pittsburg has lost many other industries. In all manufacturing cities factories spring up and flourish for a time when suddenly the march of improvement brings new products or better methods of making them to the front and the old ones are abandoned. The factories which made wrought iron nails passed away with the introduction of cut nails. Ship building, once the leading industry of the city and one which gave rise to the making of many kindred products, passed away when steam was thoroughly applied to navigation and when railroads began to compete in earnest with the river as a common carrier. Mostly such industries are replaced by larger ones. Pittsburg, however, lost oil refining industries and apparently secured nothing which resulted from it in its stead. The city owes a great deal of its prominence to the discovery and production of oil in Western Pennsylvania, for it was the nearest city to the field, and aside from the refineries which sprung up here, a great part of the wealth that the discovery of oil produced found its way and its ultimate investment in Pittsburg. To this is attributed its rapid increase in population and wealth between 1860 and 1870. To Colonel E. L. Drake is due the credit of boring the first oil well in Western Pennsylvania for he sunk his well in 1859. Oil had been used as a medicine for external application by those suffering from rheumatism for many years. It was probably used first by the Seneca Indians who were much subjected to this ailment. At all times it found its way in small quantities to the surface and could be seen floating on the water. The Indians spread blankets on the surface of the water and they could thus wring small quantities of oil, which had been absorbed, from these blankets. Colonel Drake thought that the greasy, bad smelling fluid which oozed from crevices in the rocks and floated on the water's surface, could be found in greater quantities by boring for it. The Seneca Oil Company advertised its many curative virtues and did not have a sufficient quantity to supply the demand for it. It was the patent medicine company which furnished Drake with sufficient money to bore for it, and their chief motive was to secure a larger and more reliable supply to sell as a rheumatic medicine. No one then dreamed that the immense quantities of this medicine, hidden in the bowels of the earth, would in a few years, become a cheap and popular light for almost the whole civilized world. Yet it had been used for illuminating purposes long before this. In the *American Journal of Sciences* for 1826, there is a letter from Dr. S. P. Hildreth which refers to the discovery of petroleum on the Muskingum river near Marietta, Ohio, by a man who was boring for salt water. This well was bored four hundred feet deep and instead of salt water it "discharged vast quantities of Petroleum or, as it was vulgarly called, Seneca Oil." Dr. Hildreth also speaks of the powerful explosions of gas from the well and says that "the petroleum affords a considerable profit, and is beginning to be in demand for lamps in workshops and factories," and that it "gave a clear, brisk light and will be a valuable

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article for lighting the street lamps in the future cities of Ohio." Drake bored the well in 1859 on the Drake farm on Oil creek, in Venango county, and "struck oil" on August 30th of that year. It was a small well, producing in 1859 about two thousand barrels. The oil at once found a market for illuminating purposes. In 1860 many new wells were sunk and the product of these reached the total of five hundred thousand gallons for that year. In 1861 the yield was over two millions of gallons, in 1862 over three millions, in 1874 the product was nearly eleven millions, and in 1880 about twenty-six millions of barrels. New lamps were invented early in the sixties and a method of refining it was also invented which took from the oil the impure substances which not only clogged the lamp wicks but also produced an offensive smoke. It was then called coal oil, a name which was then applied to kerosene as distilled from coal. Oil has since had a great power in the advancements of civilization, for it invited study and reading and social intercourse at night and permitted all kinds of games, music and conversation that were well nigh impossible with the tallow candles, which preceded it. Yet it is rarely considered by social scientists in enumerating the adjuncts of the world's progress. Most of this oil was found in the upper Allegheny river and the natural outlet of it was Pittsburg. Refining oil was almost from the beginning, an extensive business and particularly in Pittsburg. As early as 1860 there were seven refineries in the city. In 1861 they had increased to seventeen and in 1862 to twenty-six. In 1863 there were forty-one, in 1864 there were forty-six and in 1867 Pittsburg was supporting fifty-seven refineries which, we believe, was the city's highest point as an oil refining centre. Transportation was a great difficulty in the oil trade. It was difficult to store millions of gallons and the Allegheny river was not a navigable stream during the greater part of the year. Railroads soon penetrated every section of the oil field and these with tanks built on their cars, afforded for a time the only means of removing it from the oil fields to the market. Soon after its discovery the Standard Oil Company was formed, a corporation which rapidly became powerful and had its headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio. This city was about as near the oil region as Pittsburg. Pipe lines by which the oil could be pumped from the wells to the refineries were introduced and these were laid from the oil fields to Cleveland. The Standard Oil Company gradually secured possession of these lines and by special contracts with the railroads leading westward from the field, the trade was soon concentrated in Cleveland, Ohio. The refineries were therefore removed from Pittsburg to Cleveland, so that in 1876 there were but twenty-nine in Pittsburg, and within the next few years all were removed from the city. The refining industry came, flourished and passed away in less than a score of years. It was not so desirable a business as many others for a city, for it carried with it a great deal of nauseating and bad smelling material. Yet there was money in it, and in that way its removal from Pittsburg was a heavy loss.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

Stephen C. Foster—Richard Realf.

Stephen Collins Foster, the noted song writer and poet, was in every sense a Pittsburger. Here he was born and brought up, here his melodies that will live longest were written, and here, with his kindred, rest his ashes. His father was William Barclay Foster, a merchant of Pittsburg, who, with Major Ebenezer Denny, was engaged largely in the early flat-boat trade down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. He had been reared in Canonsburg, where his parents had settled in the days of the Revolution. In 1807 he journed eastward, and was married in Chambersburg to Eliza Clayland Tomlinson, who originally came from the shore district of Maryland. On horse-back over the old State road he brought his bride several hundred miles to Pittsburg. Not long after this he purchased a tract of land then outside of the city but now an important part of it. This land and the little town founded on it, he named Lawrenceville, in memory of Captain James Lawrence, whose dying words, "Don't give up the ship," as they carried him below on his vessel, had thrilled all of our people with additional enthusiasm for the American cause. Foster was indeed a truly patriotic man. His loyalty took a more substantial form then naming his place after a hero of the War of 1812, for shortly after this, when the British burned the capitol at Washington, New Orleans was threatened by General Packenham, and urgent orders were sent to Pittsburg for supplies for General Jackson's army. Though the General was unable to send any money with the orders to pay for the goods, nevertheless Foster shipped them promptly, and it is said that they reached Jackson when his army was suffering for the want of them, and that they assisted him in winning the battle of New Orleans. Foster was never paid for these goods, the claim in the United States court being yet unsatisfied. Even though the government appeared to be ungrateful to him he was still loyal to its soldiers, for he donated a piece of ground for a soldiers' burying place, and a monument marks its site to this day. The ground which Foster owned is historic ground, for it included Bullits Hill, and on it Washington and Gist had landed from Wainrights Island, when almost frozen in December, 1753, as they were returning from their historic trip to Fort Le Boeuf.

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Thirty acres of this land were afterwards sold to the government for an arsenal, which has recently been abandoned, and the land is now used by the city as a public park.

The children of William B. Foster had inherited from their parents qualities which enabled each of them to achieve more or less renown. Morrison Foster was a prominent business man and state senator of Pittsburg, and lived until 1904. Another son, William, was first vice-president of the Pennsylvania railroad, while a daughter was married to Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, a brother of President James Buchanan. The mother of Henrietta Crosman, the actress, whose name is Henrietta Foster Crosman, was a niece of the poet songster, and it was she, the mother, who, as a Pittsburg girl in the 40's and 50's, first sang many of his sweetest melodies. This gentle birth perhaps accounts for the delicacy and refinement which gave an undying charm to all his music.

Stephen C. Foster was born on July 4, 1826, when all America was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Independence, and when the air was filled with the music of the "Star Spangled Banner." He was undoubtedly a very erratic child, but he was unusually precocious in any line of intellectual pursuits, and in grasping a knowledge of music, or in drawing it even from new and untried instruments, he was indeed a prodigy. Several pieces of his music of a high order of merit were written in his boyhood days, and his first published song, "Open Thy Lattice, Love," was written when but sixteen years old. At nineteen he formed a singing club, which he conducted and which frequently met at his father's house. He began to compose songs for this club, the first one being "The Louisiana Belle." All were delighted with it, but a few days later he still further surprised and pleased them by producing "Uncle Ned," which remains today as one of his best melodies. He wrote the words and adapted them to nearly all of his music. Although a poetic temperament was shown in all of his works, he has produced but little that would entitle him to true greatness were it not for his music. Though the words fit the melodies "excellently well," they do not reveal a high order of the poet's talent. The sentiments of the songs are beautiful, dealing with the love of home, with the love of mother, the sweetest of all words; with the love of wife and sweetheart, touching each of them, the tenderest impulses of intellectual culture and refinement. In most of his music there is a tender memoried pathos, a mystic sweetness, which makes them truly melodious, and the words written by him are always charming and easy flowing. As the poet Shelley says:

"Our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought."

Early in life he wrote only for pastime or to entertain his friends, without thinking of adopting song-writing as a profession, or of making money from his music. While a clerk in a store he wrote "Oh! Susanna," and gave it and "Uncle Ned" to a friend of the family, Mr. W. C. Peters, of

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Cincinnati, who had them published and is said to have made ten thousand dollars in clear profits from their sale. With this money Paters opened up a music store, and it is now one of the largest in the West. Foster wrote in all about one hundred and sixty songs, many of which have become classics in the musical world. A few of them stand first among the melodies of the American people, and though they have been already sung for three score years, they have not in the least diminished in their popularity. "The Old Folks at Home," "Old Black Joe," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," and many others, have been translated into nearly all of the European and Asiatic languages, and have therefore veritably been sung around the world.

Shortly after Herr Wilhelmj, the eminent violinist, came from Germany to enchant America with his music, not speaking our language, he went into a New York music store asking for the music of an American song which he said he thought was called "Black Jack." It was, of course, not to be found, but the persistent German was sure of its existence, and with his lips began to whistle the air. The melody was understood even if his language could not be, for the salesman at once exclaimed "he wants Old Black Joe," and much to the virtuoso's delight it was handed to him promptly. It was the refinement and tenderness of the song which was implanted indelibly in his memory when its English name had almost escaped him.

Foster was a man of small build, being but five feet seven inches high, but of great physical courage, of quick temper, and of great kindness of heart. Presenting a bouquet to a young woman, who was engaged to be married, her fiance assailed him in violent language, whereupon Foster promptly knocked him down and the unhappy event terminated the engagement. Seeing two quarrelsome ruffians imposing on a helpless man as he was returning home one night, he interfered, and in the scuffle received a knife wound on his cheek which marked him for life. At another time when he witnessed the killing of a young girl in Pittsburg by a team of fractious horses as they tore down the street, he followed the dead body of the child to its home, and learning there that her parents were poor working people, he supplied them with all he had and remained all night with them, comforting them as best he could. Yet with all this kindness of heart, he was proud and sensitive in the highest degree to the least slight. When quite young he was known as a splendid performer on any instrument, so a woman in Pittsburg, who knew him well and who was issuing verbal invitations to a company she meant to entertain that night, said to a friend, "Tell Stephen Foster to come and to be sure to bring his flute." The boy sent the flute but staid at home himself.

Morrison Foster, his brother, often told the story of his writing "The Old Folks at Home." It was written in 1851, when the author was twenty-five years old. Going into his brother's office in Pittsburg hurriedly one day he said, "Morrison, I have written a new song, and I want the name of

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some southern river with two syllables in it." The brother, who had been much in the South, suggested "Yazoo," "Pedee" and others, but none of them suited the fancy of the composer. Morrison then took down an atlas and opened it at a map of the Southern States. Together they examined it, when at last Morrison's finger stopped at a little unknown river in Florida flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, called the Suawanee. "That's the one," exclaimed the delighted composer, and, writing the name on a piece of paper, he went away rejoiced beyond measure. Suawanee has a flowing melodius sound, which the poetic temperament of the composer demanded, and the beauty of its selection is all the more manifest when Yazoo or Pedee are substituted in its stead. This song has since lived in undiminished admiration, and has moreover redeemed the river from obscurity by throwing a halo of sentiment around it that is as lasting as the melody itself. Most people who see the unimportant Florida stream, as it creeps slowly towards the Gulf, are sadly disappointed, for its main beauties are imaginary and were evoked from the ideal world by the genius of the composer. They exist only in the song, which shows them through the mystic chord of melody.

About the time Foster wrote and composed "The Old Folks at Home," he received an urgent request from Christy, the famous minstrel, then playing in New York, for a new song, and for the right to sing it on the stage first before it was published. The purchaser also exacted the right to print the first edition of the song showing himself, and not Foster, as the author and composer. An agreement of this kind was drawn up by Morrison Foster, and the song, "The Old Folks at Home," with the desired privileges as to its publication, was sold to Christy for five hundred dollars. For this reason the name of Christy, and not Foster, appears on the title page of the first edition of this beautiful melody.

It is said that "The Old Folks at Home" and "Home Sweet Home," by John Howard Payne, are more widely known than any other songs in the English language. Both of them bring up the tenderest memories of the human mind. During the Civil war a northern regiment, which had suffered severely in the South, was on the verge of rebellion because of its hardships and because its monthly pay had necessarily been long delayed in reaching them. One night they broke through the sentry lines and raided a town near the camp, many of them coming back more unruly than ever because of the liquor which they had obtained. The officers tried in every way to subdue them and to restore order, but all was in vain for the tumult only grew. At last the colonel of the regiment ordered the band to play "The Old Folks at Home." As the beautiful strains of this "song of the homesick" were caught by the riotous soldiery, its melody went to the heart of each man who had left a home in the far distant North. Their refractory spirits were subdued, and in a few minutes all had lain down and many had wept themselves to sleep.

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Foster was the idol of the family, and the special pride of a most cultured and devoted mother. Being of a highly keyed nervous organization, he possibly worked best under a stimulant; at all events, in early life he became addicted to drink, and notwithstanding his bright prospects, this misfortune rendered his life an extremely gloomy and unfortunate one. In 1850 he was married to Miss Jane Denny McDowell, a daughter of a prominent physician in Pittsburg. About that time he removed to New York, seeking a wider field for his work. For perhaps a year he was reasonably successful, but intemperance rapidly worked his downfall. Growing homesick he disposed of his entire possessions in an afternoon, and returned to his parents in Pittsburg. Every effort was made by his friends to induce him to remain sober, but all was in vain. He remained in Pittsburg until 1860, when his mother having passed away and having been separated from his wife, because of his intemperance, he returned to New York under a flattering offer from Firth, Pond & Company. There his unfortunate desire for stimulants increased, and in a short time he was living in almost abject poverty. Often, it is said, that he walked up Broadway clad like a beggar, rather than like the composer of symphonies which were being sung by the refined people throughout all the world. Frequently he wrote and composed a song in the morning, sold it in the afternoon, and squandered its proceeds in the bar room in the evening before retiring. His music was sung by thousands all around him, but those who sang them passed the uncouth author by unknown and unnoticed. It was said that during this sad period of his wretched life, the most familiar sounds that came to his ears were the melodies inspired by his genius, and the sound and the sight least familiar to him was a kind word or a friendly face. Though sung very widely during his life, his songs did not reach their highest point of fame until years afterwards, the world awakening to their melodious beauties too late to manifest to him their high appreciation of his work. Many of his songs have become so familiar that the popular mind scarcely associate them with him as the author. Many of them are genuine folk-songs, and nearly all of them are so simple that they can be produced on three chords of the key. His songs were largely the result of the sorrows which surrounded him. Deeply grieved with sadness and loneliness occasioned by the death of his father, he wrote the negro melody "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground." "Old Dog Tray" was written on the death of a beautiful setter he owned and to which, in his lonely and pathetic life, he was greatly attached. A relative of his family was John Rowan, who sat on the bench and represented Kentucky in congress and in the United States senate from 1825 to 1831. He lived at Bardstown in an old-styled colonial house. "My Old Kentucky Home" was written in memory of a visit to this delightful place. Foster wrote nothing else which particularly related to Kentucky, yet that state, a few years ago, erected a monument to his memory because of this song, and unveiled it with great demonstration.

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One summer's afternoon in his brother's house in Pittsburg he sat carefully whistling an apparently new tune. Shortly afterward he began to write hurriedly both in words and in music. Then he called his niece, afterwards Mrs. Crosman, to the piano and together they played what he had at first whistled and written. Later in the same day he arranged it also for a quartet, and that night it was sung in both forms at a friend's house as it has since been sung by untold millions of admirers in all parts of the world. It is claimed by many that it is his best, and it is undoubtedly his most pretentious composition, and is known as "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming."

In 1864, while afflicted with fever in a cheap hotel in New York, he arose in the night in search of water. Being very weak, he fell while groping in the dark, and cut his neck on the sharp corner of a broken pitcher. He lay on the cold, damp floor until discovered the next morning by a servant. He recovered slightly, and he asked to be taken to Bellevue Hospital, where he died from fever and from loss of blood on January 13. No one present knew the unfortunate stranger, and they were about to bury him as a pauper, when some acquaintance chanced to recognize his body in the morgue. When it was known that the dead man was the great composer, the remains were prepared for a more respectable interment, and at once sent to Pittsburg. Both the express and railroad companies refused payment for its transportation. In Pittsburg he was buried by the side of his parents, and on the afternoon of his funeral the best musicians of the city formed an impromptu band, which played "The Old Folks at Home" and "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," as his body found its last resting place among those who knew and loved him best.

Among the few monuments one sees in visiting Pittsburg is a bronze statute of the great musician, erected in Highland Park. It was erected by his admiring friends in 1890, and consists of a plain granite pedestal, surmounted by a bronze statue of heroic size in a standing posture, with a pen in hand, writing the title "Old Uncle Ned." At his right hand sits a negro playing a banjo, with a harp lying at his feet. On the face of the granite base is the inscription:

Stephen Collins Foster,
Born 1826—Died 1864.

RICHARD REALF.

A true poet of Pittsburg, whose writings entitle him to a high place in American letters, was Richard Realf. Though an Englishman by birth, he was a Pittsburger by adoption, and was identified with the interests of the city. It was here moreover, that the most prolific years of his literary life were spent. He was born in Farmfield, England, on June 14, 1834. He was a most precocious youth, and literally "lisped in numbers for the numbers came" almost in boyhood. His parents were of the lower middle class of English people, but Mrs. Parnell Stafford, a woman of wealth and position,

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recognized the unusual talent of the boy, and gave him a thorough education. Early in life he was employed in the studio of the sculptor Gibson, and but for the failure of his eyes, a weakness which troubled him most of his life, his poetic temperament might have found a life employment in shaping marble and bronze statues. John C. Burrows also befriended the gifted boy, and he, with Miss de Gardiner, a prominent woman of Brighton, was mainly instrumental in helping him to come to America and to the career which he carved out for himself in the New World. Arriving in New York in 1855, he bore letters from them which secured him a position as assistant superintendent of the Five Points House of Industry. He had a thorough knowledge of Latin, knew considerable French and was very widely read in classic and English literature. These attainments were combined with a naturally severe, keen and critical literary taste. His deportment through life was that of one who had been "to the manner born" in the most cultured homes and schools of his native land, being indeed a gentleman by birth in the broadest sense of the term. Nature had been kind to him in other ways than by giving him a poet's mind and style. Though short of stature, he had a handsome face and a well-shaped head like a noble Greek, whose features Phidias might have selected for preservation in chiseled marble. His hands and feet were small and perfectly formed, and every movement of his body was graceful. He had an abundance of brown, afterward gray, wavy hair, brown eyes, and is said to have even looked like the traditional poet. Soon after reaching America he became interested in the slavery question as it was being agitated by John Brown and others, centralizing at that time in the effort to make Kansas a free state. He was naturally an erratic man of roving disposition; otherwise his genius might have found its widest and best field in New York. He decided to go to Kansas to take part in the struggle to exclude slavery from the territory, reaching Iowa at almost the last moment possible to join a delegation that was starting west for that purpose. One of the leaders of the company has written that they were all "suspicious of spies and traitors in camp, yet Realf's splendid face, soulful earnestness and devotion, won all hearts to him, and he needed no further endorsement." They reached Kansas in the middle of October, 1856, and there the young poet lived and labored and fought, being most of the time at Lawrence, until January, 1857, when he came east. In the company which he so unceremoniously joined were many who became eminent in after life and who remained strongly attached to him, even until his death. Among these were S. C. Pomeroy, James Ridpath, S. F. Tappan, Preston B. Plumb, Edward Daniels, Oscar La Grange, Thaddeus Hyatt, Horace White and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. In April, 1857, he returned to Kansas, and remained there until he left to join John Brown in Iowa in August. It was in Kansas that his literary career properly began. He kept up a ceaseless agitation of the slavery question, and also wrote about twenty-five poems, many of which bore on it, and all of which display a sweet-

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ness of tone and a rythmic beauty seldom surpassed among the lyrics of the English language.

Richard Realf has written of the personal influence of John Brown in these words: "He possessed that strange power which enables one man to impress many with his views, and he so psychologized his associates that, seeing only through his medium of vision, they were unable to controvert his theories; therefore the movement went blindly on. For myself, too, it is certain that had I not been in New York, where, out of the reach of his great mesmeric power, I could in some sort master the questions involved, I should have been with the enterprise to the bitter end." Realf was selected by Brown as secretary of state in the new government he purposed to form. He had in the meantime developed the powers of public speech as well as those of his pen, and was sent to New York and thence to England to lay the matter before the freedom-loving people and obtain means to aid the enterprise. While in England Realf changed his views, not on the evils of slavery, but on the "rightfulness" of Brown's proposed methods of assaulting the institution. On returning to the United States he came to New Orleans that he might see slavery and learn to fight the monster in its lair. He was not with Brown at Harper's Ferry in 1859, but was arrested and was examined by Jefferson Davis. In his testimony he did not betray any secrets of the Brown raid, for it related solely to the Kansas trouble, and he was accordingly released. Going at once to Cleveland he met Coppoc and Anderson, who had been in the ill-fated attack at Harper's Ferry and had escaped. Realf had six hundred dollars with him which he divided with them, and thus enabled them to reach their homes in safety. After this he spent some time in the Shaker settlement in Warren county, Ohio, and later entered the lecture field, which he continued with many interruptions until his death.

There is little doubt but that he was visionary in the extreme and that he believed the slaves could actually be freed by the methods of John Brown. His consuming desire to see them free induced him to believe their freedom could be readily accomplished, and in his impetuosity he did not stop to consider the means necessary to gain this end.

In 1862 he drifted to Chicago, where he enlisted in a company then being formed, commanded by Captain Charles Rowland. The captain noticed Realf's charming personality, and took him to his home. He was soon transferred to the Eighty-eighth Illinois Regiment, of which he was made sergeant-major, and a year was commissioned adjutant. The regiment was ordered south, and he served with it in the Fourth Army Corps throughout the war, his brigade and division commanders being Schofield, Sheridan and others under Rosecrans, Thomas, Sherman and Grant. He was in the battles of Murfreesboro, Stony River, Nashville, Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge and in the great Atlanta compaign under General Sherman. He was on the staff of Brigadier-General John F. Miller, who afterward befriended him when he was thrown a homeless waif on the Pa-

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cific coast, and who, at the poet's dying request, became his literary executor. He was a brave soldier, brave even to rashness, and won high honors, being twice named in general orders for personal gallantry; once at Mission Ridge, where the color bearer being shot down, he carried the colors forward under a heavy fire and thus united the line in a successful advance on the rifle pits, and again at Franklin, where his regiment bore the hardest part in resisting the enemy. He is spoken of in Eddy's "Patrotism of Illinois," page 210, as "one of the bravest of the brave who was on horseback, not having time to dismount, in a hand to hand fight."

In answer to a letter written by a woman who had wondered at Realf, an Englishman, being in the American army, he replied: "I hold that he alone is an American who is true to the idea of the American Republic. There are many alien natures born on these shores; and many American hearts that draw breath beyond the seas." Such was the devotion and courage which won for him the highest encomiums of his associates and superiors. When the war was closed he was again adrift, and the period shortly following that, is not an attractive one to contemplate. His first misfortune was to become intemperate, and drifting into New York, he contemplated joining the Oneida Community. Later he was at Rochester, New York, and everywhere he went he made himself felt either as a public speaker or as a pleasing and forceful writer of prose or of poetry, and drew around him hosts of friends. He had been married on June 10, 1865, to Miss Sophie E. Graves, a woman of most excellent character, of northern Indiana. Shortly after his marriage he was sent South, and his wife was taken severely ill with brain fever. Thinking he had deserted her, she left Indiana and changed the spelling of her name. There is little doubt but that he thought her dead, and overwhelmed with sorrows, sought relief in the flowing bowl. To use his own language in a very pathetic letter, he says, that in this period, "during a prolonged debauch," and in a "fit of mental aberration," he contracted a second marriage with a woman without character, who proved to be an adventuress of the worst type, and who became from that day forth, his nemesis, following him and darkening his life, and even hounding him into the grave. He had taken himself up in the meantime, and was for a time confidential secretary to General Ingalls, assistant quartermaster-general of the United States army. He had after this been appointed assistant assessor of internal revenue at Grantsville, South Carolina, but the Rochester woman even followed him there, and forced him to flee to the North to escape her. This much must be said of him, that each time he began life anew he worked diligently, not only in the position he secured, but with his gifted pen as well. This woman drove him also from Augusta, Georgia, and from Indianapolis in the same way. One misfortune after another assailed him until finally the woe-driven son of genius reached Pittsburg in December, 1869. Arriving here in a destitute condition, Mr. Brigham, who was then editor of the *Pittsburg Commercial*, was perhaps the first one who extended him a

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helping hand. Hearing Realf deliver a public address one evening, he was greatly pleased with him. The kind-hearted and cool-headed editor on being introduced to Realf, asked him to call at his office the following morning. The poet lecturer was promptly on hand, and when Mr. Brigham asked him if the wanted work on the paper, the outcast looked at him in dazed confusion, and then burst into tears. He was immediately employed at a regular salary, which was soon increased. The editor was greatly pleased with him in every way, trusting him and honoring him almost like a son. He opened the doors of his house to his brilliant associate through he and his family were most exclusive people. The address which practically brought them together, was a temperance address in conjunction with the noted Pittsburg Apostle, Francis Murphy, who regarded the poet as one of his most illustrious converts. The horrors of Realf's vagrant and hounded life in the last four years were then followed by eight more successful ones in Pittsburg. The Rochester woman, however, had in the meantime come here, and remained to annoy him, but by this time he had gained strength and friends, who stood by him in his affliction. In 1872 he applied for a divorce and the case was heard in common pleas court on February 14, 1873. It was tried by a jury, which decided it in his favor. He rejoiced greatly over his freedom, and for a time worked in splendid spirit, and in good health. In the summer of 1873, he celebrated his emancipation by a visit to his aged parents in England; but an appeal had been taken in his case and shortly after his return to Pittsburg, the supreme court handed down a decision reversing the case on a technicality, and allowed the matter to be re-opened. This news unmanned him. The case was tried again and the verdict reversed. When the news reached him at his editorial desk, he fell to the floor as though he had been shot. He was so broken by this misfortune, that he could not bring a new suit, though the attorneys assured him that it could be easily won on a second and amended application. He paid alimony until 1877, when broken in spirit, he was unable to further comply with the order of court. This divorce case is reported as Realf vs. Realf, in No. 77 Pennsylvania States Reports, page 31.

While in Pittsburg he wrote many of his poems, among them being "Liberty and Charity," "Introspection," "The Song of Pittsburg," "Retrospective and Introspective," the latter being written for the Centennial of 1776. Most of his noblest and most beautiful sonnets, such as "Christendom," "Symbolism," "Little Children" and "My Slain," were also written while living here, and while almost overwhelmed with a mountain of grief. In 1877 he again entered the lecture field, lecturing on "Temperance," "Battle Flashes," "John Brown," "Shakespeare," etc., but it was a time of great business depression, and his lectures brought him little else than disappointment and bad health. He had several old Kansas friends in San Francisco, and by their aid reached that city in July, 1878. Henry Villard, the great German-

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American railroad magnate, Colonel Alexander F. Haws, General John F. Miller, Senator John P. Jones, and others were willing to help him in every way.

Before going to San Francisco, he had been a frequent contributor to the Atlantic, Harper's and Scribner's Monthly, the New York *Evening Post,* the *Independent,* etc. At that time the *Argonaut* was edited by Frank M. Pixley, the ablest journalist and editor the Pacific coast has yet produced. Pixley was not slow to secure for publication in his paper the writings of a man like Realf. Many of his poems were re-published in the *Argonaut,* but only after a thorough revision, and after the poet had exquisitely beautified and finished them. He also wrote for the *Argonaut* "My Lady at the Window," and one or two others. In San Francisco he was surrounded by friends, several of whom offered him a home until his health was recuperated, but these kindnesses he declined, preferring to fill a minor position, which he secured in the United States mint of that city. Many of his poems were also published in the San Francisco *Evening Post,* and with this encouragement and his returning health, he and his friends had brightest hopes of future prosperity. But in the fall of 1878, his nemesis, the Rochester woman, came again to annoy him, this time for the last time. Gaining access to his room, she proceeded at once to steal and destroy his papers and poems, and was thus engaged when the care-worn and distracted poet returned to his lodgings. This proved too much for his exhausted strength and energies. Later he purchased with his last dollar some chloral hydrate and laudanum. Going to the Windsor House he inquired for his friend Colonel S. F. Tappan, who was unfortunately in Nevada at that time. Had he been able to find him, the consolation and moral support necessary to tide the poet over the gloomy outlook would have been kindly furnished. Repairing more despondent than ever to his room, he drank the drugs which he had prepared, and sat down to write his last and perhaps his grandest song. In a letter to Colonel Tappan he stated that he had "deliberately accepted suicide as the only final relief from the incessant persecution" of his divorced wife. In a testamentary document written at the same time, he directed that his writings, poems, etc., which were "scattered promiscuously in his room," should be given to General Miller, "who, at his discretion will or will not give them to Colonel Richard J. Hinton of the *Post.*" He also directed that the amount due him from the mint should be applied to the payment of a few small debts owed by him. The following morning he was found dead in his room by Colonel Tappan.

The sonnet which he had written in his dying moments, when the poisonous drug was rapidly working his destruction, is one of great beauty and strength, and is by many considered his masterpiece. It has been published throughout the English-speaking world, and we give it in full as a fitting close to this brief tribute to the author's poetic genius. His poetical writings were afterwards collected mainly by General Miller, Frank M. Pixley and Richard J. Hinton, and with an able sketch of his brilliant but erratic life by the latter, were published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, of New York.

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His prose writings are marked by the highest grade of rhetorical power and classic finish. He was highly endowed with the gift of oratory, and all his writings evince the easy flowing affluence of his fervid speech. Yet in his editorials he was everywhere accredited with the mastery of a terse, direct style, a power of statement bordering closely on the epigrammatic, and a sharp logical grip on all matters of fact and statements which he put forth. His poems are one and all replete with classic beauty and melody, and evince a deep insight into the realms of the ideal. Most of them have a spiritual grandeur seldom shown in the writings of American men of letters. But above all, his writings of both prose and poetry are noted for their purity. Go through them as you may, and not a word will be found that does not tend to inspire the reader to a higher life and purer thought.

"He loved his fellows and their love was sweet;
Plant daisies at his head and at his feet."

HYMN TO PITTSBURG.

My father was a mighty Vulcan;
I am Smith of the land and sea;
The cunning spirit of Tubal-Cain
Came with my marrow to me.
I think great thoughts, strong-winged with steel,
I coin vast iron acts,
And orb the impalpable dreams of seers
Into comely, lyric facts.

I am Monarch of all the Forges,
I have solved the riddle of fire,
The Amen of Nature to cry of Man,
Answers at my desire.
I search with the subtle soul of flame,
The heart of the rocky Earth,
And hot from my anvils the prophecies
Of the miracle-years leap forth.

I am swart with the soots of my furnace,
I drip with the sweats of toil;
My fingers throttle the savage wastes,
I tear the curse from the soil.
I fling the bridges across the gulfs
That hold us from the To-Be,
And build the roads for the bannered march
Of crowned humanity.

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WRITTEN ON THE NIGHT OF HIS SUICIDE.

"De mortuis nil nisi bonum," When
For me this end has come and I am dead,
And the little voluble, chattering daws of men
Peck at me curiously, let it then be said
By some one brave enough to speak the truth:
Here lies a great soul killed by cruel wrong.
Down all the balmy days of his fresh youth
To his bleak, desolate noon, with sword and song,
And speech that rushed up hotly from the heart,
He wrought for liberty, till his own wound
(He had been stabbed), concealed with painful art
Through wasting years, mastered him, and he swooned,
And sank there where you see him lying now
With the word "Failure" written on his brow.

But say that he succeeded. If he missed
World's honors, and world's plaudits, and the wage
Of the world's deft lacqueys, still his lips were kissed
Daily by those high angels who assuage
The thirstings of the poets—for he was
Born unto singing—and a burthen lay
Mightily on him, and he moaned because
He could not rightly utter to the day
What God taught in the night. Sometimes, nathless,
Power fell upon him, and bright tongues of flame,
And blessings reached him from poor souls in stress;
And benedictions from black pits of shame,
And little children's love, and old men's prayers,
And a Great Hand that led him unawares.

So he died rich. And if his eyes were blurred
With big films—silence! he is in his grave.
Greatly he suffered; greatly, too, he erred;
Yet broke his heart in trying to be brave.
Nor did he wait till Freedom had become
The popular shibboleth of courtiers' lips;
He smote for her when God Himself seemed dumb
And all His arching skies were in eclipse.
He was a-weary, but he fought his fight,
And stood for simple manhood; and was joyed
To see the august broadening of the light
And new earths heaving heavenward from the void.
He loved his fellows, and their love was sweet—
Plant daisies at his head and at his feet.

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CHAPTER XL.

Temperance Movements in Pittsburg.

As we have said elsewhere, the use of liquor by men of good standing in the community was more general in the early years of last century than it is at present. There was but little done to stay the drinking habit in Pittsburg prior to 1830. There was a temperance society formed at Lawrenceville by a union of the citizens and a goodly number of the workmen in the arsenal. This was effected on March 15, 1830, and later a constitution was adopted which indicated that the society had connected with it a savings society. The purpose, it would seem, was to make safe investments, from time to time, of the money which its members would otherwise have spent for liquor. The savings-fund adjunct of the society was under the state law governing such associations. Edward Harding, a lieutenant of the arsenal, was president; George Hurst, Sr., vice president, and Benjamin Moore, Sr., treasurer of this financial adjunct. This society began business at once with twenty-five members, who seem to have been ardent workers in the temperance cause.

Rev. Dr. Francis Herron of the Presbyterian Church presided at a general meeting of the friends of temperance held on March 26, 1830. A society had been formed before this and its numbers were increased at this meeting. There had been granted in 1829, 129 tavern licenses in Pittsburg and 162 in all other parts of the county. This, it was claimed, was one licensed house for every 123 people in the county. In 1829 a petition had been presented to the grand jury of the mayor's court, signed by 1,116 names, asking that the saloon licenses in the city be decreased. In 1830 they were cut down to 123 instead of 129, but there were nearly one hundred saloons in the suburbs of the city. There were addresses made and papers read showing the evils of intemperance and urging men to join the temperance society. The increased number of saloons was due, in a great measure, to the increased foreign element brought here to build and work on the Pennsylvania canal, and a redoubled energy on the part of the friends of temperance was the result. Good men were interested in the temperance cause. Walter Forward was president of the Pittsburg Temperance Society, which was organized on April 26, 1832. A county meeting of the

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friends of temperance was held here in 1832 and Judge Charles Shaler presided, while other men scarcely less prominent than they filled minor positions in these societies. The city was thoroughly aroused by this unprecedented number of saloons. The most ardent temperance workers did not favor total abstinence nor a total abolition of licensed houses.. The first total abstinence society was formed in one of the Presbyterian churches in July, 1833. In May, 1834, a convention of the temperance societies of Western Pennsylvania was held in Pittsburg, which was very successful in adding to their strength. It shows also that the movement was not confined to Pittsburg. Notwithstanding the opposition, the saloons increased in numbers till there were 173 in Pittsburg in March, 1834. On July 4, 1835, the temperance societies held a celebration at Pittsburg. Thaddeus Stevens came from Lancaster to deliver an address that day in Pittsburg. He was noted as an advocate of temperance though not of total abstinence. In 1835 he was somewhat famous because of his advocacy of the common school system. Gradually the friends of temperance became organized throughout the county and in 1836 a second county convention was held in Pittsburg. The adoption of total abstinence on the part of all societies was urged upon this convention. They were opposed to buying, selling or manufacturing any ardent spirits, and resolved to petition the state legislature to pass a law prohibiting its manufacture and sale in the state. They also recommended that a temperance almanac be put in every house. This convention was too large to meet in one hall; indeed there were thousands in attendance, many of whom were from other counties. At a convention in May, 1837, the total abstinence plank was adopted. In January, 1838, a petition signed by large numbers was presented to the councils of Pittsburg asking that fewer taverns be licensed and that more stringent measures for their control be adopted. It was urged that saloon men were in the habit of selling even one cent's worth of liquor to small boys. The liquor dealers denied this, and it was probably sold in that way by but few dealers. They were determined that their business should not be interfered with and put forth every effort to sustain it.

A great wave of temperance swept across the country in 1841. It began in Baltimore and came westward. Men who had formerly been drinking men, indeed drunkards, traveled through the country addressing the people in churches and forming organizations. The people attended these meetings in such vast numbers that the churches would not hold them. The reformers carried with them a pledge which they asked all to sign. Pittsburg was most thoroughly aroused. Most of the leading business men of both cities were enlisted and gave the cause their heartiest support. This movement has since been known as the Washingtonian Society, and it grew out of the efforts of the Baltimore reformers. In two weeks in July, 1841, 3,600 people signed the pledge in Pittsburg and Allegheny, and a report made several weeks afterward claimed that only two of them had failed to keep it. Previous to this the strength of the temperance societies of Pittsburg was estimated at 1,500. Societies were also formed in the Roman Catholic Church and these, it was claimed, had a

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membership of 2,500. This would indicate that there were 7,600 people here who were members of the various temperance societies. The first Washingtonian Society was formed in Baltimore and from it all others took their names and their rules were generally about the same as those of the first or parent society. There was usually a large Washingtonian Society in a city and smaller ones, auxiliary to it, were organized in adjoining boroughs and suburbs. On July 27, 1841, the *Gazette* estimated that in the two cities and their suburbs within a circle of five miles, there were ten thousand Washingtonians. Its estimate accredited the Roman Catholic Church with 2,500, and all others were estimated at 7,500. The movement perhaps reached its highest point of enthusiasm in October, 1841, when a convention was held in Pittsburg, the largest ever held up to that time. They marched through the streets with flags, streamers and banners flying, and for two days, October 21-22, the Washingtonians indeed had seemingly complete charge of the city. In Allegheny they built a hall and used it for their public meetings. It was afterwards used as a school building. The movement cooled down considerably in the few following years, but was revived in 1846 by Mrs. Abigail Kelly Foster, who came as a lecturer. She was a very able woman on the platform and drew immense audiences. She was an Abolitionist as well as an advocate of temperance reform. She pleased and edified her hearers and paved the way for a revival on the temperance question, which came immediately following her lectures in February, 1846. A business man of Pittsburg named Isaac Harris had become an enthusiast on the temperance question during the first Washingtonian movement. He devoted much time and money to the cause. His work lay mostly in the distribution of books, pamphlets, journals, song-books, etc., and these he sent broadcast by the thousand, sending out, it is said, over one hundred thousand copies of "Youth's Temperance Advocate." His philanthropy and temperance enthusiasm had an unhappy termination, for in a short time he wrecked his business and dissipated his estate.

The Washingtonian societies were meant to be permanent organizations, and were unusually enthusiastic for a short period after their organization or re-organization. Then, when the revival spirit had passed, their ardor cooled down and most of the societies were abandoned. There were also the "Sons of Temperance," a secret organization which enlisted large numbers and helped to keep alive the spirit of opposition to the saloon. They held a public installation of officers and a general convention in Pittsburg in September, 1848. There were 3,273 members in the line of the parade, all wearing the bright colored regalia of the order. They were led by bands of music and carried banners on which were temperance mottoes. They were not all from Allegheny county, for the prize was awarded to Indiana county because it had the largest and most orderly delegation in line. By an act of the legislature passed in 1846, the granting of licenses was submitted to a vote of the people in 1847. Pittsburg and Allegheny gave a majority of over 2,000 votes against its sale. Allegheny gave a vote of 619 against license to 105 for it. This law was declared

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unconstitutional by the supreme court after the vote was taken but before the result of the election was made effectual.

In 1851, John B. Gough, the greatest temperance lecturer of the world, came to Pittsburg and conducted a series of meetings in the two cities. His meetings were held in the churches and his method was to talk on the importance of a temperate life and then urge his hearers to sign the pledge. By his efforts he secured about 1,200 signers. He pleased the friends of temperance very much and in May, 1852, they secured his services for two weeks, during which about 3,000 signed the pledge. He was a man of deep convictions and of great eloquence when talking on his favorite theme. There was no church nor hall in the city that was large enough to hold all who flocked to hear him.

Shortly after Gough's first visit to Pittsburg, the liquor men met and adopted a series of resolutions setting forth that a man should be his own guardian as to the use of drinks as well as of food and raiment. They pledged themselves to a united effort to cast off the "insolent spirit of proscription that has obtruded itself into the court of quarter sessions and has dared to dictate the course to be pursued herein by the judges." They resolved not to support any candidate for the legislature who would not give a written pledge to use his best efforts to repeal the license laws and make the business of selling liquor free to everyone. They believed that a "miserable minority called temperance men" should be shorn of their power. They expressed their willingness that every human being should quit drinking liquor, or even water, if desired, provided they be let alone in their business as other citizens were, etc. These resolutions, as may be supposed, only served to urge the temperance men to greater efforts in their cause.

Many of the liquor dealers of that day openly defied the law which prohibited them from selling under certain circumstances. The temperance men sought to enforce its observance by prosecuting those who had violated it, and as a result representatives of both parties were in court constantly and the business of both was neglected to an alarming extent. Both sides sought to influence the court by petitions and remonstrances. Judge McClure was then on the bench and his decision that under the law as it then existed licenses should be granted only to houses which were prepared to entertain guests, and not to restaurants, coffee houses, etc., was severely criticised by the liquor element. The churches were hostile to the liquor business and in most of them large meetings were held and resolutions were passed pledging the voters to support no one for an office who was not in favor of the cause. The temperance people advocated the passage of a prohibition law. To this end they petitioned the legislature in great numbers. They did not succeed in securing the law they desired, but the act passed in 1855 restrained the traffic. Great attempts were made to have both the law of 1847 and 1855 repealed, the liquor men claiming they were unjust and unfair in every particular. Violations of the most flagrant character were numerous and after a year or so were constantly

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increasing, so that the courts were again crowded with prosecutors and defendants, and their many witnesses.

The situation did not change much during the Civil war, when all seemed to unite in a more important matter. The temperance movement was kept up in a way by lecturers, but it is probable that the liquor men were more nearly allowed to ply their business undisturbed during that period than either before or since. This lethargy on the part of the temperance people lasted with but few interruptions till 1874, when the crusade came. It originated in a country village named Hillsboro in Ohio, and, spreading rapidly to larger places, it soon reached Pittsburg. It was carried on mostly by women who were largely church members, and who held public prayer meetings in the streets in front of saloons and in the saloons as well, the crusaders kneeling on the pavements, in the streets, or in the saloons. The first meeting of the crusaders in Pittsburg was held on March 2, 1874, in the Third Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Samuel Collins, wife of a minister, was elected president, while Mrs. L. H. Eaton, Mrs. Dr Sterrett, Mrs. Finley Torrens, Mrs. A. M. Milligan, Mrs. H. D. McGaw, Mrs. W. W. Grier, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Woods, Mrs. J. K. Smiley, Mrs. Cranage, Mrs. Livingstone, Miss Lizzie Cook, Mrs. George Finley, Miss Beeson, Mrs. A. W. Herron, Mrs. Linford and Miss Haller were elected vice presidents. Many others were afterwards added to the list of vice presidents. The crusade meetings were held daily and sometimes twice a day, the women visiting the vicinity of the saloons both in the morning and in the afternoon. The interest increased daily and spread rapidly to all parts of the cities and their suburbs. Their method presumed the right to kneel in prayer on the pavement in front of a saloon without permission from any one, but they asked the proprietor's permission before they entered his house to conduct their services in the saloon. They also appointed committees from their members, who called on the mayors of the cities asking them to enforce the law prohibiting the sale or giving away of liquor on Sunday. Otherwise the women called at places where many laborers were employed and tried to induce them to pledge themselves to lead temperate lives. Their first visit to a saloon was made on April 8, 1874. They selected one on Ross street and Fourth avenue. They were perfectly orderly, but were attended by a motley crowd of men and boys to whom such a proceeding was a great novelty. The crowd did not behave well. The proprietor refused to grant them permission to enter his saloon, so they lined themselves in front of it and sang hymns and prayed. They called also at the Monongahela House and at another nearby and were kindly received by the proprietors. The idle spectators, men and boys, jeered them and made it as unpleasant for them as possible. They thus visited several saloons and finally, when at a wholesale house, they were all arrested by an officer and taken before Acting Mayor McMasters, where they were charged with disorderly conduct. Their meetings interfered with the business of the liquor men, but that was their object, and they had not been disorderly in any sense. The mayor admonished them not to repeat these visits and discharged them from

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further custody. This only determined them in their work, and they were out in more forceful numbers than ever the day following. They were finally arrested and taken to a lock-up on Diamond alley. They were charged with "singing and praying on the street and obstructing the sidewalk." Mr. Watt Black was with them, and a fine of one hundred dollars was imposed on him. Mrs. A. W. Black and Mrs. Van Horn were each fined twenty-five dollars. Protests against the fines were made by the women and their friends, but they were held under guard. Finally Mr. W. D. Moore came to their rescue and paid the fine for them. This was contrary to their desire, for they were willing to test the matter and to bear the penalty of their refusal to pay. Two days after that they were again arrested and taken under guard to the lock-up. They were granted a hearing on Monday, May 25, and they were released on the payment of ten dollars each. Dr. Collins paid over the necessary amount. On the day set thirty-three of them were up for a hearing. The charge was, "Disturbing the city by holding religious meetings on the streets." The acting mayor withheld his decision, for the former cases had been appealed and a decision was expected in a few days, after which he could deal with them accordingly. The appeal was heard on May 28, before Judges Stowe, Sterrett and Collier. Attorneys Marshall Swartzwelder and Thomas M. Marshall appeared for the crusaders, and Mr. Coyle for the prosecution. Both sides were heard by these most experienced judges. Swartzwelder and Marshall were among the eminent lawyers of the state. Judge Stowe gave the decision, holding that singing and praying on the streets was not disorderly conduct, for it had been done in all ages. He ordered that the decision of the acting mayor be set aside, that the fines, costs, etc., be returned, and that the city should pay the costs, and further ordered that the crusaders be set free. The crusader were the heroines of the day after the judges decided in their favor. They carried on their work with energy for a while and enlisted the sympathy of the more thoughtful men. The movement undoubtedly injured the liquor traffic a great deal, for while it lasted, many saloons were closed by the proprietors in part for want of customers. It is doubtful if the movement added any permanent strength to the cause of temperance. It had in it too much of the sensational to be lasting. The crusading was finally abandoned and the crusaders united with other temperance organizations.

The next temperance movement in Pittsburg was the one known even to this day as the Murphy movement. It began in 1876, and Francis Murphy, who died but recently in California, was the man who gave it most of its inspiration and its name. A society had been formed in November, 1876, the leading spirit being Chancellor Woods of the University. With him were associated a number of prominent men who procured the services of Mr. Murphy to conduct a series of meetings. He came late in the fall and began by an address in the Pittsburg Opera House. He was a man of fine presence and of great power on the platform. His method was purely one of moral suasion, by which he induced during a life work millions of men and women to sign the pledge.

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In Pittsburg even from the first he was sustained by the leading men of the city and to name them would require pages of this work. The churches soon opened their doors to his meetings. He did not talk a great deal himself after the first few meetings, but urged others, many of whom had but recently signed the pledge, to make short addresses. In a short time no building in the city could seat the people who came to hear him and enjoy the meetings. By the end of the fourth week five thousand had signed the pledge, which was considered marvelous, but in ten weeks more, thirty-five thousand new names were added to the list. The movement was the most potent ever known in Pittsburg. When he began there were about one thousand saloons in Pittsburg, but they were gradually reduced until in a short time there were less than one hundred. Many of the leading liquor men signed the pledge. Mr. Murphy remained in Pittsburg nearly a year, though he visited and lectured in many other sections of Western Pennsylvania in the meantime. During the year about eighty thousand signed the pledge. One who signed the pledge through the influence of Francis Murphy was Richard Realf, the poet, referred to elsewhere. His talents were made use of at once by the temperance people and many sections of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio felt the potency of his fervid oratory.

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CHAPTER XLI.

The Anti-Slavery Movements in Pittsburg.

We are so far removed from slavery that we are liable to forget that it ever existed in Pittsburg or even in Pennsylvania. Its existence, together with the abolition act of 1780, were treated of in a former chapter. For a fact it never did exist here in its worst forms, though there was no legal reason, prior to act of 1780, why Pennsylvanians might not have engaged as extensively in the slave business as did the citizens of the southern states. The files of the newspapers bring vividly to the mind of the modern reader the condition of Pittsburg in earlier days. To illustrate, the *Gazette,* in May, 1787, published the following: "To Be Sold to Any Person Residing in the Country: A Negro Wench—She is an excellent cook and can do any kind of work in or out of doors. She has been registered in Westmoreland county. Produce will be taken, or cattle of any kind. Enquire of Col. John Gibson, Fort Pitt." On May 1, 1789, the following notice appeared: "By virtue of a writ of *fieri facias* to me directed, will be exposed to public sale in Pittsburg, on Tuesday, the 16th day of June next, horses, cows, sheep, stills, negroes and household furniture, taken in execution as the property of John McKee, and to be sold by me. William Perry, Sheriff." On August 21, 1789, there appeared the following notice: "Run away on the 19th instant, from the subscriber, living on Plumb creek, Allegheny county, a negro man named Jack; he is about forty years of age, and his hair is not so curly nor so much like wool as the most of negroes. It is supposed he is lurking about Pittsburg. Whoever will take up said negro and deliver him to his master shall receive two dollars reward, paid by Thomas Girty." On September 24, 1801, the following "The time of a smart and very active mulatto girl, one-and-twenty years old, and who has about seven years to serve, for sale. Apply to James Berthoud, merchant, Water street, near Henderson's Ferry." On May 5, 1804, James Robinson advertised as follows: "I will sell a likely negro man. He is about twenty-seven years of age and a slave for life, and has been brought up a farmer. For terms apply to the subscriber, living on the bank of the Allegheny river, opposite Pittsburg." On

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November 13, 1813, George Evans advertised as follows: "A Mulatto:—The subscriber will sell the unexpired time of a mulatto boy."

Pittsburg was even then a town of considerable wealth for that day and most of its citizens who were well to do were slave-holders. Slavery was not looked upon with the discredit that it afterwards engendered in the North. The Nevilles, John Gibson, James O'Hara, Alexander Fowler, Adamson Tannehill, the Kirkpatricks and many other leading men, bought and sold negroes, and some of them continued to keep them as long as gradual abolition law permitted them to do so. The records in Greensburg show that Devereux Smith, Edward Cook, Arthur O'Hara, David Sample, Aeneas McKay, Andrew McFarland and many others whose claims to good citizenship are equally authentic, each filed the statements required by the law of 1780. The files of the newspapers, even down to 1820, show that fugitive slaves were still sought by their masters. The Missouri Compromise law, passed in 1820, which provided practically that Mason's and Dixon's line should be extended to the Pacific ocean and that slavery should be forever prohibited north of it, made involuntary servitude impossible in Pittsburg, under ordinary circumstances. Immediately after its passage, anti-slavery societies were formed and for forty years they were supported by the ablest and best citizens of Pittsburg. In 1793 Hugh Henry Brackenridge was put in charge of the case of a free colored woman who had been captured here and returned to slavery in Kentucky. He triumphed in the matter by having her brought back to Pittsburg a free woman. Such matters often occurred here, but on the other hand many runaway slaves were captured here by their owners, and the laws sanctioned their being taken back to slavery. It seemed that Pittsburg, at the head of a navigable stream whose waters flowed by at least seven slave-holding states, was a natural point towards which the escaping black man bent his steps. Here he had been taught to hope for safety, but sometimes, despite of the assistance he received from the various organizations, he was doomed to disappointment.

In 1787 a society called "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race," was organized in Philadelphia, and gradually spread its influences throughout the state. Of this society Benjamin Franklin was president and Dr. Rush was secretary.

It is not believed that the Constitution of the United States could have been adopted without certain concessions concerning slavery made to the southern states, and which became a part of the organic law of the nation. Nevertheless, the northern states were never satisfied with the condition of affairs in the South. Pennsylvania was applauded when she passed the gradual abolition law of 1780. Men of prominence began to speak against the institution even late in the eighteenth century, while early in the nineteenth century anti-slavery societies were formed, preachers began here and there to war against it, and it was often mentioned by the Fourth of July orators as the one dark cloud in our nation's horizon. A newspaper discussion on the subject began when the

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Missouri Compromise measure was passed, between James Wilson of the Steubenville *Gazette* and John M. Snowden of the *Mercury*. Wilson took the side against slavery, while Snowden upheld it. Both were able men and men of honest expression and their articles ran through many issues of both papers. Others who read them took up the cry and published their best thoughts on the question, so that a great deal was done in that way in keeping it before the people. Finally the churches, or at all events the more advanced of them, came gradually into a realization of their duties to humanity in this direction. In 1826 a meeting the purpose of which was the organization of an anti-slavery society, was held in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. Henry Baldwin was president and Walter Forward was secretary. Such leaders could scarcely otherwise than make a movement popular. After the fashion of the day, a resolution was adopted setting forth the object of the meeting, which, in this case, was to endorse the object of the American Colonization Society, and to form an organization in Pittsburg that should be auxiliary to it. They formed a constitution and on the 27th met again and completed the organization by electing the following officers: President, Henry Baldwin; vice presidents, Francis Herron, D. D., Robert Bruce, D. D., Rev. Elisha P. Swift, John Black, D. D., Father C. B. Maguire, Rev. John H. Hopkins, Rev. Charles Avery, Rev. Joseph Kerr, Rev. Joseph Stockton and Walter Forward; managers, William McCandless, Neville B. Craig, Richard Biddle, Harmar Denny, Thomas Enoch, W. W. Fetterman, John McKee, Charles L. Volz, Samuel Thompson, John D. Davis; secretary, Charles H. Israel; treasurer, Matthew B. Lowry. The original purpose of these societies was to colonize the negroes in the United States on the coast of Africa.

In 1826 our legislature passed a law imposing a fine of from $500 to $2,000 on any one who took a colored person from this state to another for the purpose of enslaving him. It also passed a resolution endorsing the object of the American Colonization Society, and asking the members of Congress from this state to aid the organization in every way they could. On January 23, 1829, the legislature asked our members of Congress to favor a law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

There were scarcely more than ten or twelve slaves left in Allegheny county in 1820 owing to the workings of the gradual abolition act of 1780, yet the anti-slavery organizations were kept up and new ones were formed from year to year. On July 4, 1832, the County Colonization Society was reorganized at a meeting held in the Reformed Presbyterian Church. In May, 1835, an auxiliary society of the Young Men's State Colonization Society was formed here. These are mentioned to show the trend of opinion on this question. They were kept up and though their object, viz., the removal of the colored race to the west coast of Africa, was probably an impossibility, yet they kept the question alive, and in the end did great service for the cause of abolition by developing a strong anti-slavery element in Pittsburg and elsewhere through the Union. There was, of course, a difference of opinion, indeed a radical differ-

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ence between the colonization societies and the abolition societies. This conflict of opinion as to the means to be adopted was also extensively discussed and served to keep alive the interest in the colored race. In 1835 several meetings were held by both parties and the difference became a very bitter subject of discussion. Each passed resolutions denouncing the other.

It was popular in those days to present petitions to Congress asking that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. A resolution to that effect was introduced in 1836; the abolition element was in the minority, for the vote stood 74 for abolition and 129 against it, but the member from Allegheny county, Harmar Denny, voted for it, and for this received the highest praise of his constituents in Pittsburg. The Colonization Society was kept up in a more substantial way than in name, for at a meeting held in May, 1836, ten men and firms pledged one hundred dollars each per year for five years, for its support. These ten were Neville B. Craig, S. Caldwell, W. Palmer, William Bell, Jr., B. F. and J. Bakewell, Baird, Leavitt & Co., Jacob Forsyth, C. Brewer, Mrs. C. Brewer, and John Kratzer. In 1836 there came a pamphlet distributed broadcast, which was a reprint of an article in the *Biblical Repertory* which defended slavery from a Biblical standpoint. It was said that the "religious lovers of slavery chuckled with inexpressible delight over the article as an unanswerable proof that the Bible sanctioned slavery." The pamphlet was answered, however, by a very satisfactory argument.

The *Gazette,* in January, 1837, refused to publish an advertisement for a runaway slave, at the request of a Tennessee slave-holder, and said editorially: "We have reflected carefully upon the subject, and have arrived at the deliberate conclusion not to publish such advertisements." This conclusion was sustained by the people. The abolitionists were increasing rapidly in umbers and in general strength, and in 1837 they purchased the *Christian Witness* to be used in their interests. The colonization idea grew correspondingly, for it had an element of popularity which the other had not; it had a tendency to quiet the South, who were long before this talking of a dissolution of the Union. The South was anxious that the North should spend its strength on colonization, but it could not endure the abolitionists. A vigilance committee in Louisiana about this time offered fifty thousand dollars for the capture of the famous abolitionist, Arthur Tappan of New York, while an abolitionist from Ohio named Dresser had been publicly whipped at Nashville, Tennessee. These matters strengthened the abolitionists and, of course, weakened the colonization societies. Many of the latter were strongly in favor of the total extinction of slavery in the United States, but they did not believe in the violent methods of the abolitionists, nor did they believe that abolition was possible under the constitution. The Colonization Society raised and spent in Pittsburg $3,300 in 1836. They assessed their membership each year in 1838-39 and '40 to an amount verging on a thousand dollars and collected and disbursed large sums in addition to this.

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The Pittsburg Anti-Slavery Society was formed on October 4, 1833. Its purpose is best set forth in the prolegomena of its constitution, which is as follows:

Whereas, we believe that no man can hold another as property without violating the plain principles of justice and humanity, as expressed by natural conscience and declared in the Word of God. And whereas, there are in these United States more than two millions of human beings, constituting one-sixth part of our population, held as property liable to be bought and sold like beasts of burden and exposed to the caprice of their respective masters; and, whereas, there are nearly half a million of persons in these United States who, though nominally free, are by public sentiment excluded from equal rights on account of their color; and, whereas, we believe that sound policy as well as justice requires that the government of equitable law should be immediately substituted for that of despotic will, and that all men without respect to any physical distinctions should be admitted to the rights, privileges and immunities of free citizens, according to the same equitable rule of qualifications; therefore we do agree to form ourselves into a society to be governed by the following constitution.

The articles of the constitution set forth that the object of the society should be to secure the abolition of laws and customs which deprive men of their liberty, and that this should be accomplished, not by exciting slaves to vindicate their rights by physical force, but by appealing to the consciences and interests of the masters, by correcting public opinion in regard to the justice and safety of immediate emancipation, and by educating the free people of color, so that they might rise above the prejudices which would otherwise keep them in disgrace in this free republic. They further provided that any one should become a member who subscribed to the constitution; that upon the payment of twenty dollars a member should be entitled during life to a copy of all the societies' publications, and that the payment of two dollars should entitle him or her to one year's publication. They also provided for officers, board of managers, etc., and that their annual meetings should be held on National Independence Day. Rev. Robert Bruce was elected president; Dr. J. P. Gazzam, vice president; Rev. S. Williams, corresponding secretary; Lewis Woodson, recording secretary, and Samuel Church, treasurer.

The society passed resolutions at once to establish a manual labor school for the benefit of the colored people of Pittsburg and vicinity; a board was appointed to secure a site and raise funds to found the institution. The society also appointed a committee to prepare a petition asking Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and appointed Rev. I. Williams as a delegate to the national anti-slavery convention in Philadelphia, and James Langhead was appointed as alternate delegate. They appointed Langhead as agent for the society and provided for his salary and expenses. The board also provided for a course of lectures on slavery to be delivered by Mr. Theodore D. Wild, beginning on Monday evening, December 28, 1834, at half past six o'clock.

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The minutes from which we quote are incomplete, but show that on August 1, 1840, the president was Samuel Williams, vice president, John Marshall, Sr.; Dr. J. P. Gazzam and John Dickson were secretaries, and William Allinder was treasurer. The board of managers in 1840 was Thomas Sproul, A. D. Lewis, Joseph Trevor, John White, George Albree, Samuel Bruce, W. A. Adair, John Lowrie, James Wiley, Martin Delany and David Bowen.

The abolitionists grew more in earnest from year to year. When Lovejoy was murdered in Illinois, they held meetings at which the institution of slavery and all its supporters was bitterly denounced. The *Witness,* then their organ in the city, put out many manifestations of mourning and suggested that members of the society wear crape as evidence of their sorrow over the lamentable "murder of a beloved brother." Some people in Pittsburg and one paper, the *Manufacturer,* denounced the intemperate language of both the abolitionists and their organ, and, in a surprising degree, upheld the mob, though all deplored the killing of Lovejoy. His death, however, made the abolitionists stronger in Pittsburg as elsewnere throughout the North. In December a large meeting was held in Pittsburg to commemorate his martyrdom, and by that time there had been formed other anti-slavery societies in addition to the one in Pittsburg, one of Allegheny county, one of Allegheny and quite a number in the boroughs and townships of the county. Still the colonization society believed that abolition and loyalty to the Union could not go hand in hand and reiterated this doctrine at their Pittsburg convention in May, 1837. They had been growing in this impression since the nullification in South Carolina, a difficulty which indirectly grew out of the slavery question. The resolution which set forth that friends of the Union could not be abolitionists, and which was introduced later in 1837, was opposed by many colonizationists. In its stead they passed a resolution denying that abolition meant dissolution and sustaining the right of free speech and free press. The lecture platform was a much more popular method of reaching the people then than now. Many lectures on the evils of slavery were delivered in Pittsburg and in Allegheny. The lecturers were almost of necessity fearless men and were men of power who sometimes dealt in violent language.

In October, 1838, it was claimed that there were twenty colonization societies in Western Pennsylvania. A convention of the anti-slavery societies of every description was held in Pittsburg in October, 1838. Before it appeared many able speakers, and most of the prominent men of Pittsburg and Allegheny attended it and took part in its proceedings. The convention lasted several days and each evening the platform was occupied by a prominent anti-slavery advocate. The convention which formed the state constitution of Pennsylvania known as the constitution of 1838 limited the right of suffrage to white men, but three representatives from Pittsburg voted against the measure. They were Walter Forward, Harmar Denny and Mr. Hays, while Rodgers and Purviance voted for it.

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So rapidly was the abolition sentiment growing in the United States that in 1839 the American Anti-Slavery Society had 1,350 auxiliary organizations, thirty-eight traveling agents, seventy-five lecturers and were distributing each year over 600,000 books, pamphlets and circulars. This year also brought the Union Anti-Slavery Society of Pittsburg and Allegheny. It was in fact a union of all of the smaller societies of the two cities. It opened its doors to women as members and the strength which the union manifested made it very popular. There were, we think, no religious papers in Pittsburg which did not advocate abolition.

In 1840 the abolitionists nominated a national ticket, but the vote did not show their strength, for the majority of them thought at that time that the question was not a fit one to be handled by politicians. It was with them a moral question and in their opinion was very closely related to the work of the churches; yet it must always be remembered that many of its strongest supporters were not in any way connected with any church. Lecturers who spoke in Pittsburg in the early forties, notably C. C. Burleigh of Philadelphia and Rev. Edward Smith of Ohio, were greeted with large audiences composed of the best people of the cities. James G. Birney, the candidate for president in 1840, received but 343 votes, but a year later, when Dr. Le Moyne of Washington, Pennsylvania, ran for governor, he received 793 votes in Allegheny county, and it was openly charged that many abolition votes were not so tabulated.

About that time came the now almost forgotten "Underground Railroad." An elderly and accomplished woman, who lived through that period, told the writer that when she made mention of it to a company of young folks recently, they with one accord thought she was referring to the proposed subway for Pittsburg. The underground railroad was the name given to the secret methods by which the friends of abolition assisted runaway slaves in crossing free states to Canada. Many devices were resorted to. The fugitive slave law, passed by Congress in 1850, made it a crime for a citizen of a free state to conceal a slave who was attempting to gain his freedom. Yet there were plenty of brave men and women who in the face of the law did not hesitate to assist these refugees in every possible way. When it is remembered that an average slave would readily sell for from one to two thousand dollars and that the free states, particularly Pennsylvania and Ohio, were continuously overrun with slave-catchers who sought the escaping negroes in every possible hiding place, and offered large premiums for their capture, the reader can form some idea of the danger encountered both on the part of the slaves and on the part of those who dared to assist them. The states bordering the slave states on the north were those which had the most need of an underground railroad. There were about 2,000 negroes in Allegheny county in 1840. Many of them were fugitives, but hoped to conceal themselves from their masters. But many of those who were really free were not safe, for at any time they might be taken by the slave hunters, and with but little false swearing might be remanded to servitude on the plan-

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tations of the South. Pittsburg was justly renowned both in the North and the South for the care it took of the slaves who were trying to effect their own freedom. Various devices were resorted to by the abolitionists to conceal him from the vigilant eye of his enemies. There were immense hollows and ravines with steep banks overgrown with underbrush and vines and the surrounding hills covered with tall trees, some of which may yet be seen in Schenley Park. Many a slave was concealed in these ravines, and with meals carried to him by members of the societies, he was thus enabled to evade the watchful eye of the slave catcher till pursuit was abandoned. They were often driven through the city or country in a carriage with a double bottom, or a false bottom as it was called, under which the slave lay on his back, and to all appearances the carriage was empty, save for the driver. Then there were secret recesses built in houses, with the entrance so thoroughly concealed that after forty years it required an acute eye indeed to discover them. Into these the slave was thrust in an emergency, and kept there until the vigilance of the pursuer was relaxed. These and many others were the ingenious devices resorted to by the friends of freedom to defeat the slave hunter, and, after its passage, the fugitive slave law. These places of concealment were called stations on the underground railroad, and were well known to those who were friendly to the cause, and who gladly conducted the slave to them. These were often called directors of the road. Pittsburg, because of the strong abolition sentiment, was the one place that a slave catcher feared to enter, and the fleeing negro felt that the moment he entered the city on his way towards the north star he was practically safe. After the passage of the fugitive slave law, which practically "made every northern man a slave catcher," an official position on the underground railroad was a very dangerous one, as we shall see later on. A description of how the railroad was operated, given by William Stewart, a prominent business man of Pittsburg of fifty years ago, has been preserved to us. "The bridge at Niagara Falls," said he, "is the haven to which we send all hunted slaves. On a Sunday morning I was just starting for church when a well known knock touched my door. I knew at once that church for me was in another direction. I opened my door, leisurely went out and turned to the right towards the east. About a block away there was a little covered carriage that was very much in use in Pittsburg at that time. They were called dearborns. When I left my own house there was a gentleman walking between the carriage and me. We did not speak to each other, but he turned down the first street. The curtains of the dearborn were all rolled up and no person but the driver could be seen. I was in charge of the dearborn. It was made with a double bottom and the slave was lying flat between the upper and lower bottoms. The driver kept going on very leisurely. There was a ferry about where the Fortieth street bridge is. We both got on the same ferry, but the driver never changed words with us. He was one of our wealthiest citizens and was wearing a fine pair of false whiskers. After we crossed the river the driver drove on the tow path of the canal. Finally the dearborn and the man in sight turned on a road

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running across Pine creek below Sharpsburg. There another man came out of a house. The new man took his place, while the first took another direction, no one having spoken a word since we started. The dearborn was then driven into a lonely place in the woods, where there was a "station" provided with all manner of disguises. Provided with these the slave was started on his way to Niagara. After leaving Pittsburg they were scarcely ever captured."

Even before the passage of the fugitive slave law, the punishment for harboring or assisting slaves in their attempts at freedom was severe. A case was tried in November, 1847, in the United States Circuit Court, with Judges Grier and Irwin on the bench. Garrett Vanmetre, a Virginia planter, brought an action against Dr. Robert Mitchell of Indiana, Pennsylvania. It was claimed that by the act of 1793, the defendant was liable to a penalty of five hundred dollars for concealing a slave belonging to the plaintiff. The ownership of the slave was proved by the Virginian and that the defendant had employed and even concealed him was scarcely denied. There were eminent lawyers employed on both sides, Walter Forward making one of his strongest arguments for the defendant. After the judge's charge, the jury returned a verdict against the defendant for five hundred dollars. The anti-slavery people were greatly dissatisfied with the judge's construction of the law. They held an indignation meeting on November 30 and there were many very severe addresses made against the judge. The meeting appointed a committee to investigate the case and also proposed to raise funds sufficient to try the case in the Supreme Court of the United States. A new trial was granted and in November, 1851, it was heard again in the United States court and a verdict of fifty dollars and costs was awarded the plaintiff. The payment of this, we believe, ended the case.

It not infrequently happened that when slave-holders brought their slaves here for a sojourn of a few days at a hotel, the members of the societies or the colored employes at the hotel would assist the servant to make an escape. This occasioned great excitement, for the Southerner was loath to lose his "property," but it was very rarely that he ever saw the servant again. When the fugitive slave law was passed many negroes were afraid to remain longer in the city lest they be apprehended and sent back south. They accordingly left rapidly in small companies for Canada. At one time thirty-five left Allegheny in one group. They were not all fugitives, but were so related by birth and marriage, and many who were free were forced to accompany those who could not remain here except with great danger. Even at best, families were separated, and in their condition there was but little hope of ever uniting again. This served to emphasize the horrors of the institution and to make stronger still the abolition cause. When the fugitive slave law was passed mass meetings were at once held in Pittsburg and in all sections for two purposes, first to express a disapproval of the law and to demand its repeal, and second to nerve the people to render it inoperative by defying it. Said one: "If the people of Pennsylvania say that their state shall not be made a field for kidnapers, it will be as they

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wish, and no act of Congress can make it otherwise." An immense meeting was held in the Allegheny market-house on September 30, 1850. Hugh Flemming, mayor of Allegheny, presided, and strong addresses were made by General William Larimer, Jr., and others, declaring that its repeal meant the freedom of the whites as well as of the blacks.

In January, 1851, a man named Rose came to Pittsburg from Wellsburg, Virginia, and recognized a mulatto boy named George White as one of his escaped slaves. The boy was working in a barber shop belonging to J. B. Vashon. The evidence must have been conclusive, for the boy was about to be taken back when the barber with contributions which were readily secured in Pittsburg purchased him from the owner and set him free. The newspapers had a great deal to say about the matter, for it was the first case that came under the workings of the obnoxious law. Afterwards when cases like this became more common, though some of them were of much greater magnitude, they were passed with less comment. The workings of the law were more explicitly brought before the Pittsburg people in a case tried in Pittsburg in March, 1851. There was in the city at that time a colored man named Woodson, who was claimed as the slave of a Mrs. Byers of Kentucky, and who had escaped two years before. Woodson at the trial testified that his name was Gardner and that he had come to Pittsburg in 1848. The case was tried before Judge Irwin, and was decided against the defendant. He was thereupon ordered to be kept in irons lest with all the excitement which his trial had occasioned in Pittsburg a rescue might be made before he could be delivered to his owner. The owner was represented by an agent named Rust, who handed the slave over to the United States commissioner under the fugitive slave law. It is quite probable that the commissioner did no more than his duty under the law governing his appointment, but the anti-slavery papers took occasion to belittle and abuse him by likening him and his office to that of a "headsman," in the days of tyranny in England and France. Woodson had been living at Beaver, where he had purchased a lot and built a house, for he was a mechanic of considerable ability. He had, moreover, been preaching to the colored people for two years and had earned a good reputation in the community. By some means his captors induced him to go to the wharf, where he was seized and taken in a small canoe to a passing steamer. After his trial he was taken from his wife and children. Be it said to the credit of Beaver and Pittsburg abolitionists that they as soon as possible raised money enough to purchase him and that he was finally restored to his wife and family a free man.

The introduction and final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill by Congress called forth the bitterest expressions from Pittsburg people. They held a mass meeting in the court house while the bill was pending in January, 1854. Cornelius Darragh in his fiery style denounced Stephen A. Douglas. Dr. Edward D. Gazzam, George W. Jackson, Thomas Bakewell, D. N. White and Aaron Floyd reported resolutions denouncing the proposed bill as an outrage upon public faith and honor. They denounced also the northern politicians who

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brought it forward and advocated it. Even some abolitionists thought the resolutions were too severe, but they were sustained very forcefully and eloquently by Dr. Gazzam and were passed with but two negative votes. Still later the Germans of the city held indignation meetings. Then the clergymen of Pittsburg and vicinity met and "in the name of God and religion, in the name of humanity and liberty, for the honor of the country and its influence over the world," protested against the passage of the bill. Similar meetings were held all over Western Pennsylvania, and the people were still more aroused by the final passage of the bill. The *Commercial Journal* of May 30, 1854, voiced the sentiments of a majority of the Pittsburg people when it said: "The south have had their triumph, now comes ours. They have repealed our compromise of 1820, we now repeal their compromise of 1850. No more slaves go back to bondage from the free states. There we stand, and so help us God there we will stand." Several other papers followed in the same style, and the *Gazette* characterized the northern members of Congress who had favored the bill as "forty-four traitors to the rights, interests and honor of the North."

When the Whigs of Allegheny county met in convention in June, 1854, they elected Thomas M. Marshall, then an eloquent young lawyer, as chairman. He appointed a committee which drafted resolutions asserting that no law which sustained slavery should be recognized; that no more compromises with slavery should be made, and no more slave states should be admitted, and that the introduction of slavery into Nebraska should be obstructed. "We pledge ourselves as soldiers for the whole war with 'free men, free labor and free lands' on our banner." Another clause resolved "that for the future the South must take care of itself—take care of its peculiar property; supply its own bloodhounds and slave-catchers; the free men of the North design and will crush and exterminate the breeds."

From 1855 to 1860 the lecture platform was a prominent feature in the abolition movement of Pittsburg. In March came Cassius M. Clay, and his address awakened the cities to the highest point of enthusiasm. He had the largest possible room in Pittsburg and it was crowded to overflowing with the cultured men and women of both cities. The climax of the address was probably reached when he quoted a then recent saying of Theodore Parker of Boston, "When we want a president the South takes a piece of dough and makes one." Wendell Phillips was then in the vigor of manhood and lectured on "The Philosophy of Reform in Slavery." He was undoubtedly the great platform speaker of his day, particularly when talking of the evils of the slave trade.

John A. Bingham came to Pittsburg in September to attend the Whig state convention, which met in the city hall on the 5th. While the committees were at work on matters assigned to them, Mr. Bingham delivered a regularly prepared address of nearly two hours in length, dwelling mostly on the slavery question and kindred subjects of national interest. Joshua R. Giddings, the most fearless and able anti-slavery agitator of his day in Congress, attended the same convention and was called on for an address when Mr. Bingham had finished,

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but he declined for the time being, saying it was arranged that he should address the convention that evening. A prominent writer, Mr. Erasmus Wilson, in describing these and other addresses, has said: "Mr. Bingham's speech particularly was one of great strength reviewing as it does the entire history of slavery on the American continent. But the speech which was received with the greatest approval was the one delivered by Mr. Giddings in the evening. It was replete with wit, epigrams, pathos, logic and abrupt and brilliant rhetorical colorings, and elicited from the great audience the most unbounded applause. It was particularly noteworthy in its exposition of the miseries entailed by the institution of slavery."

A great power in creating abolition sentiment in Pittsburg prior to this was Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm. She had used her extremely caustic and able pen for many years in the interests of the slave. She could not but see that a new national party was being organized, and was perfectly willing to join hands with and trust the cause of the negro to a political organization which was ultra enough on the slave question to enlist the support of men like Phillips, Bingham and Giddings. About this time therefore she began to write articles in the interest of the new organization which already existed in some of the states, which was even then known as the Republican party. Prior to this she had leaned strongly toward the Know-Nothing party, which with the remnant of the Whig party and the Abolition party united to form the Republican party as a national organization in 1856.

An important convention, as it afterwards proved, was held in Pittsburg in August, 1852. It was the National Free Soil convention, and practically represented the abolitionist sentiment of the country. The great men of the party were present, among whom were Salmon P. Chase, Mr. Finney, Judge Spalding and Mr. Giddings of Ohio; Garrett Smith, Mr. Tappan and others of New York; Payne and Booth of Wisconsin, Wiley of Maine, Frederick Douglass and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts. Addresses full of fire and eloquence were made by many of the delegates. One of the strongest addresses came from Garrett Smith. Both he and Payne feared that the Union might be dissolved over the slavery question, which was then steadily advancing its right on the free territory of the North. All urged that heroic measures should be taken to stay the further spread of slavery and to eventually banish the "monster from the nation." Mr. Giddings had no fear of a dissolution of the Union. He said, as the reporter has it, that he "stood by and advised a fleeing slave, in the presence of his pursuers, to shoot them if they attempted to retake him." The slave-catcher had asked Mr. Giddings what he should do and the advice was to go on after the slave if he thought proper. In answer to the inquiry as to what the slave would do if pursued, Mr. Giddings said he supposed if the slave was any part of a man he would shoot him. "The slave-catcher went home and I have not seen him since," said Mr. Giddings. The convention placed John P. Hale on the Free Soil ticket for president and George W. Julian for vice president. The vote in November for Hale and Julian in

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Allegheny county was 965, while Scott, the Whig candidate, received 9,615, and Pierce, the Democratic candidate, received 7,226 votes. This vote did not represent the sentiment of Pittsburg and Allegheny on the slavery question. It proved, rather, that the people did not yet believe that the abolition of African slavery was a fit one for political parties to take up. Yet in the end this was proved to be the only solution of the question, and the work of Pittsburg in that direction is told in the chapter on the Civil war.

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